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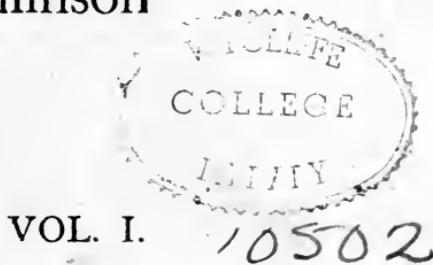
on

Ritual

Edited or

Written by

J. T. Tomlinson



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THE PRAYER BOOK, ARTICLES AND HOMILIES:

**Some Forgotten Facts in their History which
may decide their Interpretation.**

By J. T. TOMLINSON.

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“HEARING MASS”

versus

“THE LORD’S SUPPER OR HOLY COMMUNION.”

DOES THE PRAYER BOOK RECOGNIZE NON-COMMUNICATING ATTENDANCE?

BEFORE the Reformation the evil habit of non-communicating attendance was universal, and so far from leading to increased frequency of Communions (as its advocates now contend) it had almost abolished Holy Communion altogether so far as regards the laity. The Devon Rebels demanded (June, 1549) “We will have the Mass in Latin, as was before, and celebrated by the priest, without any man or woman communicating with him. We will have the Sacrament but at Easter delivered to the lay-people; and then but in one kind.”¹ It is important to remember that these rebels were under the guidance of the clergy, and that Cardinal Pole wrote to the Protector on Sept. 7th, 1549, that he would “never fail endeavouring (if required and requested by them) by every effort and means in my power, that they be not abandoned and unassisted, provided they contain themselves within the limits of their *just and religious demands, as I see they have done hitherto.*”²

Nor was this state of things peculiar to England. Even Mr. Blunt, in his “Annotated Prayer Book,” p. 150, admits that in the Middle Ages, “while the Mass was offered daily in most, if not in all, churches, and in some many times in the day, few except the clergy ever partook of it more than once or twice

¹ Cranmer’s Works, Parker Soc. ii.-173. ² Venetian State Papers, p. 265.
No. 87.]

in the year, considering that it was sufficient for them to be present while it was being offered." Fleury, the Roman Catholic historian, in his "Eighth Discourse," after noticing the injury done to Christian morals by the abuse of absolutions, proceeds :

" I will add, moreover, that the new devotions introduced by certain 'religious' have concurred to the same result of diminishing the horror of sin, and causing men to neglect the correction of their manners. One can carry a scapular, say every day a string of beads, or some famous orison, without pardoning one's enemy, restoring goods ill-acquired, or leaving one's concubine. These are the devotions which the people love, these which do not compel them to become better. In practicing these *petites* *devotions*, they don't cease to regard themselves as better than those who do not practice them, and to flatter themselves that they will bring them a good death: for one does not wish to be converted while one is young, or enjoys health—that would cost too much. Hence also comes that exterior devotion to the *Holy Sacrament*. They love to adore it exposed, or to follow it in procession rather than to prepare worthily to receive it."

That is always the tendency of corrupt human nature ; men seek to be saved *in sin*, flocking to the *sacrifice* which is supposed to propitiate God, but shrinking from *Communion*, i.e. fellowship with God. They seek to put Him off with ritual 'worship,' as though flattery were acceptable, and to obtain for themselves a visible 'similitude,' which may serve as a carnal and sensuous medium of approach, so much more easy to the natural man than the effort to worship in the spiritual part of his own nature that God who is Himself an invisible Spirit (John iv.-23). Hence that growing desire to bring back the "hearing of Mass" at "High Celebrations," which is the modern Ritualistic substitute for the "Supper of the Lord or Holy Communion." On the other hand, Mr. Pugin, in his "Treatise on Rood-screens" (p. 120) notes that "Communicants have greatly increased since the Middle Ages"—a fact which in all fairness ought to be credited to the Reformation.

* * *

In weaning a nation saturated with superstitions which they had held in common with the rest of Western Christendom for centuries, the English Reformers began by restoring the cup to the laity, and by providing for increased frequency of Communions, while they abolished side altars, and then proceeded to substitute even for the one sole remaining altar an "honest table of joiner's work." These changes were followed rapidly by the abolition of the "Sacrificial position" and the

"Sacrificial vestments," and by the removal of the "Table," which had superseded the High Altar, into the body of the church at Communion time, thus gradually educating the minds of the common people out of the corrupt traditions of the Mass. Wisely, therefore, the point as to non-communicating attendance was left open for a time. In the first Prayer Book of Edward, at the Communion time, each person present was to go up into the Chancel and there drop his individual "oblation" into the poor men's box, which by the Royal Injunction of 1547, was placed at the side of the High Altar.³ After this came the Rubric of 1549 :—

"Then so many as shall be partakers of the Holy Communion shall tarry still in the quire, or in some convenient place nigh the quire, the men on the one side and the women on the other side. All other (that mind not to receive the said Holy Communion) shall depart out of the quire, except the ministers and clerks."

At that time the choir screen was a high erection with lofty doors, and in cathedrals often consisted of a stone wall which effectually screened the communicants from observation. It is true that the Exhortation before the Confession contained at that time the words "Make your humble confession to Almighty God, and to His Holy Church here gathered together in his name." But this of course did not imply that the communicants were to confess to the non-communicants ; it was, in fact, merely the Protestant substitute for the accustomed form in the Sarum Missal, in which the Priest received absolution from the choir (*Ministri*) and which directed the confession to "God, the Blessed Mary, and all saints, and to you"—seeking thus to retain so much of the old form as was not actually unscriptural.

Bp. Ridley asked at his first Visitation, June 1550, "whether any tarrieth in the quire after the offertory, other than those that do communicate except clerks and ministers."⁴ Writing to Bp. Hooper in November, 1550, Bucer said "Some reckon among the things which are left to the free ordering of the Churches, to celebrate the Lord's Supper only once, twice, thrice, four times, or oftener, in the year ; and to stand at the Supper without participating of the sacraments. And yet it is evident that each of these [customs] is truly papistical."

³ Doc. Ann. i.-18.

⁴ Foxe, Act and Mon. vi.-784.

This letter, by the way, was reprinted by Abp. Parker and the Elizabethan bishops in 1566—*cum privilegio*.⁵

The Greyfriars' Chronicle (p. 69) tells us—“Item, the XXIV. day of the same month after,⁶ was the grates beside the high altar at Powle's closed up, that the people should not look in at the time of the Communion time, and the veil hanged up. And the XXVIII. day after was Easter even, and then was the Table removed, and set beneath at the veil north and south.”

Wriothesley's Chronicle also mentions (p. 47) how Ridley, in 1551, “After the creed, caused the vaile to be drawen that no person should see but those that receaved, and he closed the iron gates of the quire on the north and south side that non might remain in the quire.”

These precautions were coarsely ridiculed by the Papists. Thus Huggard in his “Displaying of Protestants” (1556), says of the movable Lord's table—“Then down it must come from *sursum* to *deorsum*. In some places beneath the steps, in the quire covering it round about with curtains for fear of bugs.”

In May, 1551, Bp. Hooper gave to his clergy a series of articles, among which was this :

“XXVI. Item, that which is spoken of the Sacraments, that they were not instituted for a spectacle or wondering-stock, doth evidently prove that they ought not to be kept nor worshipped, or any other ways to be used than as Christ did institute them, who, speaking simply and plainly of baptism by these words, ‘Do ye baptize’; said also, of the bread and wine, ‘Take, eat, and drink you all’; of the which words we learn that as many as be present ought to communicate, or to *depart in the time of the Administration.*”⁷

By this time the Reformers had got rid of the Romish Bishops who hindered the progress of the reformation. Bonner, Gardiner, Heath, and Day had been deprived for nonconformity, Reps had resigned, Voysey resigned in August, 1551, and Tunstal was deprived in October, 1551. Hence only two bishops, viz. Carlisle and Norwich, voted against the Second Prayer Book of Edward which fully embodied, for the first time, the views and aspirations of Cranmer and his colleagues. In that book the worshippers were no longer to go up into the Chancel to ‘offer’ at the box placed by the high altar, but the churchwardens were

⁵ Gorham's Ref. Gleanings, p. 205.

⁶ March, 1551.

⁷ Later Writings, p. 125.

bidden to “gather the devotion of the people, and put the same into the poor men’s box,” and the following words were introduced into the Exhortation after the Prayer for the Church militant :

“ Whereas ye offend God so sore in refusing this holy banquet, I admonish, exhort, and beseech you, that unto this unkindness ye will not add any more. Which thing ye shall do if ye stand by as gazers and lookers on them that do communicate, and be no partakers of the same yourselves. For what thing can this be accounted else, than a further contempt and unkindness unto God. Truly it is a great unthankfulness to say nay when ye be called: but the fault is much greater when men stand by, and yet will neither eat nor drink this Holy Communion with other. I pray you what can this be else, but even to have the mysteries of Christ in derision? It is said unto all: Take and eat. Take and drink ye all of this: do this in remembrance of Me. With what face then, or with what countenance shall ye hear these words? What will this be else but a neglecting, a despising, and mocking the Testament of Christ? Wherefore, rather than you should do so, depart you hence and give place to them that be godly disposed.”

This language is described by the writer whom the Ritualists call “Bp. Cosin” (in his “first series of Notes”) as “A religious invective added here against the lewd and irreligious custom of the people then nursed up in popery, to be present at the Communion, and to let the priest communicate for them all.”⁸

On the accession of Elizabeth, Geste was consulted by Cecil, the Prime Minister, as to the Revision of Edward’s Prayer Book. Geste defended the “dividing of the Communion into two parts,” and explains “why the service is set forth in such sort as it is” by saying “they only did remain which did receive”—“for that they which did not receive were taken for that time as not faithful. Therefore Chrysostom saith, that they which do not receive, be as men doing penance for their sin.”⁹

This explains the change introduced into the eighteenth Injunction of Elizabeth, 1559, which was framed out of the

⁸ Anglo-Cath. Library, Cosin’s Works, v.-98.

⁹ Card. Conf., p. 51, 54.

twenty-third Injunction of Edward VIth, 1547. We place them side by side for comparison.¹⁰

1547.

"And in the time of the Litany, of the *Mass*, of the sermon, and when the priest readeth the Scripture to the parishioners, no manner of persons, without a just and urgent cause, shall depart out of the church."

Cranmer's chaplain published in 1560 his "Catechism on the Sacraments" and "Articles of Christian Religion," in both of which he denounces non-communicating attendance as a distinctively Popish corruption.¹²

In the Homilies published in 1562, we read "every one of us must be guests and not gazers, eaters and not lookers . . . of necessity we must be ourselves partakers of this table, and not beholders of others." Bp. Jewel, who was probably the writer of this "Homily of the worthy receiving of the Sacrament," in many parts of his "Apology" and "Defence" defends the Church of England practice—"whoso will not receive, let him depart."¹³

In 1563, a Form of Thanksgiving for Deliverance from the Plague, was put forth by Royal Injunction, into which were introduced, as a confession of misuse of the Lord's Supper, the words "for many make of it a gazing stock, to serve their eyes and tongues :"¹⁴ and a letter from Grindal, Bp. of London, to Abp. Parker explained his objection to having a celebration of Holy Communion at St. Paul's on this occasion. "If the Communion

¹⁰ Card. Doc. Ann. i.-15, 187.

¹¹ Canon 90, which orders the churchwardens to "see that all the parishioners duly resort to their church upon all Sundays and Holydays, and there continue the whole time of divine service" has no special reference to the celebration of the Holy Communion. This is shown, not only by canons 16 and 23, where the "Divine Service" is distinguished from the Communion, but by the order of Queen Elizabeth of Jan. 22, 1561, which speaks of churches where "Divine Service, as prayer, preaching and ministration of the sacraments be used;" as also by the rubric at morning prayer, which speaks of the Lord's Prayer "*here used in Divine Service.*"

All "common and open prayer" is "for other to come unto," and the public celebration cannot be legally conducted with locked doors, so that any person may quietly and decently enter or quit a church during any period of divine service. The Toleration Act extends this rule to non-established religious bodies. The attempt to coerce worshippers to "hear mass" by locking the door of the parish church during service time, should be resisted and punished in every instance.

¹² Becon's Works, ii.-257, iii.-481.

¹³ Works, Parker Soc. i.-55, 116, iii.-472-5.

¹⁴ Liturgical Services, Eliz., p. 505.

1559.

"And in the time of the Litany, of the *Common Prayer*, of the sermon, and when the priest readeth the Scripture to the parishioners, no manner of persons, without a just and urgent cause, shall use any walking in church, nor shall depart out of the church."¹¹

be ministered in Paul's; it will be done so tumultuously and gazingly, by means of the infinite multitude that will resort thither to see, that the rest of the action will be disordered."¹⁵

In 1564, at Canterbury Cathedral, which has a solid stone screen, "none were suffered to tarry within the chancel, but the communicants."¹⁶

In 1572, Abp. Whitgift, replying to Cartwright, says, "And the Book doth exhort those to depart which do not communicate, with a warning from whence they depart; so that you may well understand that the meaning of the Book is that all that be present should communicate."¹⁷

In 1583, Middleton, Bp. St. David's, gave as his seventh 'Injunction':

"Item, that when there is a Communion, that al the people whiche will not communicate beyng called thereunto, be commanded to depart for that tyme out of the church: after the general confession made, in the name of the communicantes, and if any be so stubborne that thei wil no departe, then the Minister to proceed no further in the Communion, but in the next Consistorie Courte, complaine of them, as interrupters and troublers of God's Divine Service."¹⁸

In 1584, Hooker replied to Puritan grumblers:—"Men should not (they say) be permitted a few by themselves to communicate when so many are gone away . . . I ask then on which side unity is broken, whether on theirs that depart, or on theirs who, being left behind, do communicate? . . . There is in the Scripture of God no one syllable that doth condemn communicating amongst a few when the rest are departed from them."¹⁹

In 1620, Bp. Andrewes in his service for consecration of churches, had a rubric "All the people not intending to communicate are dismissed, and the door is shut."²⁰ "The same order is followed in the Form of Consecration which passed the Convocation [and was approved by Q. Anne] in 1712, and which is now generally used," says Archdeacon Harrison "On the Rubric," p. 376.

In 1628, Dean Field, in his book "Of the Church," said "The faithful only might be present at it, all non-communicants being first dismissed and sent away."²¹

In 1635, Bp. Morton, in his epistle dedicatory to his book on the Mass (cited in Vogan on the Eucharist, p. 6) said "The Roman mass entices and invites to itself mere spectators by every allurement; as if almost the whole of the Christian Religion consisted in that one theatrical show; and yet these people (if

¹⁵ Remains, p. 267.

¹⁶ Strype's Parker, p. 183.

¹⁷ Works, ii.-549.

¹⁸ Rit. Rep. App. 426-7.

¹⁹ Eccl. Pol. v.-lxviii.-10.

²⁰ Works, v.-326.

²¹ Book iii., Appendix, p. 12.

admissible to the Eucharist) Catholic antiquity amongst the Greeks ordered to go away (*ἀπέλθειν*) and amongst the Latins to depart (*discedere*).²²

Bp. Montague, in 1639, at a synod at Ipswich ordered that "no non-communicant come in among them, no boys, girls, or gazers be suffered to look in as at a play."²³

In 1655, Bp. Sparrow wrote, "The priest admonishes all that are coming to that holy sacrament, *driving away the unworthy*. Those that after these exhortations *stay to receive*, the Church supposing prepared, invites to draw near."²⁴

And L'Estrange, in 1659, said "True it is that, according to primitive rules, no man of the faithful might stay behind and not communicate."²⁵

Thus the tradition was uniform till the last revision of the Prayer Book in 1662. At the Savoy Conference, the bishops said "the first and third exhortations are very seasonable before the Communion, to put men in mind how they ought to be prepared, and in what danger they are to come unprepared, that if they be not duly qualified, *they may depart* and be better prepared at another time."²⁶

Yet in point of fact the Revisers did omit from what is now the second Exhortation the words above cited bidding men "depart," and it is very important to notice the reason of this change.

We have seen that in the Prayer Book of 1552 there was the strongest denunciation of non-communicant attendance. Why, then, were those plain words omitted in the Book of 1662? The answer is obvious. The warning words of 1552 had taken effect; throughout the whole course of 110 years the practice of non-communicants leaving the church had become fully established. How reasonable, then, that the Revisers should shorten the Exhortation by omitting words which no longer had any point or meaning. But more than this, the order to depart which was most necessary in 1552 was, through men's perversity, becoming positively hurtful and mischievous in 1662. After the confusion of the Great Rebellion, men were in no danger of profanely "hearing Mass," but in great danger of fancying that the Church sanctioned absence as an alternative which they were free to choose. How needful then to the cause of true religion that the warning words of 1552 should be withdrawn. For the same reason the Church now lets her non-communicants slink away without the blessing, lest a formal dismissal should give an appearance of recognition to non-communicating Christianity. "They who are called," yet "most unthankfully refuse to come," cannot be dismissed with the Master's blessing.

²² Prynne's Hist. of Laud's Trial, p. 100.

²⁴ Alliance, p. 269.

²³ Rationale, p. 263.

²⁵ Card. Conf., p. 353.

Bp. Cosin in his "Particulars to be Considered," wrote "The first and second Exhortations are more fit to be read some days before the Communion, than at the very same time when the people are to come to receive it. For, first, *they that tarry* for that purpose are not negligent; and they that are negligent *be gone* and hear it not."²⁶

Bp. Wren also wrote in 1660, "To stand by, as gazers and lookers on, is *now wholly out of use in all parishes*. And the not-communicants generally do use to depart without bidding." On this ground he urged the omission of the words.²⁷

Bp. Morley, a Savoy Commissioner, and one of the eight Bps. appointed by Convocation to conduct the revision of the Prayer Book in 1661, said "Both the sacraments may be and are called mysteries, but especially that of the Lord's Supper, which none were permitted to be present at, or to see administered in the primitive Church of old, nor are not in Protestant churches at this day, but such as are receivers and partakers of it. . . . But that which was not lawful, and counted a profanation in the primitive Church, is now in the Romish not only counted lawful but meritorious. I mean the standing by and looking on the celebration of the Lord's Supper, or the masse (as they call it) without receiving of it."²⁸

It is clear, therefore, that our present Prayer Book intended to keep up the distinction between the "ante-communion service" (which is read even "when there is no Communion," and which is attended by non-communicants before there is a Communion), and the Communion Service properly so called. This is shown from the very structure of the service.

First, by the placing of the Exhortations, *not* where they are to be read, but in the break which occurs after the prayer for the Church Militant. That cannot be accounted for at all, on the supposition that the whole service is to be read continuously without a break.

Next, the words "Make your humble confession to Almighty God *before this congregation gathered together in His name*" were struck out in 1662. Moreover, in the second Exhortation, the non-communicants are still described as "separating from their brethren," a phrase explained by the extract given above from Hooker. But, more than all, we notice that an entirely new rubric was introduced before the second portion of the service, viz.:

"At the time of the celebration of the Communion, the Communicants being conveniently placed for the Receiving," &c.

It is a curious fact that in the manuscript original of our

²⁶ Works, v.-514.

²⁷ Jacobson's Fragments, p. 78.

²⁸ Argument drawn from sense against Transubstantiation, p. 17.

Prayer Book, which is "annexed" to the Act of Uniformity, this rubric was originally written "when the communicants have conveniently placed themselves:"²⁹ the subsequent alteration being designed to lay upon the churchwardens the obligation of seeing that due order is maintained at this point.

The object of the rubric was to put a stop to a slovenly practice of which Juxon complained in 1640 when he inquired "Have you any in your parish that keep their seats, and sit still in their places, not drawing near as is commanded by the church, but looking that the minister, should forsake the place of his station, by the church appointed, to bring it to them."³⁰ Or, as Archdeacon Bostock expressed it, "sit still in their seats or pews, to have the blessed body and blood of our Saviour go up and down to seek them all the church over."³¹

Udal, in his "Communion Comeliness," published in 1641, describes (p. 5) the inconveniences which ensued. "They neither see nor hear, until the minister come to the pews where they sit; in which, sometimes, there are divers pews, and they far distant one from the other; in which there are but one, or but two communicants, in this corner, and one or two in the other corner, and others *up in the gallery*, and so will have the Minister hunt up and down to search them out, and administer unto them scattered here and there in several pews, remote one from the other. And I think shortly the sacrament of the Lord's Supper will get up into the steeple among the bells with us, as the sacrament of baptisme hath done heretofore among the papists."

During the subsequent twenty years of the "Great Rebellion," pews and galleries, often with *outside* staircases, multiplied. To cure the irregularities and inconveniences which ensued, our present rubric was framed; and it is obvious that a reasonable interval of time to enable communicants to quit the galleries, aisles, and side chapels, and to enable the churchwardens to "place" them is implied by the new rubric, just as a reasonable interval to enable the clergyman to ascend the pulpit is implied in the rubric "then shall follow the sermon." Such an interval marks a distinct break during which the uniform and continuous tradition of the Reformed Church of England requires all non-communicants to withdraw. Separate seats for the communicants within the chancel are presupposed. Thus, in 1591, the Commissary of the Archdeacon of Essex required one Wm. Peacock to make a public confession "when the whole company of communicants are gathered together in the quire."³² In 1603 Bishop Thorneborough asks if the parson communicated his parishioners "not in their several seats,

²⁹ Parker, Hist. Revis., p. 438

³⁰ Rit. Rep. App., p. 592-9.

³¹ Rit. Rep. App., p. 599-6.

³² Hale's precedents, p. 206.

where they usually sit in the church, but kneeling in the seats severally appointed in your several churches for the communicants, to receive the same."⁸³ In 1627 the churchwardens of Thoydon Garnon were presented for "having their chancel unseated."⁸⁴ Archdeacons King, Davenant, and White, and Bishops Thornborough, Bridges, and Montagu, similarly ask for, and insist upon, "communicants' seats," which the churchwardens were bound to provide. We showed in the INTELLIGENCER, I.-76, that this was the design also of the rubric "the chancels shall remain."

In 1652 Bp. Cosin wrote his "Regni Angliae Religio Catholica" to give foreigners some idea of our English Liturgy. His account ran "The offertory having been gone through . . . afterwards they who are not about to communicate with us are sent out of doors (*emittuntur foras*). . . . But the rest (*reliquos*) he admonishes. . . . The exhortation ended, those who are about to communicate enter the choir."⁸⁵

In his first Visitation held in the third week of July, 1662 (two months after the enactment of our present Prayer Book), Bp. Cosin asks "Do they leave their *common* seats, and draw near to the Communion table when they are to receive that sacrament?"⁸⁶

* * *

Thus we have shown that "the time of the celebration" is quite separated as a "second service" from the ante-communion, which latter is required by the first of the final rubrics to be said even "if there be *no* Communion." To that preliminary service non-communicants have legitimate access. Yet "when there is a Communion" (as the rubric before the Church Militant Prayer carefully discriminates) that "sensitive seclusion during the solemn service" of the Lord's Supper, which Dr. Hook said is characteristic of the Church of England, must be jealously guarded by English churchmen, if they would not violate the direct command of the Founder of the feast, "Take, eat, drink ye ALL."

Canon Trevor, Archdeacon Freeman, Mr. Hosmer, Mr. Scudamore, Bp. Wordsworth, Dean Goulburn, Canon Meyrick, and other 'High' Churchmen are witnesses with us to the alien character of that spurious tradition which seeks to graft the "hearing of Mass" upon a rite which, as "ordained by Christ Himself," consisted *essentially* of "eating and drinking." A sacrificial feast attended by non-communicants is an idea which would have revolted a Jew as being profane and impious. Shall the Ministers of Christ prove worse "stewards of His mysteries" than even the ancient 'builders' of the Temple?

⁸³ Rit. Rep. App. 440-11.

⁸⁵ Works, iv.-358.

⁸⁴ Hale's precedents, p. 55.

⁸⁶ Rit. Rep. App., p. 602-8.

CONVOCATION REPORT.

THE following Report, adopted by the Lower House of Canterbury Convocation and signed "Harvey Goodwin, chairman," in 1866, deserves consideration at the present time :—

"The encouragement of non-communicants to remain during the celebration of the Holy Communion."

"The Committee observe that in the ancient church the presence of non-communicants during the celebration of the Holy Communion was not allowed except in special cases, and as the last stage in the course of a penitential discipline; and that no argument can be drawn from ancient practice in favour of the view which regards such presence in the light of a privilege for Christians in general.

"The rubrical directions with regard to the presence or withdrawal of those who do not intend to be partakers of the Holy Communion, are not explicit. In the first Prayer Book of King Edward VI. there is this rubric, following the Offertory: 'Then so many as shall be partakers of the Holy Communion shall tarry still in the quire, or in some convenient place nigh the quire, the men on the one side, and the women on the other side. All other (that mind not to receive the said Holy Communion) shall depart out of the quire, except the Minister [s] and Clerks.' But in all the subsequent editions of the Prayer Book there is no corresponding rubric. Nevertheless the withdrawal of non-communicants has become the recognized practice of the English Church.

"The Committee further observe, that the practice of proceeding to the celebration of the Holy Communion in the presence of the general congregation, including (as it almost certainly will) a large number of persons who do not intend to communicate, and many of whom are not communicants at all, as it is opposed to the usage of the ancient church, so likewise has, as the Committee fear, a tendency to produce a diminution rather than an increase of reverence for the Holy Mysteries of the Body and Blood of CHRIST.

"The Committee think, therefore, that, while the attendance during celebration of persons not intending to communicate is not formally and distinctly forbidden, such attendance is contrary to the spirit and usage of the Church of England, and should not therefore be encouraged as an ordinary practice" (*See First Report of Rit. Commissioners*, p. 161.)

THE NORTH SIDE OF THE TABLE.

To a plain man it must seem marvellous how any doubt could exist as to the meaning of the words "the priest standing at the north side of the table." On the face of the rubric they seem intended to regulate the position of the clergyman, *not* that of the table; and if any question were raised as to the meaning of "North side" one would naturally reply in the words of the Rt. Hon. Sir R. J. Phillimore, Dean of the Arches, "I think I must take the *prima facie* meaning of the rubric, and consider it as the north side of the whole table."¹

That common-sense view was also adopted by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in the Purchas Judgment.— "Their lordships are of opinion that 'north side' means that side which looks towards the north." And again in the Ridsdale case they said "It is the duty of the minister to stand at the side of the table which, supposing the church to be built in the ordinary eastward position, would be next the north, whether the side be a longer or shorter side of the table . . . : it is accurate, both in scientific and in ordinary language, to say that a quadrilateral table has four sides." Faccioliati's Dictionary defines 'side' as "the part between the front and back."² And Ritualistic writers, from the *Ordo Romanus* and *Cærimoniale Romanum* down to Mr. F. G. Lee, habitually distinguish between the front of the altar and its 'sides.' Dr. John Mason Neale, for instance, says the corporal (*i.e.* "fair white linen cloth") hung down "at the sides, *not at the front*, as may often be seen nowadays in the Church of England."³

Nor would any candid inquirer find it difficult to understand why the 'North' was chosen to be the clergyman's standpoint. Not certainly from any magical virtue in the points of the compass, but because churches in England being built east and west, a clergyman who had the table to the south of him *could* no longer interpose his body between the Supper of the Lord and the guests who partake of it, or hide from them those

¹ Fourth Report of Ritual Commissioners, p. 250.

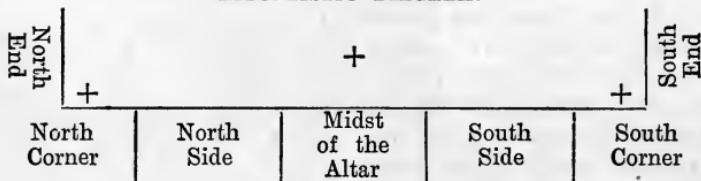
² "Pars inter frontem et posticum"; an illustration is given from Cicero, Philip. iii. c. 13, "A tergo, a fronte, a lateribus tenebitur."

³ "Ad latera, non ad frontem," Tetralogia, p. 221.

sacramental actions which our Lord bade His followers to "Do in remembrance of" Him, and which He was careful to 'do' therefore before their very eyes.

That such is the plain and obvious meaning of the rubric is proved not merely by an absolutely unbroken and continuous usage during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but by the fact that those who violate the law by standing at the West front of the Lord's Table cannot agree among themselves as to the pretext which shall be put forth for doing so. At first, the *Ecclesiastic* urged that the celebrant might go to the north-west corner; this was followed by Mr. F. G. Lee's diagram in the "Directorium Anglicanum," 1865.

RITUALISTIC DIAGRAM.



According to which we were asked to believe that one-fifth part of *one* of the sides of the table looking *westward* was the "*north side of the table*" itself! Mr. Blunt, however, in his "Annotated Prayer Book,"⁴ and Archdeacon Freeman in his "Rites and Ritual,"⁵ taught that the front is to be divided into *three* vertical sections, of which the left-hand one is the north 'side'! Then came Dr. Littledale who maintained that the two 'sides' meant the *two halves* of the front divided by "an imaginary line."⁶ Lastly came Messrs. Walton and Scudamore who admitted that the notion that "side of the table" meant that section of one of its sides which happened to lie at one side of the celebrant, or of a crucifix, or of an "imaginary line," was "absolutely unknown to English Ritualists during the three last centuries, and conspicuously at variance with the facts of our Church history."

Since that outspoken rebuke in 1866 the previous theories seem to have been silently dropped, and later writers on the Ritualistic side have adopted the Walton-Scudamore theory as being the 'correct' view. This theory is that at the time when the North Side rubric was originally sanctioned (viz. in 1552, 1559, and 1662) the Lord's Table was "ALWAYS, EVERYWHERE, UNIVERSALLY" oblong⁸ in shape, and was invariably placed with its longer sides from east to west, so that the tables being now-a-

⁴ p. 160.

⁵ p. 71.

⁶ "North Side," p. 15.

⁷ Walton's Letter to Carter, 3rd edition, pp. 35, 46, 47.

⁸ Dr. Johnson defines 'oblong' as a parallelogram "whose sides are unequal."

days turned the other way, "there now is no north *side*" (in the sense assigned by these gentlemen) and consequently

"WE ARE AT LIBERTY TO STAND WHERE WE WILL."⁹

Unhappily, this 'liberty' of the celebrant, involves the bondage of the congregation who stand committed by the public, overt, and formal acts of their 'persona' if they say 'Amen' to such a "giving of thanks" as is, in fact, a colourable imitation of the Romish Mass. Hence, an inquiry into the grounds of this latest 'correct' fashion, really concerns every Church-goer. It will be seen that it rests upon a double assumption—1st, that oblong tables were directed by authority to be ranged lengthwise down the axis of the Church; and 2nd, that the word 'side' was *designedly* employed to exclude the *ends* of the tables. Unless these statements of fact can be made good, the theory that there is "now *no* North side" must perish from its intrinsic unreasonableness. Mr. Walton's disgust with the rubric itself as a "mere antiquated rubric," which is to be treated as "practically repealed" in order to "place us in harmony with the *better* mind of the Church in preceding centuries," shows that his mind is out of sympathy with that of the framers of the rubric.

* *

Not a scrap of evidence has yet been produced to show that in 1552, or 1559, anybody, whether Puritan, Papist, or Churchman, attached the smallest importance to the supposed contrast between the 'side' and the 'end' of the table, or to the direction in which the table itself looked. As to its shape, Dr. Stephens in his "Notes on the Book of Common Prayer,"¹⁰ says: "No form of table has been prescribed by the statute, and therefore it may be square or of any other rectilinear figure, or even circular, where of course you cannot have any 'side' in the sense which it is contended 'side' here bears. The meaning of 'at the north side' therefore seems really to be simply 'to the north' of the table." This view was emphatically adopted by the Supreme Court of Appeal in the Folkestone case, when, after listening to a long argument to prove the contrary, they said:—"The figure and the position of the table are not fixed either by nature or by law."¹¹ Dr. Lewis, in his "Reformation Settlement" (pp. 111, 112), and Mr. Pugin, in his 'Contrasts' (p. 30), says that the Edwardian tables were in fact 'square,' and this shape in many cases was probably adopted to increase their unlikeness in 'form' to the oblong altar. The Papists called

⁹ Scudamore, Notit. Euch., p. 194. Walton's Letter, pp. 36, 46, 47.

¹⁰ p. 1125.

¹¹ Perry's Report, p. 743. Even Abp. Williams, in his "Letter to the Vicar of Grantham," said, "All dioceses did agree upon receiving tables, but not so soon upon the form and fashion of their tables." Foxe, Act. and Mon., vi.-6; Burnet, Hist. Ref., ii.-327.

these tables "oyster boards," which is the very term used by Bp. Pierce, in derision of the *square* table set up by the churchwardens at Beckington.¹² Such a table may yet be seen at Fraisthorpe, in Yorkshire. That the Edwardian tables were not likely to be uniform in shape may be easily inferred from the story which Foxe tells (Act. and Mon. vii.-288) of the parson of Adisham, Kent, who on Sept. 3rd, 1553, after the accession of Mary, was attacked by a Popish parishioner who threatened, "If he say any service here again, I will lay the table on his face. And in that rage he with others took up the table, and laid it on a chest in the chancel, and set the trestles by it."



The wonder is that the Reformers did not boldly revert to the primitive practice of placing the minister behind the table facing the congregation, as in Leonardo da Vinci's well-known picture of the Last Supper. Cranmer had employed Holbein to depict just such a 'supper' in his Catechism, issued in 1548, and this was the more significant because in order to make room for it he had to strike out the original illustration in which a priest, "standing in the midst," is placing a wafer in the mouth of a communicant kneeling in front of an altar decked with lights "after the old sort," as Gardiner jeeringly boasted.

Cranmer in reply, pointed to the substituted picture as a

¹² 'An exact square.' The official "certified the Bishop that it was like an Oyster Table," Speeches and Passages of this happy Parliament, 1641, p. 320.

proof that in 1548 he 'misliked' those very details.¹³ Facsimiles of both these woodcuts are given to show that the distinction between 'altar' and 'table' was not then supposed to consist in the 'endwise' or the 'lengthwise' arrangement of the latter. In John A'Lasco's church in London, the table was similarly placed (A.D. 1550) with its ends north and south. So, too, Pullain's church at Glastonbury (A.D. 1551) had the table placed "in sight of the congregation," the minister facing them, the elements being placed at the *ends* (*cornua*) of the table. So, too, Coverdale (Bp. of Exeter in 1551) in his translation of the Danish Liturgy, the first edition of which was published before 1546, describes the priest as "standing afore the table" *when addressing the congregation*, but the two priests who distribute the bread and wine as standing one at one 'end,' the other at the other.¹⁴ The very same arrangement was adopted by the English Puritans at Frankfort in 1554.¹⁵ "In the church of the Walloon congregation, in the crypt of Canterbury Cathedral, there is to this day the table at the west end of the church, with a bench all round it for the communicants to sit at; but the table stands *across* the church, north and south," says Archdeacon Harrison.¹⁶

Possibly there may have been good practical reasons in 1552 for seeking to secure uniformity by the compromise of "shouldering the people," as Dr. Littledale calls it, which, while doing least violence to the feelings of the older men, would yet secure the needful publicity demanded by the nature of a sacramental rite. In 1553 a French translation "par Fran^{co}ys Philippe Serviteur de Monsieur le Grand Chancelier d'Angleterre" was published containing the rubric in question "le Prêtre étant debout auprs de la table, du coté du Nord;" words which remind the reader of Levit. i.-11.

The substitution of tables for altars had, however, been effected

¹³ See Dr. Burton's "Preface to Cranmer's Catechism," p. xx.

¹⁴ See Coverdale's Works, P.S., vol. I., pp. 424-476. Coverdale was a leader of Elizabethan Puritanism as shown not only by his refusal to wear even a surplice at the consecration of Abp. Parker, but by his being summoned for nonconformity before the Archbishop. See Parker Corr., p. 270. Zurich Letters, ii.-121. Coverdale's Remains, p. 532.

¹⁵ Liturgia Sacra seu ritus Ministerii in Ecclesiâ Peregrinorum, pp. 22, 92.

¹⁶ Charge, 1875, p. 68. Men of views so diverse as the late Bp. Christopher Wordsworth and Bp. Thirlwall were favourable to this "westward position," which would have brought back the usage of the Church of England not merely to that of the Primitive Church, but even to the earlier English use. Bede tells us how at Canterbury the altar was placed "in medio pene suo;" and at Norwich Cathedral, at Stow and Little Bytham, in Lincolnshire, and elsewhere, seats *behind* the altar formed part of the original structure.

long before¹⁷ the introduction of the "North side rubric" in 1552. To show this, let us briefly trace the

HISTORY OF THE TABLES UNDER EDWARD VI.

The altar recognised by the first Prayer Book of Edward (1549) was therein described three times as a 'table,' and twice as God's 'board,' so that the bishops who favoured the Reformation at once proceeded to translate this verbal metonym into literal fact. In 1549, the official of the Archdeacon of Caermarthen ordered the altar to be "pulled down" and "taken away:" though Bp. Ferrar finding "great grudge of the people," and "fearing tumult" (it was during the Devon rebellion) commanded the vicar to "set up the Communion table (*for the time*) near the place where it was before;"¹⁸ even then, however, it appears from the deposition of Griffith Donne, town-clerk of Caermarthen, that the vicar celebrated "afore the midst of the altar" as required by the rubric, *but* "with his back toward the table," "with his back eastward."¹⁹ The first Prayer Book only came into use on June 9th, 1549, yet before December "the altars in many churches are changed into tables."²⁰ In 1550 Wm. Salesbury published his "Baterie of the Pope's botereulx," in the Preface to which he praised Rich, the Lord Chancellor, for his activity in pulling down altars.²¹ On March 5th, 1550, Hooper preached before the king "to turn altars into 'tables,'"²² and before that Ridley had destroyed the altars in the Diocese of Rochester.²³ On June 11th, 1550, "he brake down the wall standing by the high altar's side"²⁴ in St. Paul's Cathedral. This 'wall' probably supported a canopy, and corresponded to the curtains described by Durand in the thirteenth century as "on either side of the altar."²⁵ In

¹⁷ Heylin's wilful mistakes as to the dates of these events (copied by Collier, and censured by Burnet) are corrected by his editor, Canon Robertson, Hist. Ref., p. 207.

¹⁸ Foxe, Act and Mon. vii.-6, where Foxe has misprinted 'Church' for 'Chancel.' ¹⁹ Harl. MS. No. 420, p. 112, Dorso.

²⁰ Hooper, Dec. 27, Orig. Lett., p. 72. At St. Laurence's, Reading, the high altar was sold for 6s 8d in 1549. Keary's Hist., pp. 25, 27. At St. Martin's, Leicester, the New Table was set up with "posts" in 1551. North's Chronicle, p. 111.

²¹ Brit. Mus., c. 25, b. 17.

²² Early Writings, p. 488.

²³ Orig. Lett., pp. 79, 466.

²⁴ Foxe, vi.-7.

²⁵ *Cortinis que sunt in utroque latere altaris* (Lib. iv., cap. 39). Durand describes the Bishop-celebrant as standing until the Offertory, "*not before the altar but removed from it, at its right side*" (cap. 11). Dr. Rock, in his 'Hierurgia,' ii., p. 742, describes the illuminated frontispiece to a life of Thomas à Becket, as showing an altar "at the sides of which are suspended two veils." Durand is quoted by more than one of the Edwardian Reformers, so that they were familiar with the term 'side' as describing the 'ends' of the altar.

the 14th Century, the synod of Cambrai ordered "curtains, called wings," to hang at the "sides" of the altar.²⁶ And the Lords' Committee in 1641 complained of the Laudian bishops "making canopies over the altar so-called, with traverses or curtains on each side, and before it."²⁷

Not content with this, Ridley next substituted a table. On June 13th, 1550, the "table was set in the quire where the high altar stood."²⁸ Holinshed says this example was "shortly after followed throughout London."²⁹ At his Visitation in June, 1550, Ridley

"Exhorted the curates, churchwardens, and questmen here present to erect and set up the Lord's board after the form of an honest table, decently covered, in such place of the *quire or chancel*, as shall be thought most meet by *their discretion and agreement*, so that the ministers, with the communicants, may have their place separated from the rest of the people; and to take down and abolish all other by-altars or tables."³⁰

King Edward notes in his Journal, June 23rd, 1550, that the sheriff of Essex enforced Ridley's orders "which touched the plucking down of superaltaries, altars, and such like ceremonies and abuses," and on Nov. 19th, 1550 "there were letters sent to every bishop to pluck down altars."³¹ The letter itself witnesses that on Nov. 24th, 1550, "the altars within the *more part* of the churches of the realm" were already taken down.³² Day, Bp. of Chichester, received this letter Nov. 29th, and was imprisoned for disobeying it, Dec. 11th, 1550.³³ The Order was judicially enforced in the Consistory Court of Goodrich, Bp. of Ely (one of the framers of the Prayer Book) on Dec. 7th, 1550.³⁴ The last of the old popish bishops appointed by Henry VIII. was deprived on Oct. 10th, 1551, so that all resistance from that quarter ceased more than twelve months before the second Prayer Book came into use, viz., Nov. 1st, 1552. Meantime, on Easter Eve, 1551, the *Greyfriars' Chronicle* (p. 69) relates: "then was the table removed, and set beneath at the vail north and south." *Wriothesley's Chronicle*, however (p. 47), gives a somewhat different version: "this year against Easter the Bishop of London altered the Lord's table that stood where the high altar was, and he removed the table beneath at the steps into the middest of the upper quire in Paule's, and set the ends east and west, the priest standing in the middest at the Communion,

²⁶ Martene and Durand, *Ampliss. Collect.* vii.-1298.

²⁷ Card. Conf. p. 272.

²⁸ Wriothesley's *Chronicle*, ii.-41.

²⁹ Chron. iii.-1024. Stow, p. 551.

³⁰ Works, p. 320, the disuse of the side-altars had been ordered on June 24th, 1549.—Card. Doc. Ann. i.-66.

³¹ Burnet, *Hist. Ref.*, II.-ii.-24, 31. Strype's *Cranmer*, ii.-250.

³² Doc. Ann. i.-89.

³³ Strype's *Cranmer*, ii.-250-255.

³⁴ See *CHURCH INTELLIGENCER*, vol. iii.-100.

on the *south* (*sic*) side of the board." This, of course, was before the 'North side rubric' had been enacted. Stow, who describes the same event, does not note either of these peculiarities (p. 551). As Dean Milman in his "Annals of St. Paul's" observes (p. 227) "the accounts do not quite agree" and the practice appears to have varied. By this time a 'table' (*tabula vel mensa*, as Bp. Goodrich calls it) made of one or more 'boards' resting upon an open 'frame,' or upon trestles, had been substituted everywhere for the solid structure of masonry having a fixed slab with five incised crosses. The 'form' of such a movable table placed anywhere at the 'discretion' of the parochial authorities, distinguished it at a glance from the altar which it had supplanted. No wonder that the most extreme diversity of practice resulted from attempting to use the Liturgy of 1549 at such a table. Bp. Cosin describes how there were "some standing at the west side of the altar with their *faces turned towards the people*, others at the east, others at the south, and others at the north, that at last they agreed to set forth this rule," viz., "the *north* side of the table."³⁵

The rule had the merit of being entirely new, since no part of the Mass had ever been said at the north side, whereas the south (or 'right-hand') had been the usual place for the opening part of the pre-Reformation rite. The position at the "north side" secured also that the face of the celebrant should be seen, his words heard in the mother tongue, and the sacramental 'action' or rite be visible to all whom it might concern.³⁶

These were the only points upon which stress was then laid.³⁷ No direction to set the tables with their ends or sides all one way can be discovered in the reigns of Edward or Elizabeth, that is while the framers of the "North side rubric," still lived. We have bishops like Hooper and Ridley describing the various modes of "counterfeiting the Popish Mass," but the placing the table 'altarwise' was not one of them: we have Romanists ridiculing the divergencies of Protestant practice, but placing the table lengthwise, though certainly novel, was not noted as one of them. Until 1552 the table was limited to some place in the chancel: under the second Prayer Book it might be placed in which

³⁵ Cosin's Works, v.-458.

³⁶ The Roman rule as to the 'right' and 'left' hands of the Crucifix had not then been received in England.—Maskell, Ancient Lit. p. xix., note 19. "Lay-folk's Mass Book," p. 174. The theories of Messrs. Lee, Blunt and Freeman, proceeded therefore upon a mistaken assumption. It may be added that before the Reformation the 'end' of the altar (or altar-'nook') did not mean its side, but the part marked as "corner" (*cornu*) in Mr. F. G. Lee's diagram. See Becon's Works, iii.-282. Simmons' "Lay-folk's Mass Book," p. 179.

³⁷ Hooper, in May, 1551, required that "the Minister in the use of the Communion and Prayers thereof turn his face towards the people." As to the table, he merely required it not to be "decked *behind* and before, as the altars were wont to be decked."—"Later Writings," pp. 128, 142.

ever part of the "church or chancel" was used for other public offices : but in neither case was the Edwardian table removed at the close of the service as the letter of the law under Elizabeth and James I. seemed to require. Ridley's own way of obeying the new rubric of 1552 is shown by the entry in *Wriothesley's Chronicle* (p. 79): "After the feast of All Saints' (i.e., Nov. 1st, 1552) 'the table of the Communion was set in the lower quire where the priests sing.'" On August 19th, 1554, the Venetian Ambassador wrote a description of the then disestablished Anglican rite. He said "They suppressed every sort of light in the churches . . . in the place where the choir used to be they had a table, covered with a cloth, on which they put common bread and wine, making the communicants kneel round it."³⁸

UNDER ELIZABETH.

When the second Prayer Book of Edward was restored in 1559, the "Holy Table" came back with it, as matter of course, and at the same time a Royal Injunction was issued directing that the table in

"Every church be decently made, and set in the place where the altar stood . . . and so to stand, saving when the Communion of the Sacrament is to be distributed ; at which time the same shall be so placed in good sort *within the chancel*, as whereby the minister may be more conveniently heard of the communicants in his prayer and ministration, and the communicants also more conveniently, and in more number, communicate with the said minister. And after the Communion done, from time to time the same Holy table to be placed where it stood before."³⁹

By this further Order of 1559, the Queen (so far as in her lay) abrogated the liberty to move the table into the *body of the church*; and her design was no doubt aided by the (certainly illegal) introduction at the same time of an unauthorised 'rubric' in place of the one enacted by Parliament.

The Rubric as ENACTED "by Authority of Parliament" in 1559.

"The Morning and Evening Prayer shall be used in such place of the Church, Chapel, or Chancel, and the minister shall so turn him, as the people may best hear. And if there be any controversy therein, the matter shall be referred to the Ordinary, and he or his deputy shall appoint the place, and the Chancels shall remain, as they have done in times past."

The Rubric substituted by . . . ? in the printed Prayer Book of 1559.

"The Morning and Evening Prayer shall be used *in the accustomed place of* the Church, Chapel, or Chancel, except it shall be otherwise determined by the Ordinary of the place; and the Chancels shall remain, as they have done in times past."

³⁸ Venetian State Papers, p. 556.

³⁹ Doc. Ann., i. 202.

This new ‘Erastian’ fraud-rubric directed the priest to use the Morning and Evening Service “in the accustomed place,” a phrase which was probably intended to indicate the customary stall at the lower end of the chancel. The unpublished “Interpretations of the bishops” in 1561, proposed to suggest that “the table be removed out of the choir into the body of the church, *before the chancel door*; where either the choir seemeth to be too little, or at great Feasts of receivings.”⁴⁰ Still, in the same document the order of the Injunction for “placing the Communion-board” was reaffirmed.⁴¹ In 1561 the Queen issued a further Order directing “that there be fixed upon the wall, over the said Communion-board, the tables of God’s precepts,”⁴² and the Royal Advertisements of 1566 specified “the East wall over the said table.”⁴³ In 1562 it was proposed in Convocation “that the table from henceforth stand *no more* altarwise, but stand in such place as is appointed by the Book of Common Prayer.”⁴⁴ The object of that proposal was to get rid of the Order appended to the Injunctions: for, by the *rubric* itself, the table might permanently remain “where Morning and Evening Prayer be appointed to be said.” Nothing, however, came of the suggestion. At Abp. Parker’s Consecration “the table adorned with a carpet and cushion was placed at the East.”⁴⁵

In 1565, among the returns sent to the Metropolitan in consequence of the celebrated letter of Q. Eliz. (dated Jan. 25th, 1565), under which the Advertisements of 1566 were ultimately issued, is one from Canterbury Cathedral, reporting that

“The Common Prayer daily throughout the year, though there be no Communion, is sung at the Communion Table, standing north and south where the high altar did stand. The minister, when there is no Communion, useth a surplice only, standing on the east side of the table with his face toward the people. The Holy Communion is ministered ordinarily the first Sunday of every month throughout the year, at which time the table is set east and west.”⁴⁶

It is not stated how the officiants were placed at the time of the actual celebration: but it is stated that “the priest which ministereth, the pystoler and gospeller, at that time wear copes.”

Now if anyone will try to imagine the effect of placing three priests in copes at the ‘side’ of a table arranged *lengthwise*, he will see that the sacramental action would be practically con-

⁴⁰ Doc. Ann. i.-205.

⁴¹ See Mr. Parker’s ‘Letter to Selborne,’ p. 97; Perry on Purchas, J. p. 285, both of whom correct Cardwell’s extraordinary misprints.

⁴² Robertson’s Heylin, ii.-361.

⁴³ Doc. Ann. i.-292. Compare Canon 82. ⁴⁴ Card. Synod. ii.-498.

⁴⁵ Doc. Ann. i.-243.

⁴⁶ Strype’s Parker, 183. MONTHLY INTELLIGENCER, ix.-324.

cealed from the spectators. It is probable, therefore, that the Canterbury celebrant placed himself at the east end of the table, which is the position actually taken up in each of the four Jersey Churches which have retained the lengthwise arrangement of their tables.⁴⁷

We are not to suppose, however, that this "Canterbury Use" obtained generally. On the contrary, this is probably the *only* known instance in which Morning and Evening Prayers were said *at* the Lord's table. "*Commonly* the minister's seat is at the lower end of the Chancel," says Bp. Middleton.⁴⁸ Again, the saying the Ante-Communion on "the east side of the table" was a clear violation of the rubric; and appears as a peculiarity at Canterbury. In the Lansdowne MSS. bound up in the same volume with the Queen's letter (and standing next to it in the volume) is a sort of synopsis of the "Varieties in the service, and the administration used," dated "Feb. 14th, 1564" (*i.e.* 1565 New Style). The following extract from it illustrates our subject:—

- "*Table.* The Table standeth in ye body of ye church in some places, in others hit standeth in ye chauncell.
- In some places the Table standeth Alterlyke distant from ye walle a yarde, in some others in ye middest of ye chauncell north and south.
- In some places the Table ys joyned, in others hit standeth uppon Trestells.
- In some ye Table hath a carpett, in others hit hath none."⁴⁹

This shows that the Canterbury certificate was but one 'variety' out of many which at that time co-existed side by side in the Church of England.

And it is especially to be noted that the Advertisements, when issued in 1566, left these 'varieties,' *so far as regards the place and position of the Table*, entirely unchanged. That this was done advisedly is shown by the fact that Bp. Bullingham, one of the framers of the Advertisements, visited King's College, Cambridge, in 1565, and deprived the Ritualistic Provost who had "used Mr. Woodward very extremely (who was afterwards Fellow of Eton) because he would not execute the service at the Communion with his face toward the east and his back toward the congregation"⁵⁰ according to the manner of the Mass."

⁴⁷ Walton's Letter, 1st edit. p. 64.

⁴⁸ Rit. Rep. App. 426-2, 6. Z. L., ii.-361.

⁴⁹ Lansdowne MS. viii. fol. 16. Strype prints it from Cecil's papers, but misprints the word 'altarwise.'

⁵⁰ The word 'congregation' in the Lansdowne MSS. viii.-53 has been carelessly misprinted 'table' by Strype.

Provost Baker bolted to Louvain. But no change was ordered as to the position of the *table*.

The Romanists who attacked the Protestant Church service never allude to the ‘endwise’ innovation : while the Puritan strictures show that the usage in at least many Elizabethan churches was exactly like the Victorian Use.

John Rastell, replying (A.D. 1564) to Bp. Jewel said, “Your order of celebrating the Communion is so unadvisedly conceived, that every man is left unto his private rule or canon, whether he will take the bread into his hands, or let it stand at the end of the table.” This implies that the bread was placed at the ‘end’ where the celebrant must also have been standing ; for at that time there was no rubric authorising him either to ‘order’ the elements, or to perform what are now called the “manual acts.”⁵¹ Lower down Rastell speaks of the minister as “looking toward the South.”⁵²

The same thing is shown also by the reply of Dr. Fulke (Master of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge) A.D. 1579, to Rastell saying, “He demandeth, why we take not the bread into our hands, before we consecrate it as Christ did ? As though Christ appointed at what moment we should touch it, or, that Mr. Rastell is able to say, that Christ spake nothing of his institution *before* he touched the bread ; or as though we did not use ordinarily before we make the exhortation unto the Communion to take the bread and break it, and with the cup set it before us, and not *let it stand* at the end of the table, as he belyeth us, as though we were ashamed to follow Christ.”⁵³ Again (p. 720), “And he will know of us wherefore we appoint the priest to stand on the Northside. [sic.] Verily for the same reason, that the Primitive Church did choose to pray toward the East, viz., to avoid the superstition of the Jews, that prayed to the West, as we do to avoid the superstition of the Papists that use to pray to the East, otherwise all quarters of Heaven, of their own nature, are indifferent for us, to turn ourselves unto in our prayers, either public or private.” In the same volume (p. 399) in his Reply to D. Heskins, he contends that the primitive table though ‘improperly’ called an ‘altar’ was a “table and nothing like the popish altars which are of stone and set against a wall, for they stood in the midst of the Church.”

⁵¹ Yet in 1583, Bp. Middleton forbade the celebrant to “handle, lift up, or show unto the people the bread and wine, but shall *let it lie still* upon the Table, until the distribution thereof, and *then* to break it.” Rit. Rep. App. 426-3. Our present rubric is of course quite different ; but the ritual fraction is not ancient or ‘Catholic.’ Scudamore, Not. Euch. pp. 610, 659. Palmer’s Orig. Liturg., ii.-77, 78.

⁵² Heylin, Hist. Ref., ii.-428.

⁵³ “D. Heskins, D. Sanders, and M. Rastell, &c., overthrown,” p. 781.

Thos. Dorman (A.D. 1564) in his book "A Reprof" against Jewel, speaking of the Communion says (p. 110), "Your minister's face one while to be turned towards the South, another while towards the North." No hint being given of any "eastward position."

In 1556, Miles Huggard, in his "Displaying of Protestants" (p. 80), says :

"How long were they learning to set their table to minister the said Communion upon? First they placed it aloft where the high altar stood. Then must it be set from the wall *that one might go between*: the ministers being in contention on whether part to turn their faces, either toward the West, the North, or South. Some would stand southward, some northward, and some westward. Thus turning every way they missed the right way."

Huggard's "right way" meant, of course, the "eastward position"; and he represents the 'contention' as relating solely to the place of the table, and the aspect of the minister, *not* to the position of the table itself with regard to points of the compass.

While the Papists thus ridiculed 'varieties' in placing the holy table, the Puritans complained that the Elizabethan tables were used exactly as we now see them.

Cartwright in his reply to Whitgift (A.D. 1573)⁵⁴ complains that after Morning Prayer, the minister, "for saying another number of prayers, climbeth up to the farther end of the chancel, and runneth as far from the people *as the wall will let him*:" and again, in his second reply, A.D. 1577 (p. 186), "the minister readeth some in the hither, some in the upper part of the chancel, as far from the people *as the wall will let him go*." In 1589 was published "A Collection of certain slanderous Articles given out by the bishops against such faithful Christians as they now unjustly detain in their prisons," which, under Art. 7, denounces "new apocrypha lawes and Injunctions added, to the priest to stand at the north end of the table."⁵⁵

So in 1590, the Puritan Barrow, by way of abusing the Prayer Book, in his "Brief Discourse of the False Church" (p. 101) says :—

"By their Service Book . . . in the public Communion the priest (arrayed in his ministerial vesture) is placed at the north end of the table, and there is to read his certain. He is there nurtured when to turn to the table, when to the people, when to stand, when to kneel, what and when to say. The people (after they have offered to the priest) are in their place to kneel down to say and answer the priest at his turns and times, as is prescribed in their Mass Book; where

⁵⁴ Lib. i., p. 134.

⁵⁵ There are two copies of this in the British Museum, T¹⁰¹³/₁₀ and T¹⁰¹³/₈.

(after Sir priest hath taken a say, and begun to the people) he delivereth unto them as they kneel," &c.

Here, it is to be noted that the Puritans do not complain that this was any violation of the rubric; nor did the Elizabethan Puritans complain of the practice itself except on the ground of *distance* from the congregation. "When the Puritans obtained their will, it was not a simple turning of the Communion tables east and west, instead of north and south, that they desired and effected. In Hooker's parish of Bishopsbourne, when a Puritan got possession of his parsonage, 'it was not long,' says Izaac Walton, 'before this intruding minister made a party in and about the said parish, that were desirous to receive the sacrament as at Geneva: to which end the day was appointed for a select company, and forms and stools set about the altar or Communion table for them to sit and eat and drink.'"⁵⁶

The Injunction of 1559 did not require the removal of the table, except where the Morning Prayer was said "in the body of the church," or where from the size of the chancel its permanent site there would be inconvenient. Nevertheless, year by year a larger number of churches adopted reading-desks, and an increasing number of tables were removed into the nave. But it is a mistake to suppose that *all* the tables when placed against the east wall were ranged from north to south, or that *all* the tables when moved into the nave were placed east and west. Dean Howson says: "*I can see no reason for taking either of these things for granted.*" The point of importance is whether the priest⁵⁷ stands with his face to the south or his face to the east." Archdeacon Harrison says: "There was no Order of the Church, as seems now very generally supposed, for a lengthwise position of the table in the body of the church."⁵⁸ Of the few remaining examples of the lengthwise position of the table, some as Llangybi, Llanharmon, and Ogleworth had one end in contact with the east wall; while others as Hawarden,⁵⁹ Mallwyd,⁶⁰ and Wiggenhall,⁶¹ which stood 'free' from the wall had their ends North and South.

⁵⁶ Adn. Harrison's Charge, p. 67.

⁵⁷ "Before the Table," 1875, preface xiii., and p. 50 note. "Position of Priest," 1877, p. 19. Macmillan.

⁵⁸ Charge, 1875, pp. 63, 73. Dr. Featley testified that at Lambeth the Table had stood at the East end time out of mind "nor was it then turned altarwise;" its removal he dates but "twenty years before," March 16th, 1643. Walker's Sufferings, p. 76.

⁵⁹ Howson's "Position of the Priest," p. 40.

⁶⁰ "Until 1854, the Holy table stood in the body of the Church, the ends North and South, close to the central alley." Walton's Letter to Carter, 1st edit., p. 63.

⁶¹ Canon Swainson's "Rubrical Question of 1874," 2nd edit. p. 24.

UNDER JAMES I. AND CHARLES I.

Although no hard and fast line was intended by the framers of the rubric who appointed the table to stand "where morning prayer and evening prayer be appointed to be said," seeing that they introduced *at the same time* the new rubric "the chancels shall remain;" yet the result was that when reading-desks multiplied, the tables 'stood' near to them, and as the wardens would not take the trouble to remove them from time to time, they remained for the most part near to the reading-desk. So early as August 1562 Bp. Pilkington ordered prayers to be said, and the table to "stand in the body of the church" throughout the diocese of Durham.⁶² And this was followed by a further order in September 1567 from Robert Swift, "the Ordinary" to place round it "certain forms or desks" which the churchwardens immediately after did "take up and remove" together with the table itself; for doing which they were excommunicated!⁶³ This illustrates the conflict between the rubric and the Injunction, as interpreted by opposite parties in the Church. In 1564 we read of a reading-desk at Darlington "near the chancel door." And in 1569 Bp. Parkhurst orders desks everywhere in the diocese of Norwich; even in the smaller churches "outside the chancel door."⁶⁴ Grindal in 1571 orders a "decent low pulpit;" except in "very small churches" where the minister might still keep to his "accustomed stall in the choir."⁶⁵ In 1574 Abp. Whitgift preferred the east end of the church,⁶⁶ and in 1584 it was still matter of dispute as to "the unfit place prescribed for the ministers' standing in prayer at the east end of the house" between the Puritans,⁶⁷ and Dr. John Bridges,⁶⁸ who was afterwards Bp. of Oxford.

So long as the desk remained just outside the chancel, the table would naturally be placed in the crossing where the junction of the central alley with the transepts or aisle-pathway left ample room for the table to be placed crosswise. But every day the practice of bringing the prayer-desk lower down the church was becoming more common, longer and more frequent sermons necessitated substantial seats, and the growth of Puritanism within the church led to the introduction of high pews to screen those who refused to kneel, or to make the canonical obeisance at the reading of the Gospel. The growth of pews was rapid and universal; special seats for communicants clustered round the table when placed in the middle alley, so that for mechanical reasons it became necessary, or at any rate,

⁶² Depositions and Ecclesiastical Proceedings at Durham, p. 118.

⁶³ Robertson, p. 54. ⁶⁴ Remains, p. 132. ⁶⁵ Works, ii.-463.

⁶⁶ "Brief Declaration," p. 65.

⁶⁷ "Defence of the Government," p. 627.

convenient that the table should stand lengthwise with its ends pointing down the middle alley. For the same reason, too, the tables were often made unduly narrow.

To this cause, rather than to any deliberate design, the general placing of tables lengthwise, at the close of the 16th Century, is to be attributed.

However desirable in itself that arrangement might be, it led, in practice, to grave inconveniences. Out of the time of administration, the "Holy table" was often used as a stand for hats, and even as a seat—"an ordinary seat for maidens and apprentices," wrote Abp. Bramhall, A.D. 1633. Still worse profanations by dogs are mentioned in Bishops' charges; and in one parish (Tadlow) a dog ran away with the communion loaf. Besides this, the pews occasioned great awkwardness in the distribution.

"Because the people usually sit in their seats, and cannot be discerned whether they kneel or not while they receive, and because the minister cannot possibly come with any convenience at them which are placed *farthest in their seats*, to deliver the Sacrament to them, unless every other seat should be left void."⁶⁸

In 1641, Ephraim Udall, Rector of St. Austin's, wrote—

"We press the action of breaking the bread against the Papist. To what end, if not that beholders might thereby be led unto the breaking of the Body of Christ . . . which all shall see if there be a competent number at the table, and few shall see if they sit in pews so high as the pews in London."⁶⁹

Udall was not a Laudian, and his testimony is corroborated by one of the bishops appointed by King William III., Bp. Gardiner of Lincoln, who, in his "Advice to the Clergy of the Diocese of Lincoln," A.D. 1697, p. 22, says—

"Finding great inconvenience in consecrating in so strait a place as *an ally of the church*, and delivering the bread and wine in narrow seats, over the heads and treading upon the feet of those that kneel . . . one cannot but wonder that the parishioners in any place should be averse to receive in this order, and that rectors should not take care to fit their chancels for this purpose; but some lie wholly disused, in more nastie manner than any cottager of the parish would keep his own house; others are employed for keeping school, by reason of which the seats, pavement, and windows are commonly broken and defaced."

These last words curiously resemble the memorable description given in Queen Elizabeth's letter of January 22nd, 1561, in which she complained to Abp. Parker of the

"Negligence and lack of convenient reverence used toward the comely keeping and order of the said churches, and especially of the upper part, called the chancels . . . by permitting open decays, and

⁶⁸ Laud's Letter to Abp. Williams, Works, vi.-350.

⁶⁹ "Communion Comeliness," p. 4.

ruins of coverings, walls and windows, and by appointing *unmeet and unseemly tables with foul cloths* for the communion of the sacraments, and generally leaving the place of prayers *desolate of all cleanliness*," &c.⁷⁰

It is necessary to realise this state of things in order to understand that the actual condition of English churches in the seventeenth century is not evidence of the intention of the framers of the rubrics. The country churches, "pewed up to the eyes," were almost invariably arranged with their tables lengthwise in 1627, when a fierce controversy on this trumpery question broke out. Yet Andrewes, who became bishop in 1605, had his chapel arranged with a cushion on the north end of the table, and "kneeling stools covered and stuffed" at each end.⁷¹ He described the officiants as "the one at one end, the other at the other, representing the two cherubims at the mercy seat."⁷² Even in the fancy service which he drew up for the consecration of Jesus Chapel in 1620, though the bishop knelt in front of the table at the preliminary dedication prayers, yet the whole of the Communion office was said "to the north of the Holy table" (*ad sacræ mensæ septentrionem*).

Abp. Laud's chapel had "two low stools to kneel on at each end of the altar," and the service book is shown at the north end,⁷³ and Laud said that the chapel at Whitehall was arranged like his own. Of parish churches, we know that St. Margaret's Westminster, St. Martin's in Campis, St. Michael's in Crooked Lane, St. Saviour's, besides four named churches in Norwich and several in the county of Norfolk, had their tables railed in time out of mind.⁷⁴ Wren says there were "very many parish churches wherein it had never been otherwise" (p. 75). Among those which had the table with its ends north and south were the Abbey at Westminster, the Cathedral at Lincoln, and the private chapel of Bp. Williams, at Bugden. Only three or four Cathedrals, in fact, are known to have had the lengthwise arrangement. But Laud, in addition to placing the table sideways, wished to range it *in contact with* the east wall, and to "to rail it in" there so as to prevent its removal at Communion time as prescribed by the Injunctions of 1559, by the rubric, and the 82nd canon of 1604. This illegal exaction he enforced by methods most cruel and unjust,⁷⁵ and his narrow-minded and impolitic violence contributed, as is well known to the downfall of both

⁷⁰ Parker Corr., p. 132.

⁷¹ See plate in "Hierurgia Anglicana, p. 9. The table was $1\frac{3}{4}$ yards long, and 1 yard broad.

⁷² Minor Works, p. 150.

⁷³ Prynne's Canterbury's Doom, p. 122.

⁷⁴ Wren's 'Parentalia,' p. 77.

⁷⁵ His invoking the power of the Crown to prevent the suit of the parishioners of St. Gregory's from running its legitimate course to the Court of Arches and the Delegates was a gross perversion of Justice.

Church and State. Yet it is clear that Williams was not actuated by conscientious motives in his opposition to Laud, for he not only retained the ‘illegal’ situation of the table in his own cathedral, chapel, and abbey, but altered his Visitation Articles of 1635, by striking out the inquiry

“Whether is it so used out of time of Divine Service, as is not agreeable to the holy use of it; as by sitting on it, throwing hats on it, writing on it, or is it abused to other profane uses.”

For which he substituted in 1641 (*i.e.*, after the Canon of 1640 had been passed)—

“Doth your said Communion Table stand in the ancient place where it ought to do, where it hath done for the greatest *part of* these sixty years *last* past, or hath it been removed to the east end, and placed altärwise, by whom, and whose authority hath it been so placed.”⁷⁶

Yet when his earlier series was issued Laud had already been publicly engaged *for twenty years* replacing the tables at the east end; and in 1631, Kent, Archdeacon of Sudbury, had inquired, “Doth it ordinarily stand up at the east end of the chancel, where the altar formerly stood; the ends thereof being placed north and south.”⁷⁷ Four months after the Canon cited below had been ratified by the King, on October 31st, 1640, the Alderman’s Court, at Grantham, defended the placing of the table north and south by reporting to the House of Commons that “the present Bp. of Lincoln” (Williams) ‘at his last Visitation caused the Epistle and Gospel to be read at the communion table placed as it now stands, and sat at the North end thereof, and found no fault, nor gave any direction to the then churchwardens to alter it.’⁷⁸

In the struggle between the rival courtiers, Laud and Williams, the latter was getting the worst of it. He lost his post as Lord Keeper in 1625, and began to oppose the Church administration of his rival by publishing anonymous pamphlets in 1627, and then by acting as Chairman of the Sub-Committee of parliamentary ‘Divines’ in 1641. Collier says, “He now changed his opinion in some measure,”⁷⁹ and Barnard, the biographer of Heylin, says he wrote “against science and conscience, so dear is the passion of revenge.” However that may be, the point to note is that Williams only claims “the greatest *part of* these sixty years *last* past,” *i.e.*, up to A.D. 1581. The House of Lords in their Order dated March 1st, 1640, similarly specify “the greater *part of* these three-score years *last* past,” yet “three-score years” from 1640 only brings us back to A.D. 1586:

⁷⁶ Rit. Rep. App. 551.

⁷⁷ Rit. Rep. App. 527-37. In. B. M. No. 698^{h.} 20 is a similar inquiry from the Archdeacon of ‘Norwich,’ A.D. 1638. Wren, Davenant, Duppa, Mountagu, Pearce, Pearson, and Juxon make the same demand.

⁷⁸ State Papers, Dom. Charles I., p. 204.

⁷⁹ Eccl. Hist. viii.-94.

thus admitting that for the first thirty years or so of Queen Elizabeth's reign the 'altarwise' position had been maintained. It is obvious that the customs of A.D. 1580-1640, when varying from those of A.D. 1559-1580, can be no evidence whatever as to the meaning of the framers of the rubric in 1552 or 1559. And against these statements must be set such cases as St. Giles', Cripplegate, in which the parishioners refused to obey the order of the House of Commons on the ground that "it had continued so for eighty years;" and Lambeth, where the Vestry insisted that rails were "no innovation."⁸⁰ The actual usages of country churches in 1627 (when Williams wrote) were as far as possible from being samples of exact rubrical observance. Yet the purely verbal and grammatical arguments of Abp. Williams' anonymous pamphlet in 1627, though rejected by Convocation, rebutted by Heylin and Pocklington, and given up as untenable by his friendly biographer Bp. Hacket,⁸¹ are cited by Ritualists as though, with those of Peter Smart, they formed conclusive evidence of the true interpretation of the Prayer Book! "*Tempora mutantur, et nos.*"

The two Convocations in 1640 passed the following canon which, though not binding in law, must be taken for what it may be worth as evidence of contemporary usage and practice.

"That the standing of the Communion-Table side-way under the east-window of every chancel or chappel, is in its own nature indifferent, neither commanded nor condemned by the Word of God, either expressly, or by immediate deduction, and therefore, that no religion is to be placed therein, or scruple to made thereon. And albeit at the time of Reforming this Church from that gross superstition of Popery, it was carefully provided that all means should be used to root out of the minds of the people, both the inclination thereunto, and memory thereof; especially of the Idolatry committed in the Mass, for which cause all Popish Altars were demolished; yet notwithstanding, it was then ordered by the Injunctions and Advertisements of Queen *Elizabeth* of blessed memory that the holy Tables should stand in the place where the Altars stood, and accordingly have been continued in the Royal Chappels of three famous and pious Princes, and in most Cathedral, and some Parochial Churches, which doth sufficiently acquit the manner of placing the said Tables from any illegality, or just suspicion of Popish superstition or innovation. And therefore we judge it fit and convenient, that all Churches and Chappels do conform themselves in this particular to the example of the Cathedral or Mother Churches, saving always the general liberty left to the Bishop by Law, during the time of Administration of the holy Communion. And we declare that this situation of the Holy Table, doth not imply that it is, or ought to be esteemed a true and proper Altar, whereon Christ is again really sacrificed; but it is, and may be called an Altar by us, in that sense in which the Primitive Church called it an Altar, and no other.

⁸⁰ Walker's "Sufferings of the Clergy," pp. 25, 76. Nalson, ii.-491.

⁸¹ Life of Williams, p. 109.

"And because experience hath showed us, how irreverent the behaviour of many people is in many places, some leaning, others casting their hats, and some sitting upon, some standing, and others sitting under the Communion table in time of Divine service : for the avoiding of these and the like abuses, it is thought meet and convenient by the present Synod that the said Communion tables in all Chancells or Chappells be decently severed with Rails, to preserve them from such or worse profanations."

A book of Visitation Articles, compiled by Heylin, was also ordered by the 9th Canon of 1640, to be used *in every diocese*, and was issued by Juxon, enforcing the 'sideways' position of the table. Williams, indeed, stood then absolutely alone among the bishops in his advocacy of the 'lengthwise' position as being required by law. Abbot and Davenant, Morton and Hall, were in this matter at one with Laud.

In 1636, Laud and Wren were concerned in a revision of the Scotch liturgy, which proposed to alter the rubric thus "*the holy table . . . shall stand at the uppermost part of the chancel or church, where the Presbyter standing at the north-side or end thereof,*" &c.⁸² It has been suggested by Ritualists that this was intended to give an alternative (the *or* being disjunctive), so that the 'Presbyter' might stand *either* at the 'end' or at some unknown point to be called the 'north-side'! But this gratuitous conjecture is refuted by the facts—

(a) That Laud's friend, Heylin, was the chief opponent of Abp. Williams' 'side' theory; and Petley's Greek version of the Prayer Book, dedicated to Laud in 1638, renders the rubric, *Ἀρκτόθι απὸ τῆς τραπέζης*, "Northward from the table."

(b) That Laud was never accused by his Puritan assailants of turning his back to the people at Holy Communion. On the contrary, their charges were that this Scotch rubric would enable the Priest to "come from the north end of the table,"⁸³ and "not only to turn his shoulder as he was by his north stance in all his former action, but his very back by this new change of place,"⁸⁴ referring to the new rubric at the consecration prayer, then also inserted. This latter was declared by the Puritans to be "without warrant of the Book of England," and Laud admits that it was so, but pleads that the tables were often narrow, and "he protested in the presence of Almighty God he knew of *no other intention* herein than this,"

⁸² The hyphen between 'north' and 'side' is found *only* in this Scotch liturgy; and no comma preceded the explanatory words "or end." In modern Prayer Books the hyphen is an interpolation by the printers. In the three editions by Whitchurch, in 1552, "Northsyde" was printed as one word = northwards.

⁸³ "A large Supplement of the Canterbury's Self-Conviction," p. 105.

⁸⁴ "Comparison of the Liturgy with the Mass Book," 1641, pp. 44, 58.

viz., "that the priest may use both his hands with more ease and decency about that work."⁸⁵

(c) Pierce, Bp. of Bath and Wells ("a great creature of Canterbury's") assigned as one reason why the table should stand in the altar place, viz., "that the table standing thus, the *face of the minister would be better seen*, and his voice more audibly and distinctly heard than if he stood upon a level in the midst of the chancel."⁸⁶

(d) Wren (Laud's co-reviser) said, "Custom of speech led them (the framers of the rubric of 1552), to call the north end or north part of the table the *north side* thereof."⁸⁷

(e) It is infinitely improbable that an alternative would be introduced at a time when 'uniformity' was being rigidly exacted. On the other hand, Smart at Durham, and Williams at Lincoln, had made such a controversial use of the word 'side,' that the framers of the Scotch liturgy would naturally desire to exclude all possibility of it for the future by adding 'end' as the true interpretation of the conventional term "North-side."

UNDER CHARLES II.

On the very eve of the Restoration of the Monarchy in 1659, the earliest commentary on the Prayer Book was published by a layman, Hamon L'Estrange, who may be taken as the type of the orthodox churchmanship of his day. In his "Alliance of Divine Offices," reprinted in the "Anglo-Catholic Library" (p. 244), he says :—

"So that out of Communion time the table is to stand Altarwise, as we, and only we do phrase it; for Altar-wise is an idiom peculiar to us English, not known abroad in foreign parts; and they who can find Popery in that position have better eyes than ordinary. Altars with them do not observe one regular position: some are placed in the middle of the choir; some at the upper part, end-ways North and South; and if eye-witnesses may be trusted, the chief Altar in St. Peter's Church at Rome, stands in the midst of the Chancel. As for the Priest standing at the North side of the Table, this seemeth to avoid the fashion of the Priest's standing with his face towards the East, as is the popish practice."

L'Estrange reprinted this in 1690 and 1699.

At the Restoration, the Prayer Book came immediately into use. As the Preface to our present Prayer Book expresses it, the Elizabethan Act of Uniformity, with the Advertisements of 1566 and the Canons of 1604, were "laws never yet repealed," because none of the 'Ordinances' of Parliament subsequent to the year 1640 were held to have any legitimate place in the Statute Book. Hence so early as May 10th, 1660, the Prayer

⁸⁵ "Hist. Troubles," p. 118.

⁸⁶ Heylin's Life of Laud, p. 272.

⁸⁷ 'Parentalia,' p. 75, cf. p. 104.

Book was restored at Westminster Abbey ; and on August 23rd, all the Colleges at Oxford, save three, had again adopted it. At least four editions of the Prayer Book were printed during 1660-61, before the Convocation revision was taken in hand. The Presbyterian incumbents preached against the Prayer Book, but in Royalist and 'churchy' neighbourhoods its use was restored forthwith.

As Canon Simmons observes,⁸⁸ the "triumph of Puritanism did more for uniformity than all the high-handed proceedings of the Court of High Commission, or even the conciliatory tone of the Laudian canon. The altar-wise position of the table, hitherto the rallying point of contending parties within the Church, now became the common symbol of episcopacy and of the Prayer Book, down-trodden for a while by rival sects. As a natural result, on the king's return, one of the first manifestations of Royalist and anti-Puritan feeling was to place the communion tables in the churches as the canon of 1640 had appointed." He mentions that among 'dispursements' in churchwardens' accounts of that period such items as "righting table, setting up rails," occur. Evelyn enters in his diary, under date "April 6th, 1662" (*i.e.*, before the Act of Uniformity had passed) 'being of the Vestry, in the afternoon, we ordered that the communion-table should be set (*as usual*) altarwise, with a decent rail in front, as before the rebellion.'⁸⁹

In 1661 we have Zachary Crofton complaining of

"That order in which it was of late (*and beginneth afresh to be*) used among us, in His Majesty's Chapel Royal, Lambeth Palace, the cathedrals, and *many* parish churches, whilst the table must be made in the frame of an Altar, railed in, and advanced as a holy enclosure; fixed at the east end of the church," &c.⁹⁰

From the other side comes the same testimony. Dean Durel, the executor of Bp. Cosin, and the official translator of the Prayer Book into French (if not also, as Mr. Charles Marshall contends, authorized by Convocation as the translator of the same book into Latin), published a "View of the government and public worship of God in the Reformed Churches" in 1662, in the table of contents of which he said, "It is indifferent in itself which way the communion table standeth so that the public order of the Church be not violated. When it is in the midst of the church, *Presbyterianwise*, it standeth Altarwise, and not when it standeth against the wall at the upper end of the church." This retort he repeats (p. 31), and again in 1688 he urged it in his "*Vindiciæ Eccl. Anglicanæ*," p. 224.

On April 23rd, 1661, at the coronation of Charles II., we read⁹¹

⁸⁸ *Contemporary Review*, vol. iv., p. 97.

⁸⁹ Compare also entry, "March 22, 1678."

⁹⁰ *Altar Worship*, p. 114.

⁹¹ *Hierurgia Anglicana*, pp. 290-303.

of a "wall on the back side of the altar," and yet of a gallery, pulpit, and the celebrant as being on "the north side of the altar."⁹³

So much for the practice⁹⁴ which the Revisers found in actual existence when the "north side" rubric came up for final consideration. Of the bishops, no fewer than fifteen had been parties to the passing of the canon of 1640 above cited, viz., Juxon, Pierce, Wren, Skinner, Roberts, Warner, and Duppa in the upper house, and Sheldon, Hacket, Ironside, Griffith, Frewen, King, Laney, and Lloyd, who (in 1640) had been members of the lower house of Canterbury Convocation.⁹⁵ Brian Walton, the learned author of the Polyglott, who as Bp. of Chester took part in the Savoy Conference, had been articled in Parliament for placing his table 'Altarwise.'⁹⁶ Of the other divines who represented what might be called the "Conservative party" at the Savoy Conference, Heylin and Cosin held strongly the view that the term "north side" was applicable to the end of the table, and both of them habitually distinguish between the West side and the North side. Pearson, as Archdeacon of Suffolk, had asked in his Visitation, 1639—

"Is the same table placed conveniently, so as the minister may best be heard in his administration, and the greatest number may reverently communicate? To that end, doth it ordinarily stand up at the east end of the chancel, where the Altar formerly stood, the ends thereof being placed North and South."⁹⁷

Hacket, another of the Savoy divines, in his Life of Archbishop Williams (p. 109), takes the same line as Durel and L'Estrange.—"For to set the table under the east window of the chancel, is this to set it Altarwise? Verily it is a mere English phrase, or rather English error."

Bp. Sparrow, who took part as one of the 'coadjutors' at the Savoy Conference, described in his 'Rationale,' published in 1655 (p. 381) the arrangements in an ancient Basilican church

⁹³ It may be added that Sancroft (who was intimately concerned with the last revision of the Prayer Book at every stage) officiated, as Archbishop, at the coronation of James II., and in the official plan (published with the imprimatur of the Earl Marshal), the 'prospect' of the "east end with the furniture thereof" shows a cushion for the Abp.'s service book at the north end of the table. At the coronation of our own Sovereign, she was directed by a rubric to pass "through the door on the south side of the altar," viz., in the Eastern wall *behind* it.—Maskell, Mon. Rit. iii.-138.

⁹⁴ In various engravings of this period, the table is represented as placed with its ends north and south, as in Bp. Sparrow's Rationale (1664 and 1668); Domus Carthusiana (1677); Dean Comber's Companion to the Temple (1679); Burnet's Hist. Reformation (1683); which gives a (possibly contemporary) representation of Edward VI. receiving the eucharist from a bishop placed at the north side (*i.e.*, end) of the Table, upon which end the elements are also placed.

⁹⁵ Lewis, Ref. Sett., p. 467.

⁹⁶ Lathbury, Hist. Pr. Book, p. 185.

⁹⁷ Perry, "Lawful Church Ornaments," p. 392.

(in which, by the way, the celebrant stood behind the altar, facing the people), thus:—

“On each *side, or wing*, of the Altar, in the transverse line which makes the figure of the Crosse, stand two side tables.”

Bingham’s plates show what the bishop meant, and clearly no part of the west front could have been occupied by such credence tables as are described by Sparrow.

The subject of the position of the table does not, however, appear to have come up for discussion at the Savoy Conference, except in the indirect form of an objection made to the (then illegal, though printed) rubric as to the “accustomed place.” The ‘Ministers’ desired that the rubric “may be expressed as in the book established by authority of Parliament,” but the bishops answered, “We think it fit that the rubric stand as it is, and all be left to the discretion of the ordinary.”⁹⁸ Not content, however, with this indirect control, the bishops appear to have designed to make compulsory the *fixture*, of the table at the east end, and for this purpose they attempted to remodel the rubrics at the beginning of the Communion office, in imitation of those of the Scotch liturgy of 1637. This will be readily understood by comparing in parallel columns the Scotch book with Cosin’s “Durham Book” from which, by the courtesy of Canon Tristram, we are enabled to reproduce the rubric in facsimile, line for line, and word for word.

Scotch Liturgy (1637).

“The holy Table having at the Communion-time a carpet and a fair white linen cloth upon it, with other decent furniture, meet for the high mysteries there to be celebrated, shall stand at the uppermost part of the chancel or church, where the Presbyter, standing at the North-side or end thereof, shall say the Lord’s Prayer,” &c.

∴ paten
chalice
&c.

Cosin’s Durham Book.

The TABLE alwayes standing in the midst at the upper end of the part of the Chancell (or Church where a chancell is wanting) & being at all times decently covered with a silke carpet of Silk shall also have at the Communion time a faire white linnen upon it. with other decent furniture meet for the high Mysteries there to be celebrated.

And the PRIEST standing side or end at the North end of ye table shall say the Lord’s Prayer with the Collect following.

⁹⁸ Card. Conf., pp. 314-351.

Here it will be noticed⁹⁹ that the rubric, as written out by Cosin proposed to prescribe the "north end," but that on second thought, he had substituted "side or end." Sancroft's book (in the Bodleian), which is a "fair copy" of Cosin's with still later recensions, had (as Mr. Parker tells us)¹⁰⁰ a small blank space left for one or other of the two words, which ever might ultimately be preferred (but *not* for both), so that both the word 'side' and the explanatory "(or end)," which Sancroft enclosed in a parenthesis, had to be squeezed into the gap in *smaller* writing. At a yet later stage the following rubric seems to have been agreed upon in Convocation :—

"¶ *The Table at the Communion time having a fair white linen cloth upon it, shall stand in the [most convenient place in the upper end of the Chancel (or of the body of the Church where there is no Chancel)] And*

the priest standing on the north [part] of the table," &c.

In these words the rubric was accordingly written out in the MS. Prayer Book signed by the two Convocations, and in the black letter Prayer Book of 1636, in which the alterations made by Convocation were marked up. Both changes were duly noted in that list of 'Alterations' prefixed to the Government photozincograph, which, it is believed, was originally written by Pearson about Dec. 15th, 1661, for the use of the King in Council. Had the rubric remained as thus altered, it would have made the removal of the table "at Communion time" illegal; and it is a strong proof of the Laudian sympathies of the Convocation of 1661 that such a rubric should have been enacted by them. But a higher Power interfered. In Sancroft's handwriting, the old wording of the rubric of Edward's Second Prayer Book has been written between the lines of the manuscript 'annexed' to the Statute of Uniformity, and the words noted above in brackets were struck out with the pen; corresponding alterations being of course made in the printed black letter book of 1636.¹⁰¹

What was the meaning of this reversal at the last moment of the proposed change in the language of the rubric? The probability is that the King in Council, fearing to throw an apple of discord among churchmen, refused to sanction any alteration which might lead to a renewal of the old conflict in country parishes, where the people had been familiarised with the practice of placing the table at communion time in the

⁹⁹ Canon Tristram is responsible for the above extract only down to the word "celebrated." The latter part is taken from Mr. Parker's Hist. Revis., p. 182.

¹⁰⁰ Hist. Revis., p. 182.

¹⁰¹ See Fourth Report of Rit. Commission, p. 17. Lord Selborne, "Notes on the Liturgy," p. 67, shows that the correction was probably first made in the printed book.

midst of the Church. The proposed change of north 'side' into north 'part' had, no doubt, been designed to prevent a renewal of the Williams-Smart contention as to the placing of the table. We know exactly the meaning which was attached by the leading revisers to this word 'part.' In the Latin versions of the Prayer Book by Haddon, in 1560, Vautroller, 1574, Mockett, 1617, and Durel, 1670 (as in that of 1703 and 1865), as also in Bp. Andrewes' "Form of Consecration of a Church or Chapel," A.D. 1620, the word 'side' was always rendered 'partem.' Bp. Wren argued "in 2 Eliz. when they best understood their own meaning, the Queen causing the liturgy to be translated into Latin, the rubric before the Communion Service reads it *Ad septentrionalem mensae partem stans*, and not *Ad septentrionale latus*, so that North-part, North-side, and North-end were all one."¹⁰² In his suggestions for revision, written in 1660, Wren proposed to say simply, "the priest standing at the north of the table."¹⁰³ Heylin, who was a Savoy Commissioner, and was consulted constantly during the last revision,¹⁰⁴ said, "I presume that no man of reason can deny, but that the northern end or side, call it which you will, is *pars septentrionalis*, the northern part."¹⁰⁵

It is clear, therefore, that by north 'part' they merely intended the north 'side or end.' Yet a little reflection would show that *any* change of terms would be impolitic as seeming to admit that there had been force in the Smart-Williams contention; and, moreover, the word 'part' would be likely to introduce a fresh crop of ambiguities, sanctioning even such a position of the celebrant as that advocated by the Non-conformist clergy at Lincoln Cathedral in 1886, than which nothing could be more foreign to the wishes of any churchman in 1661. For a like reason the word 'side' was retained in the proposed revision of 1689, and by the disestablished Church of Ireland in 1877, because it secured entire freedom as to the arrangement and placing of the table, provided only that the officiant have the table to the South of him. Every 'side' is a 'part,' though not every 'part' is a 'side'; and every end is 'a side,' though not every side is an 'end.' The genus ('side') is wider than the species ('end'). Hence Cosin's proposal to change the word side into 'end,' was wisely rejected, as tending to restrict the liberty which had been enjoyed since the year 1552.

We have shown already that during the two years from May, 1660, till May 19th, 1662, when the Act of Uniformity passed,

¹⁰² Parentalia, p. 75.

¹⁰³ Jacobson's Fragments, p. 74.-cf. 75, 83. Duport's Greek version of 1665, dedicated to Abp. Sheldon, had 'Ο ιερευς πρὸς τὰ βόρεια τῆς Τραπέζης ἐστῶς. The modern Greek of 1821 has Ο ιερευς στεκομενος κατα το προς τον βορεα μερος της τραπεζης.

¹⁰⁴ Barnard's Life, p. 181.

¹⁰⁵ "Coale from the Altar," p. 24.

the tables in the churches were placed indifferently either way, and there is no room to doubt that the phrase "north side" was designedly retained as being applicable to either position of the table. Shepherd in his "Elucidation of the Common Prayer." (1798), p. lix., says that at the Restoration "no positive injunctions concerning these matters were enforced by authority." At any rate, it is quite certain that 'side' was not then supposed to exclude 'end,' for immediately after the issue of the new Prayer Book of 1662 we have the following official inquiries put forth by its framers.

Bishop Wren, than whom no man stood higher in the esteem of the Prime Minister, Lord Clarendon,¹⁰⁶ at whose house ('Ely House,') the Revision Committee met, and whose suggestions for the revision of the Prayer Book were adopted in some two hundred instances,¹⁰⁷ pointedly refers, in his Visitation Articles, 1662, to the "Feast of St. Bartholomew last," and "The late Act of Uniformity," and asks

"Is the same table placed conveniently, so as the minister may be best heard in his administration, and the greatest number may reverently communicate? To that end doth it ordinarily stand up at the east end of the chancel, where the altar in former times stood, the ends thereof being placed north and south?" (*Rit. Rep. App.* 557-2.)

Again, Archdeacon Pory, an active member of the Revision Committee of Convocation and the official editor of the new "Prayer for Parliament," in his Articles for Middlesex refers to the service for May 29th, which was not issued till May 2nd, 1662, *i.e.*, nearly four months after the Prayer Book had been subscribed by Pory himself as a member of Convocation.¹⁰⁸ He, too, demands whether the table is set "as appointed by the Canon" of 1640, and adds, "the Minister standing as he is appointed at the north side, or end of the table when he prepares to celebrate the Holy Communion, and calling on those who do intend to communicate to draw near and take that Holy Sacrament," &c.,—words which occur, be it observed, only *after* the Consecration prayer.¹⁰⁹ "Placed at the east end of your chancel, with the ends north and south," was the official direction given in 1671 by another of the revisers, Lucy, Bishop of St. David's.¹¹⁰ The inventory of Bishop Cosin's chapel made in 1667, included "two Prayer Books, two kneeling stools for the north and south parts of the altar,"¹¹¹ which again illus-

¹⁰⁶ Kennet's Register, pp. 15, 21, 27.

¹⁰⁷ See CHURCH INTELLIGENCER, vol. iii., p. 129.

¹⁰⁸ Dr. Lewis says Pory's Visitation was held in August, 1662. Ref. Sett., p. 494. Mr. T. W. Perry contends that Pory's Articles *must* be earlier than the Prayer Book because they ask for catechising "before Evening Prayer." But Henchman in 1664, and Barlow in 1679, have the same enquiry (*Rit. Rep. App.*, 632-v., 645-v.); while Sandys in 1571 had asked for catechising "before or *at* Evening Prayer" (*Brit. Mus.* 698 ^b₅ 20). Mr. Perry's test is therefore worthless, except as evidence of the 'animus imponentis.'

¹⁰⁹ *Rit. Rep. App.*, 625-6, 629-9.

¹¹⁰ *Rit. Rep. App.*, 615.

¹¹¹ Cosin *Cat.* Surtees Soc., vol. 55.

trates the use of the word 'part' as equivalent to end. That Cosin preferred the 'end' is shown by his proposal to substitute that word in the rubric; and he, like Wren, habitually distinguished between the north 'side' and the west front of the table.¹¹² Even Mr. Walton admits that "in the numerous post-restoration London Churches, the table-wise fashion was never introduced."¹¹³ Now these facts are wholly irreconcilable with the theory that the revisers of the Prayer Book in 1662 insisted that communion tables should be placed with their ends east and west, or that the word 'side' was expressly designed to ensure that equivocal advantage. As Bp. Chr. Wordsworth said "the rubric was purposely framed so as to suit both positions of the table." For both positions were then in use. Within the next half century, however, the lengthwise arrangement had almost disappeared. In 1681 Barnard said that "in most country churches, to this day, the table is set in the hither end of the chancel;"¹¹⁴ but as the Elizabethan chancel screens had been destroyed by order of Parliament, the crosswise placing of the table would then be practicable enough. Bennet, in 1708, Nicholls, in 1709, and Wheatly, in 1710, all use the words north 'side' and 'end' as convertible terms. Nicholls, commenting on "*the chancels shall remain,*" said, "Since the Restoration . . . the dispute has very happily died; and the tables have generally been set altar-wise, and railed in without any opposition thereto." Archdeacon Sharp, in 1753, referring to the Heylin-Williams controversy, said "the dispute is now dead, and it is to be hoped will never be revived."¹¹⁵

Until the reign of Charles I. no one attached any importance to the lengthwise, or crosswise arrangement of the table; and at the Restoration, as we have seen, the word 'side' was retained with the deliberate intention of leaving that point entirely free. There is not in the statute book a plainer rule or a more simple direction than that which requires the priest to stand "at the north side of the table." It is therefore the duty of all loyal churchmen to insist on the observance of a rule which has its foundations not merely in the distinctive traditions of the English Reformation, but in the fundamental distinction between God's sacramental gift to man, and man's self-devised offering to God; between the function of "an ambassador *for* Christ," and that of a pretended mediator and ambassador *to* Christ; in short between the Sacrifice of the Mass and "the Lord's Supper or Holy Communion."

¹¹² See Cosin's Works, iv.-390, v.-161. High Commission of Durham, Surtees Soc., p. 218. Cosin Corr., ii.-113.

¹¹³ Letter to Carter, p. 63, first edition.

¹¹⁵ Treatise on the Rubric, p. 69.

¹¹⁴ Life of Heylin, p. 110.

ADDITIONAL EVIDENCE RESPECTING THE ORNAMENTS RUBRIC OF 1662.

LORD SELBORNE refers in his work on ‘Disestablishment,’ to the weight attached by some Church-folk to “controversial arguments against the judicial decisions” of the Supreme Court of Appeal as to the Ornaments Rubric.

It may be of use, therefore, to show from *contemporary* writers, what the meaning of the rubric was understood to be by its own framers, and by those who at the time had the best means of knowing. It is believed that the following witnesses have not before been cited. Certainly they are less known than they deserve to be.

* * *

DR. JOHN DUREL, Chaplain to Charles II., and Dean of Windsor, was the intimate friend of Bp. Cosin, who preached his ordination sermon and entrusted to his care the publication of “Cosin on Transubstantiation” (to which Durel wrote the original preface), as well as the office of executor after the bishop’s death.

To Durel the duty of translating the new Prayer Book into French, was (in 1662) officially confided by King Charles II.; and it has been ingeniously argued that Durel was acting under the authority of Convocation, when (in 1670) he also translated the same book into Latin.¹ What concerns us now, however, is the fact that Durel submitted for correction the proof-sheets of his “*Vindiciae Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*,” from which we are about to quote, to Sancroft, who alone, (as shown in THE CHURCH INTELLI-

¹ Marshall’s “Latin Prayer Book of Dean Durel,” p. 11; Lord Selborne inclines to the same opinion, “Notes on the Liturgy,” p. 73.

GENCER, iii.-117, 131,) was concerned with the revision of the Prayer Book at *every* stage of its progress, and whose knowledge of the facts was, therefore, superior to that of any man living. On Jan. 25, 1666, Durel writes to Sancroft, "I send you withal some sheets of my *Vindiciae*, which I beseech you to peruse and to amend at your leisure." On Feb. 25, 1669, Durel again writes to Sancroft, "I am exceedingly beholding both to your worthy self and to the worthy judge of the Prerogative (whom I will thank by letter, &c.) for the trouble you have been pleased to take about my papers, and for the rectifying of my mistakes."²

During that same year, Durel published the *Vindiciae*, in which he calls Laud "a blessed Martyr of Christ" (p. 37). Durel had gone into exile as an adherent of the fallen cause of the Stuarts, and his writings are chiefly in controversy with Puritans. It is clear, therefore, that he was entirely free from any sort of "Low Church" bias.

Before proceeding to quote from his *Vindiciae*, let us recall to mind that the Ritualistic contention is, that in 1662, Bp. Cosin and his colleagues deliberately intended to go behind the Canons of 1604, the Royal Advertisements of 1566, and the Injunctions of 1559, in order to re-enact the ornaments of the "second year of King Edward VI," i.e., of A.D. 1548: in other words, to make the wearing of alb and chasuble binding upon every celebrant, and the wearing of "albs with tunacles" binding upon all assistant ministers at Holy Communion. It is sometimes misrepresented that the surplice and hood were permitted as a 'minimum.' But that cannot possibly be true; for not only was the doctrine of maximum and minimum (or variety of *any* kind as to vestments) repudiated and condemned by every bishop; but in no case either under the first Prayer Book, or during the year 1548, would the wearing of a surplice and hood by a presbyter, when officiating or assisting at Holy Communion, have been tolerated. It would have been a direct breach of the then existing law. Albs to the *exclusion* of surplices, and chasubles

² Marshall, p. 17, 19.

to the *exclusion* of hoods, were alone permitted at celebrations, during the “second year of King Edward VI.”

In his “fifteenth Chapter,” Dean Durel is dealing with the objections made by the Puritans to the surplice, and after enumerating the Mass garments (amice, stole, alb, girdle, maniple, chasuble), he continues (p. 123) :—

“ There is beside these a dress common to all clerks in the Church, called a surplice, older than the rest, and of greater simplicity too : which alone (as it seems to me from Chrysostom and Jerome) the ministers of the Church formerly used. But the surplice had for some ages grown of so little account in the Church of Rome, that priests when celebrating may never use, nor dare to employ it, save with an alb drawn over it, as being held to be a *common* dress. For they use it only in reciting mattins and evensong and in executing other minor offices ; and it is plainly distinguished from the *sacred* dresses as may be seen in the rubrics in Gavanti, and in Arnald the abbreviator of Gavanti (on the rubrics, Tit. 6)—in these words ‘ If one lower ’ [in rank] ‘ than a sub-deacon wishes to sing the Epistle, let him not put on the *sacred* vestures, but only a surplice.’ Nor do I find there anywhere that it was consecrated by any form of Benediction. . . The Reformers of the Church when they came to the correction of abuses in Church vestures, held the same path to which they had deemed it right to adhere in other matters pertaining to religion. . . In the first place, therefore, they decided that all ecclesiastics from the highest to the lowest, when going forth in public should be clad handsomely and suitably by using a longer tunic and a cloak or toga of black, such as the Roman ‘ secular ’ priests (as they call them), and barristers and senators among the French use at the present day. . . As to what relates to Church vestures (I call those ‘ Church ’ vestures which are vulgarly termed ‘ *sacred*,’ and which may be so called in a sense not bad—not as having or as producing any sort of holiness, but as used by sacred persons in the performance of sacred offices)—they desired these to be reformed in such wise, that the whole entire theatrical Mass-gear (such as before described) has been clean removed from the Church of England.³ For, first of all, a dress for the bishops was devised, differing from that used by the prelates of the Roman Church, grave indeed, and becoming, and, so far as can be ascertained, approximating to the ornaments of the ancient bishops, yet simple and modest, and far removed from every appearance of superstition and pride. For,

³ Choragium missaticum universum . . ab Ecclesia Anglicana penitus sublatum est.”

having laid aside the gown (*posita togâ*) which is their upper dress in common life, they put on a linen tunic with long sleeves, and loose, which descends a little below the knee, and over this they wear a black dress entirely of silk (*alam holosericam*) without sleeves, and open in front so as to show the linen sleeves, and (in front) the linen tunic also. This upper dress seems to be the *colobium* of the ancient bishops. But all the rest of the ministers of the Church when about to perform sacred rites, likewise the Canons and choristers of cathedral and collegiate churches every day, and the Heads and Fellows in both universities on Sundays and festivals, were to wear those long and thin loose linen garments, commonly called surplices. For since for many ages past that dress has grown to be of so little account in the Church of Rome, that priests when celebrating Mass are not allowed to use it (save as aforesaid) and its use may be extended even to bell-ringers ; it is nevertheless true that the ministers of Christ were formerly content with it, and that it alone sufficed for distinction, and for that honesty and decency which those who take part in divine worship should, as far as possible, keep in view even in matters of dress. . . If there be any other kinds of dresses or ornaments besides these . . . they cannot be properly considered as ecclesiastical " (p. 126).

He refers to the thirtieth Injunction of Elizabeth, as enjoining the surplice in 1559 (p. 127).

In his 16th chapter, Durel deals with that letter of Zanchy's of which a translation is given in the "Zurich Letters" of the Parker Society, Vol. II., p. 339. Abp. Grindal (after consultation with Abp. Parker, and with Cecil, the Prime Minister, and others,) decided to suppress Zanchy's letter which never reached the hands of Queen Elizabeth. Grindal himself wrote to Zanchy telling him that he was utterly misinformed as to the facts. [See Grindal's Remains, p. 338.] Zanchy's letter related to the Royal Advertisements of 1566, which in 1571, were again being actively enforced. Queen Elizabeth's letter, dated Aug. 20, 1571 (referring to her former letter of Jan. 25, 1565, addressed to Parker, "as the Metropolitan of our realm, and as the principal person in our Commission for Causes Ecclesiastical"), is given in the Parker Correspondence, p. 386. [See also THE CHURCH INTELLIGENCER, iii.-104.]

Replying, then, to Zanchy's abortive attack upon the Royal Advertisements (of which, by the way, Canon MacColl makes such a ludicrous misuse), Durel says :—

"But what the 'impious' (if by 'impious' he means the Papists) could hope for from a law by which the entire theatrical Mass-gear is cast out beyond the pale of the Church, and the use of the most simple as well as seemly and becoming dresses is restored, the man must be a very lynx to perceive."

Again, he says (p. 156), the Reformers

"Were not of opinion that a *distinction* of dresses should be retained from the first; the surplice not being even numbered among priestly vestures by the Papists." Again (p. 159), "That ornamentation is plainly not the same as is used by the bishops of the Roman Church. The use of white garments in the administration of sacred rites was by the first reformers of the Church of England under Edward VI., Cranmer, Ridley, &c. (blessed confessors and martyrs for Christ) retained and instituted and by a decree of all orders of the entire realm established by the authority of the Crown, and thenceforward always observed by the reformed clergy, and by Elizabeth after her accession to the crown—that is more than ten years before Zanchy wrote—was restored to the Church of England with the approbation of the same clergy."

Now as Zanchy wrote on Sept. 10, 1571, "ten years before" would bring us to 1561, and "more than ten years before" must refer to the royal Injunctions of 1559, issued "by Eliz. after her accession to the crown," to which Durel had before referred, and which directed the "messengers and ministers of Almighty God" to use in all assemblies "*in the Church*" such garments as were received in the "latter year of King Edward VIth," i.e., the "seventh year" of Edward VI. when the '*Second*' Prayer Book was *exclusively* in use.

* * *

From the above extracts we learn (1) that the 'distinction' of dresses between those for use at Holy Communion "and at all other times in his ministration" (i.e., that every 'distinctive' dress for Holy Communion) was then disallowed; (2) that the 30th Injunction of Elizabeth in 1559, *ordered the surplice only*, which accords exactly with the result of an exhaustive analysis of the history of those Injunctions in THE CHURCH INTELLIGENCER for August 1886; (3) that the surplice had been selected because it was *not* one of the 'consecrated' Mass-vestments; and (4) that the dress of a bishop was "not the same as is used by the bishops of the Roman Church."

Ritualists make fun of the black and white dress used for more than three centuries by Anglican bishops. The *Church Times* calls it ‘Magpie’—a witticism borrowed, (like many of their ‘arguments,’) from the Elizabethan Puritans who in a “Part of a Register” (p. 572), “in a friendly caveat to Bp. Sands,” A.D. 1567, describe him as ‘Maggot-a-pie.’ In the same book (p. 62) “A. Gilbe” recites among his objections to the Church of England: “No. 20. The Popish apparel of the archbishop and bishop, the black chimere, or sleeveless coat, put upon the fine white rotchet.”⁴ This was the out-door and official dress of the bishops (worn also in the House of Lords and in Convocation), viz., the rochet and chimere. Thus, Abp. Parker, *after* his consecration, was clad “in a white *episcopal* surplice and a black silk ‘chimere’ as they call it.”^{4a} Bps. Barlow and Scory similarly went abroad “*episcopalibus amictibus*.” Grindal preached at Paul’s Cross in “rochet and cymar,” on March 3, 1560, as did Scory on March 10, Jewell on March 17, and Barlow on March 24, each being in “ys rochet and chimmer.” So, too, Bp. Scambler on Feb. 21, 1561.^{4b} Abp. Parker, with the Bps. of Lincoln and Rochester, and his own ‘Suffragan’ officiated before the Queen at Canterbury in 1575, in “our chimmers and rochets.”⁵ In October, 1633, a royal warrant directed the Scotch bishops to wear always “a rochet and sleeves” in church, as well as at meetings of the kirk session and Privy Council. They were also to have “a chymer, that is a satin or taffeta gown without lining or sleeves, to be worn over their whites, at the time of their consecration.”⁶ That conventional dress (which had never been worn at Mass) has been used for more than three centuries by the bishops of the Church of England. It was not easy to describe it in Latin, but we give, for the sake of comparison with the Victorian Use, Durel’s description of the dress worn by those very bishops who re-

⁴ This spelling of the word as ‘Rotchet’ is found also (in Sancroft’s writing) in the Ordinal of 1662.

^{4a} Cardwell, Doc. Ann., i.-246.

^{4b} Milman’s “Annals of St. Paul’s,” p. 275. Machyn’s Diary, pp. 226-51.

⁵ Parker, Corr., p. 475.

⁶ Dr. Sprott’s “Scottish Liturgies of James I. &c.,” p. xliv.

modelled the Ornaments Rubric, as it stands in our present Prayer Book.

"Primò enim episcoporum vestitus excogitatus est diversus ab eo quo utuntur Ecclesiæ Romanæ pontifices. . . . Nam positâ togâ, qui eorum vestitus communis superior est, tunicam ex lino byssino manicatam laxamque, quæ paululum infra genua dimititur, sumunt, eique superinduunt alam nigram holosericam absque manicis atque anterius apertam, adeo ut byssinæ manicæ et ipsa tunica per anteriora, conspiciantur."

* *

SANCROFT, who revised Durel's book, became chaplain to Bp. Cosin on Nov. 18th, 1660. As secretary to the committee which drew up the draft revision during its *first* stage, Sancroft entered up all the final changes in the so-called "Cosin's Book," at Durham. The "Bodleian Book" embodying the *second* stage of the revision, is exclusively in Sancroft's handwriting. The MS. additions in the black-letter book of 1636 (which was photo-zincographed for the Ritual Commission) were made by Sancroft. Lastly, in the manuscript 'annexed' to the Act of Uniformity (in nine places) the *final* alterations in the known handwriting of Sancroft are believed to have been ordered by the King in Council. Thus it will be seen that Sancroft was "in at" the revision of the Prayer Book at every stage of that revision from first to last.

Now it happens that in the Bodleian Library beside the Prayer Book of 1634 (which was described in THE CHURCH INTELLIGENCER, Vol. III., p. 131) there is another Prayer Book, dated 1684, containing MSS. notes also by him. On the fly-leaf opposite the "Ornaments Rubric" Abp. Sancroft has written—

"Ornaments of the Ministers. Dr. Grove's Persuasive to Communion with the Church of England, 27. A Letter to a friend relating to the present Convocation, p. 10."

In the two publications here named the *only* 'Ornament' to which any reference is made in either is the surplice.

For a knowledge of this fact we are indebted to Mr. Kennion, and it has since been verified independently.

Two years before this Prayer Book of 1684 had been printed, SANCROFT, as Archbishop, had inquired in his Visitation,

"Doth your Parson, Vicar, or Curate read Divine Service on all Sundays and Holy-days; and the Litany (at least) on every Wednesday and Friday; and publicly administer the Holy Sacraments of Baptism and the Eucharist, and perform all other Ministerial Offices and Duties, in such manner and form, as is directed by the Book of Common Prayer, lately established, and the Act of Uniformity therewith published, and the three Offices before mentioned without addition, diminution, or alteration? And doth he in those his Ministrations wear the Surplice, with a Hood or Tippet befitting his Degree?"⁷

Sancroft repeated this in 1686, and in 1688 he directed the bishops of his Province to charge their clergy to "take all opportunities of convincing them"—Protestant Dissenters—"that the bishops of this Church are really and sincerely irreconcilable enemies to the errors, superstitions, idolatries and tyrannies of the Church of Rome."⁸

* * *

Sancroft's Visitation Articles above cited explain another curious fact. The words of our existing "Ornaments Rubric" are found for the first time in Cosin's writing, in the "Durham Book." But after the words "King Edward VI." followed "*that is to say—*." Cosin had left a line to indicate an omission to be filled up by the revision committee. Afterwards were added the words, "*A Surplice, &c.*" This state of the text is vouched by Canon Tristram, Canon Swainson, and the Rev. T. W. Perry—yet, oddly enough, neither Mr. James Parker, in his Hist. Revis., p. 129, nor Dr. Barrow, in the Anglo-Catholic Library edition of "Cosin's Works," make any mention of the suggestive, '&c.'! What did it imply?

The first clue to the meaning is that Sancroft had written under the newly-added wording of the draft rubric, "*these are ye words of ye Act itself, v. supra.*" i.e. the Act of Uniformity of Elizabeth printed at the beginning of the book. In the "Bodleian Book" also, Sancroft has written—"these are the words of the Act itself, sec. penult. ut supra." The "penultimate section" being the one under which the Royal Advertisements of 1566 had been issued.

⁷ Rit. Com. Report, ii., App. p. 654.

⁸ Doc. Ann., ii.-325.

We think it can be shown to a moral certainty that this reference to the penultimate section "of the Act itself" was supposed to involve and include the Advertisements issued under the powers given in that penultimate section. The test is a very simple one. If the standard of the Advertisements were the one to be followed, the surplice and academical hood would *alone* be authorised, and the ' &c.' must therefore refer to the "tippet and hood." In proof that this was the recognized 'Use,' we are able to call as witnesses nearly *every Bishop who sat on the bench* at the time of the last Revision of the Prayer Book.

At the head of these, stands the aged

ABP. JUXON whose Articles issued in 1663, were overlooked in the Report of the Ritual Commission.⁹ The Primate asked—

"Doth your Parson, Vicar, or Curate, saying public prayers, ministering Sacraments, or other Rites of the Church, wear a decent Surplice with a hood (if he be a graduate) agreeable to his degree in the University?"

In his Articles of 1640 he had relied upon "the Advertisements of Queen Elizabeth."¹⁰ The other archbishop,

FREWEN had issued in the year 1662, Articles for the diocese and province of York which also escaped the Ritual Commissioners. He asked—

"Have you . . . a decent Surplice, one or more, for your Parson, Vicar, Curate, or Lecturer, to wear in the time of public ministration?" Again, "Doth he wear the Surplice while he performs that office, or other offices mentioned in the common Prayer Book?"¹¹

Next to these we may place the bishop who presided both at the "Savoy Conference" (owing, perhaps, to the accident that he was himself then "Master of the Savoy") and in Convocation (owing to the great age of Abp. Juxon). The Ritual Commission give no Articles of Abp. Sheldon's, but Cardwell publishes his "Letter concerning the King's Directions to the Clergy,"¹² 1670, in which

⁹ A copy is in the British Museum, '5155. c. 54.'

¹⁰ Rit. Rep., p. 591. ¹¹ Archdeacon Harrison on the Rubrics, p. 176.

¹² Doc. Ann., ii.-278. Compare Bp. Gibson, "Syn. Angl.," p. 242.

ABP. SHELDON charges his clergy that

"In their churches they do decently and solemnly perform the Divine Service by reading the prayers of the Church, as they are appointed and ordered in and by the Book of Common Prayer, without addition to or diminishing from the same, or varying, either in substance or ceremony from the order and method, which by the said book is set down, wherein I hear and am afraid too many do offend; and that in the time of such their officiating, they ever make use of, and wear *their priestly habit, the surplice and hood.*"

WREN deserves to be mentioned next, because at his house, "Ely House," an important stage of the revision was perfected, and to him is due a larger number of alterations than to any other of the bishops. See THE CHURCH INTELLIGENCER, iii.-129. In 1641, he prepared for Parliament a statement that the Advertisements of Elizabeth "are authorized by law, 1 Eliz. c. 2, sec. penult."¹³—words which almost decide the meaning of Sancroft's "*these are the words of the Act itself sec. penult. ut supra.*" Nothing is more likely than that these words were dictated by Wren as Chairman of the Committee meeting at "Ely House." In 1662 Wren simply repeated the language of his former Articles of 1636.

"Doth your minister and curate, at all times . . . in administering the Holy Sacraments . . . and all other offices of the Church, duly observe the orders and rites prescribed, *without omission, alteration, or addition of anything?* And doth he, in performing all and *every* of these, wear *the surplice* duly, and never omit the wearing of the same, nor of his hood, if he be a graduate?"¹⁴

COSIN had asked as Archdeacon in 1627—

"Doth he, as well in reading or singing of service as in administering of any of the sacraments . . . observe all the orders, rites and ceremonies prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer, in such manner and form only as is there enjoined, *without any omission, or addition, or alteration whatsoever?*

"Doth he . . . when any sacrament is to be administered or any other rite or ceremony of the Church solemnized, use and wear *the surplice*, without excuse or pretence whatsoever? And doth he never omit the same?"¹⁵

¹³ Parentalia, p. 75.

¹⁵ Cosin's Works, ii.-8, 9.

¹⁴ Rit. Rep., p. 559-8, cf. 561, foot-note.

After the New Prayer Book had been enacted he visited his diocese in 1662, asking

"Have you a large and decent surplice (one or more) for the minister to wear at *all times of his public ministration in the Church?*

"Have you . . . a hood or tippet for the minister to wear over his surplice, if he be a graduate?"

"Doth he always at the reading or celebrating any divine office in your church or chappel, constantly wear *the* surplice, and other his ecclesiastical habit according to his *degree?* And doth he never omit it?"¹⁶

Both in 1662 and in 1668 Cosin's only question under this head to his Cathedral staff was

"Does every one that is bound to come to church put on his habit of surplice, tippet and hood according to his degree?"¹⁷

HACKET, Bp. of Lichfield, in 1662, asks—

"Hath he read the Book of Common Prayer as it is enjoined by the late Act of Uniformity for Public Prayer, administration of the sacraments, &c., on some Sunday before the four-and-twentieth of August last past, and did, and doth he, wear *the* surplice while he performed that office, and other offices mentioned in that Common Prayer Book?"¹⁸

IRONSIDE, Bp. of Bristol, 1662, asks—

"Doth your minister, when he readeth publique prayers or administer the sacrament, wear a comly surplice with sleeves? And if he be a graduate, such hood as by the orders of the University is agreeable to his degree?"¹⁹

EARLE [?], Bp. of Worcester, 1662—

"Have you a fair surplice and other ornaments, according to his degree, for your minister to use in his public administrations, only for outward decency, order, and distinction?"²⁰

* *

The next series of Visitation Articles has a special history of its own. On June 21st, 1661, the Upper House of Convocation appointed a committee to prepare a standard book of Articles; and on February 2nd, 1662, this task was further relegated to

¹⁶ Rit. Rep., p. 601. ¹⁷ Granville Correspondence, Surtees Soc. i.-256, 270.

¹⁸ Rit. Rep., p. 609.

¹⁹ Rit. Rep., p. 614. ²⁰ Rit. Rep., p. 604. See Note 29, below.

Cosin. On March 8th, 1662, Cosin, "according to the command given him and the charge committed to him, introduced and delivered into the hands of the Lord President," Sheldon, his draft Articles, and "it was unanimously agreed that the same Articles should be sent to the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury" (Juxon) "for his perusal and due consideration of them, and for his emendation, reformation, and correction of them."²¹ On June 26th, 1662, Skinner, Bp. of Oxford, wrote to Sheldon to inquire about them, saying, "I well hoped to have seen that uniform book of Articles (viz., for Visitations) before this day, resting assured that no pretences could take of [f?] your lordship's resolution from what so much concerns the honour and peace of the Church."²²

It seems probable that Cosin's Articles, quoted above, represent the draft as originally sent to Juxon, and that the series published by the Ritual Commission, p. 615, are the same Articles after their correction by Juxon. Morley was confirmed Bp. of Winchester on May 14th, 1662, just five days before the statute enacting the new Prayer Book received the Royal Assent.

MORLEY'S Articles were also used by nine other bishops in 1662, viz., Bps. PIERS, KING, WARD, CROFT, SANDERSON, LLOYD, SKINNER, LANEY, and LUCY, as well as by various archdeacons in 1662, and by other Ordinaries in after years. This gives special importance to their 'uniform' inquiry.

"Doth your minister at the reading or celebrating *any* Divine office in the church or chappel wear *the* surplice, together with such other scholastical habit as is suitable to his degree?"²³

HENCHMAN, Bp. of Salisbury, however, preferred to issue Articles of his own. He asked, in 1662,

"Doth your Minister reading Divine service and administering the Sacraments or other Rites of the Church, wear *the* surplice according to the Canons?"²⁴

²¹ Hist. Revis., p. 463. Lord Selborne's 'Notes,' p. 53. Swainson's "Rubrical Question," pp. 33, 113. Droop's Ed. Vest., p. 76, note.

²² Tanner MS. quoted in Cosin Corr., Surtees Soc., ii.-xvi.

²³ Rit. Rep., 616-vii.

²⁴ Rit. Rep., 611. Kennet, p. 771, shows that Henchman's Visitation was in September, 1662.

Those last words are very important, and may be compared with Bp. Juxon's Articles of 1663 before mentioned. Juxon asked—

"Art. XXII. Doth your Parson, Vicar, or Curate reade in your parish-church or chapel the Canons of the Church upon some Sundays or holy days in the afternoon before Divine service; so dividing the same that one half may be read one day and the other half the other day?"

The Canons of 1604 were reprinted in 1660, and again in July, 1662, they "were now published for the due observance of them by His Majesty's authority."²⁵ Cosin, Henchman, Ironside, and the twenty-two Ordinaries cited in Note 23 insist on each Parish having "the Book of the Canons."

It is clear therefore that Abp. Juxon and Bp. Henchman (who refers to the Book of Common Prayer "newly established and set forth") knew nothing of the theory that the Canons of 1604 could have been repealed by the Act of Uniformity.

REYNOLDS, in November, 1662, merely asks

"Have you a large Surplice for the use of the Minister in his public Administrations?"²⁶

GRIFFITH, Bp. St. Asaph, asks in general terms whether the Minister duly observes the Orders, Rites and Ceremonies "as in the said Book of Common Prayer is enjoyned?" But he asks for catechizing "*before Evening Prayer*," showing that he held the 59th Canon to be still in force and unrepealed in 1662.²⁷

NICHOLSON, Bp. Gloucester, at his Visitation in 1661, had asked

"Doth your Minister, at the reading or celebrating of *any* solemn divine office in the church or chapel wear *the* Surplice?"²⁸

He calls it a "comely large surplice." But his later articles have not been met with.

GAUDEN, Bp. of Exeter (afterwards Bp. of Worcester), in his

²⁵ Kennett's Chronicle, p. 725.

²⁷ Rit. Rep., 607-11

²⁶ Rit. Rep., 619-vi.

²⁸ Harrison on Rubrics, p. 176.

"Considerations touching the Liturgy,"²⁹ describes the ceremonies 'retained' as "the cross (in Baptism), surplice, standing up at the creed, or kneeling at the Lord's Supper."

DUPPA, died March 26th, 1662, before issuing any Articles: and the bishopric of Sodor and Man was vacant till 1665.

STERNE, of Carlisle, ROBERTS, of Bangor, FEARNE, of Chester, and WARNER, of Rochester, are the only missing links in this episcopal catena. There is no reason to think that they differed from the rest of their brethren. GUNNING, who had been a Savoy Commissioner, asked in 1679 for "a large and decent Surplice for the Minister to wear at all times of his public Ministriations."³⁰

* * *

In the Lower House of Convocation in 1661 the three most influential and active members were Archdeacons Pory, Pearson, and Sparrow.

PORY, in August, 1662, asks—

"Have you a comely decent Surplisse with sleeves for the use of your Minister in saying the public prayers, and ministering the sacraments, and other rites of the Church; togetherwith an university hood according to the degree of your said minister?"³¹

He refers by name to "the Advertisements of Q. Elizabeth"

PEARSON, when Bp. of Chester in 1674, inquired—

"Doth he make use of the Surplice when he reads divine service or administers the sacraments?"³²

SPARROW republished in 1661, 1664, 1668, 1672 (as Bp. of Exeter), 1676, and 1684 (as Bp. of Norwich), the following statement:—

"The Minister in time of his ministration shall use such ornaments as were in use in the second of King Edward VI., *Rub.* 2, viz.: a Surplice in the ordinary ministration, and a cope in time of

²⁹ p. 19. There is a copy in the British Museum, E. ¹⁰⁵⁰ ₆: as Earle was not consecrated till Nov. 30th, 1662, it is possible that the Articles assigned to "John, Bp. of Worcester," were Gauden's. Kennet, p. 728, places the Visitation of Worcester in July.

³⁰ Rit. Rep., 651-8. ³¹ Rit. Rep., p. 625, 627-3. ³² Rit. Rep., p. 642.

ministration of Holy Communion in Cathedral and Collegiate Churches, Queen Elizabeth's Articles set forth in the seventh year of her reign.'³³

Now in all this long line of witnesses there is not one person who could possibly have been ignorant of the meaning of the newly revised "Ornaments Rubric." Nor is there the smallest discrepancy in their testimony. Hence we learn with certainty that—

(1.) "*A Surplice, &c.*," meant a surplice with tippet or hood, "*pro cuiusque gradu.*"

(2.) 'THE' surplice is always spoken of as the one universally recognised dress.

(3.) No distinction whatever between the Holy Communion and any "*other times in his ministration*" was recognised or tolerated by any Ordinary. No alb, chasuble, dalmatic or tunicle is anywhere recognised, nor, in fact, did any such then exist so as to be '*retained*'.

(4.) The "*Act itself, v. supra,*" viz., 1 Eliz. c. 2, was regarded as THE standard, of which the newly framed "Ornaments Rubric" of 1662 aspired to be an abridgment, *in virtue of* its employment of the "words of the Act itself, sec. penult." But the Act 1 Eliz., c. 2, was also printed as *part of* the Prayer Book, into which it was now for the first time incorporated; *the authority of Convocation* being superadded to its ancient Parliamentary authority. Instead of being merely prefixed to the *printed* copies of the book by the Government printers for convenience of reference, as in 1559-1661, it was now (1662) included in the Table of Contents, and copied out in the MS. Book 'annexed' to the Act of Uniformity. Hence the Elizabethan Statute has an Ecclesiastical authority equal to that of the rest of the Prayer Book, and is now (with the Canons of 1604) the *sole* legal standard for the "Ornaments of the Minister."

(5.) So far from any dual standard of 'Maximum' and

³³ 'Rationale,' p. 387. The edition of 1684 (the year before his death) instead of being the 'second' as Lord Selborne calls it, was the eighth. And as the 1664 edit. was modified in some points, the persistence of the above quotation is not due to mere accident.

'Minimum' being tolerated, the Visitation Articles everywhere insist upon the absence of *any* 'diminution' or 'variation' from the statutory standard of Ornaments.

(6.) It has been suggested (by Ritualists) that the revising bishops in 1662 wished to open a door for the reintroduction of the abrogated Mass gear, and for that purpose craftily omitted from the "words of the Act itself, sec. penult," the concluding words of that section, "*until* other order shall be therein taken," &c.

But this hypothesis would not only blast their character for honest dealing with the Nation and the Parliament which trusted them; it would further show that they were fools as well as knaves, seeing that the statute containing the omitted words remained the *primary* authority, and would supplement any defects in their inaccurate summary. The true reason for the omission of the words "*until . . . shall be,*" &c., was that they had ceased to be appropriate, seeing that a century had elapsed since the contemplated "other order" *had*, in fact, *been* 'taken.' Hence the removal at the same time from the Elizabethan rubric of the words "*at the time of the Communion, and all OTHER times,*" and the substitution of "*at ALL times,*" words by no means synonymous with "*at the several times of their ministration.*" Men like Bp. Reynolds, we may feel quite sure, would have been no parties to a wretched trick of the kind suggested above. Cosin, the only man who ever gave ground for suspecting him of having wished it, has been already vindicated in THE CHURCH INTELLIGENCER (Vol. III., pp. 46, 114, 128). Cosin never himself wore alb, tunicle, or chasuble, nor in any public or official act performed by him as 'bishop,' did he ever recognise any standard for Ornaments higher than that of the Canons. The theory and practice of the Ritualists was, therefore, demonstrably unknown to the Church of England at the time when our existing Ornaments Rubric assumed its present shape.

THE ADVERTISEMENTS OF QUEEN ELIZABETH.

DR. LITTLEDALE, with characteristic hardihood, wrote in *The Times* of January 26th, 1886, as follows:—

"It is certain, and the Court had the fact laid before it, that these Advertisements were not issued by Queen Elizabeth at all, since Archbishop Parker declares, in a letter to the Prime Minister, Sir William Cecil, on March 28th, 1566, that he had not been able to get the Queen's authority for the Advertisements, which he thought had nothing in them against the law of the realm, and that he had been obliged to assay his own authority in issuing them; while Strype tells us that Cecil's own copy was endorsed with the words 'These not authorized nor published.' Here then is indisputable evidence from the chief personages in Church and State at the time, entirely overthrowing the inferential guesswork with which the Privy Council sought to establish the royal character of these Advertisements."

This statement bristles with mistakes. "Cecil's own copy," which was in MS. only and bore the above "endorsement" made in "1564" (O.S.), was not "The" Advertisements, but was a totally different document from the printed book sent by Archbishop Parker for Cecil's perusal on March 28th, 1566 (N.S.). It was the former, and not the latter which Parker said had failed to gain the Queen's approval; for which very reason it had been in the interval extensively altered. Parker does not say a word about "assaying with his own authority to issue" the book, but to *execute* and *administer* the laws which were in force prior to that "issue."

What makes Dr. Littledale's misrepresentation the more culpable is that all his fallacies were carefully unravelled and exposed by the Judicial Committee in that very Ridsdale Judgment which Dr. Littledale has the presumption to censure.

Since that Judgment was delivered, the Camden Society have published a contemporary chronicle by John Stowe, which enables us to fix the date of the Advertisements with tolerable certainty. In Gairdner's "Three Fifteenth Century Chronicles," p. 135, we have the following entry in Stowe's diary:—

"The xxvj day of Marche, in anno 1566, beyng Twesday, ye parsons and mynstars of ye churches in and abought London were (by commaudyment) at Lambethe, before ye Archebyshoppe of Caunterbury and othar of ye cownsell, wher charge was gyven to them to sarve theyr churchis and were theyr aparayll accordyng to ye quens injunctions, or ells to do no sarvyce. And that same weke or ye begynnyng of ye next came forthe a boke in print subscribyd by ye Archebyshore of Cauntorbury, ye Byshoppes of London, Wynchester, Elii, and dyvers othar, whiche apoynted ye sayd mynstars to were theyre gownes and clokes with standyng colars and corneryd capse, and at theyr servyce to were syrplysys, or ells not to mynstar, &c."

This corresponds with the date fixed in Archbishop Parker's letter of November 15th, 1573, in which he refers Cecil to the "Order taken publicly *this seven years* by Commissioners, according to the statute, that fonts should not be removed." (Parker Corr., 450.)

"Seven years" from 1573 brings us back to 1566; and the allusion was to the direction of the Advertisements, "that the

fonte be not removed, nor that the curate do baptize in parish churches in any basons," &c. [Doc. Ann., I-292.] Mr. James Parker tries to evade this by suggesting that the Order of 1561 may be the one referred to, or that it is a "reference to nothing more than the Rubric"! (Letter to Selborne, pp. 164, 208.) But the Rubric (which says nothing about "removing" fonts) was not an "Order by Commissioners;" and 1561 was not "seven years" before 1573: so that we may reasonably prefer to the ingenuity of Mr. James Parker the candour of the Rev. T. W. Perry, who admits that "the 'Order' here referred to is, no doubt, the direction of the Advertisements." [On Purchas J., p. 70.]

We know also from the very letter referred to by Dr. Littledale as having been sent by Archbishop Parker to Cecil on March 28th, 1566, that the "new printed" book was even on that date "yet stayed" for Cecil's approval. It had been previously sent to him in the rough, on March 12th, 1566. (P. Corr., p. 263). Alterations were then made by Cecil, as, for instance, the penalty of "sequestration, not deprivation," which on March 12th had stood as part of the MS. draft sent to Cecil (*ibid.* 264), was struck out before the book was "new printed," and finally returned to Cecil on March 28th. No penalty whatever was retained in the Advertisements as "issued."

In the form ultimately agreed upon between Cecil and the Metropolitan, the "new printed book" (having been found to agree with the draft previously settled between them) was "issued" (in a formal series of letters to Grindal, Bishop of London, to the Dean of the Arches, and to three Ordinaries of Peculiars) immediately on his getting back the "printed book" from the Queen's Secretary. These letters are all entered in Archbishop Parker's register at Lambeth, vol. i., p. 257, *et seq.* On April 4th, Archbishop Parker writes to Cecil that "my lord of London and I dismissed them all" [the London Nonconforming Ministers] "with our Advertisements." (Parker Corr., 277.) Before this, on March 26th, Parker had told Cecil that he and Bishop Cox were of opinion that "if London were reformed, all the realm would soon follow." (P. Corr., 270.)

Having therefore thus dealt, by way of example, with the "London ministers," on May 21st Grindal (as Dean of the Province) sent out to the other bishops of the Province of Canterbury, and to the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's,* for their own "deanery," the printed book, so that we can now fix the date of the "issue" as between March 28th and April 3rd, 1566, for London (compare Stowe as above cited), and May 21st for the rest of the Province of Canterbury. In the interval (just before April 28th) "the Queen's Majesty willed my lord of York to declare her pleasure determinately to have the Order go forward" (P. Corr., 280), and thus the Northern Province also came under the same rule.

The following chronological table may enable the reader to

* The letter is reprinted at the foot of this Tract, p. 8.

take a bird's-eye view of the changes which preceded the "issue" of the Advertisements:—

TABLE.

- A.D. 1561 (March ?).—'Interpretations' (in MS.) of the Injunctions partially drafted by Abp. Parker, or Bp. Cox, but never finished or authorized. These *may* possibly be the "Articles partly of old agreed upon amongst us," mentioned in Abp. Parker's letter of March 3, 1565. Portions have been published by Strype and Cardwell, but the whole of them have never yet been printed.
- A.D. 1565, Jan. 25.—Queen's Letter to Abp. Parker, saying, "We do by these our present letters require . . . you being the Metropolitan . . . (as the like we will order for the province of York) to confer with your brethren, namely, such as be *in commission for causes ecclesiastical* . . . so to proceed by Order, injunction, or censure, according to the order and appointment of such laws and ordinances as are *provided by Act of Parliament* . . . so as uniformity of order may be kept in every church, and *without variety* and contention." [Parker Corr., 223].
- A.D. 1565, Feb 28.—Certificates sent in from every church as to "varieties in the Service." Abp. Parker had written for these on Jan. 30. (Corr., 227. Lamb's Letters from C.C.C. Library, p. 314.)
- A.D. 1565, March 3.—Rough draft of "Ordinances" as devised by the Commissioners under the Great Seal for Causes Ecclesiastical, sent by Parker to Cecil. [P. Corr., 233].
- A.D. 1565, March 8.—Fair copy of revised "Ordinances" endorsed by Cecil as "not authorized nor published." (Strype's Parker, p. 158.)
- A.D. 1566, March 10.—Abp. Parker's "first" interview with Queen Elizabeth respecting enforcement of discipline. (Corr., 278).
- A.D. 1566, March 12.—Abp. Parker sends rough draft of the Advertisements to Cecil. (Corr., 263).
- A.D. 1566, March 17 *circa*.—Abp. Parker's special interview (Grindal being also sent for) with Queen Elizabeth. (Corr., 273).
- A.D. 1566, March 28.—Parker sends the printed Advertisements to Cecil, and writes to Grindal an official letter reciting how "The Queen's Highness hath expressly charged both you and me, of late being therefore called to her presence, to see her laws executed, *and* good Orders DECREED." He charges him as he will answer "To Her Majesty, to see Her Majesty's laws and injunctions duly observed within your diocese, and ALSO these our convenient Orders described in these books," &c. (Corr., 271, 273.) This letter also fixes the date of the Advertisements by speaking of the Queen's letter of January 25, 1565, as "addressed to them now, a year past and more."
- A.D. 1566, April 4.—The Advertisements publicly enforced in London. (Corr., 276).
- A.D. 1566, April 28.—The Order to go forward in Province of York. (Corr., 280). Abp. Parker and (May 4) Grindal write to Cecil to get members of the Privy Council to sit with the Commissioners. (Parker Corr., 280, and Grindal's Remains, 289).
- A.D. 1566, May 21.—Advertisements issued by Grindal to Bishops of Canterbury Province, "according as hath been heretofore used." (Corr., 273).
- A.D. 1566, May 27.—Privy Council enforced the Advertisements for "Crossed Caps." (St. Pap. Dom. Eliz., vol. xxxix. No. 82).
- A.D. 1566, June 6.—Ditto for Surplice, &c., 2 Z. L. 119, 143. P. Corr., 285.

Looking back over the above table, it will be readily perceived that Dr. Littledale has transferred Cecil's "endorsement" upon the rejected MS. "Ordinances" of March 8th, 1565, to the printed Advertisements which alone were "authorised and

published," and which were issued for London between March 28th and April 4th, 1566. The title, preamble, form, penalties, provision for doctrinal subscriptions, and very many other details had been changed in the "printed book" which was signed by Geste, Bishop of Rochester, and "others": whereas the MS. "Ordinances" of 1565 were devised "only" by the Bishops of London, Ely, Lincoln, and Parker himself. [P. Corr., 233].

Let us next examine Dr. Littledale's statement that "evidence from the chief personages in Church and State at the time overthrows "the Royal character of the Advertisements."

Who were these "chief personages"? Clearly *not* the anonymous Puritan pamphleters who published without either printer's or author's names, and without even a date. These unscrupulous and obscure controversialists would have readily appealed to the Court of Queen's Bench for protection against any unlawful attempts to "deprive" them of their freeholds, if there had been the smallest substance in their fanciful contention. We know that under Elizabeth, prohibitions habitually and frequently took causes not only "out of the Archbishops' and Bishops' Courts, but even out of the hands of the Queen's Ecclesiastical Commissioners and her Court of Delegates." [Strype's Whitgift, pp. 537-41.] But in no single instance did a Nonconformist venture to challenge before the courts of law the "Royal Authority of the Advertisements." Like Dr. Littledale, they preferred to make their appeal from the decisions of the Queen's Courts to the ignorance and passions of the ill-informed "religious" public. But, unlike Dr. Littledale, they abused "the chief personages in Church and State" for procuring a "Royal edict" as they habitually call the Advertisements. True, they sometimes affect to doubt the Royal authority; but the insincerity of this inconsistent conduct is laid bare by Withers (one of their leaders), who warned the Prince Elector Palatine "you must take especial care to transfer all the blame from the Queen unto the Bishops, who do not act the part of her advisers with the freedom that becomes them, and which it is right they should exercise. For as to their asserting both at home and to foreigners that they do not themselves approve these measures, but that they execute them at the instigation of the Queen, they both themselves command them in books, publicly set forth for that very purpose, and STATE that it is done by the Queen after a good and pious counsel." [Z. L. II.-164]. The "chief personages both in Church and State" were quite alive to this Puritan device. Archbishop Parker wrote to Cecil: "As for the Queen's Majesty's part, in my exhortation with many of them I signify their disobedience, wherein, because they see the danger, they cease to impute it to Her Majesty." [Corr., 237.]

No respectable writer on the Puritan side who published anything *with his own name* to his book ever adopted this shabby artifice. Cartwright, and the "Admonition to Parliament" ignore it. On the other hand, let us see what the responsible

Ordinaries who had to administer the law (at their own risk* if they exceeded their powers) *publicly* stated in Elizabeth's own lifetime as to the "Royal character of the Advertisements."

1566, May 21.—In the letter before referred to as sent by Grindal with the copies distributed to the bishops of the Province of Canterbury, he said: Every minister "upon pain of deprivation to prepare forthwith and to wear such habit and apparel as is *ordained by the Queen's Majesty's authority* expressed in the Treaty intituled the Advertisements, &c., which I send herein enclosed to you."

Now, to obviate the force of these words, Mr. James Parker has first of all, at p. 56, interpolated a comma after the word "authority" and before the word "expressed," and then further interpolated the word "as" before "expressed" (*ibid.*), for which he finally substitutes the word "and". So that at page 207 of his "letter to Lord Selborne" he prints in parallel columns the Ridsdale Judgment and his own counter-statement as follows:—

Mr. Jas. Parker's "Synopsis," p. 207.

Immediately after their issue on May 21st Bp. Grindal wrote to the Dean of St. Paul's, stating that they were issued by the Queen's authority. | Grindal does not state this. He says: "Such habit as is ordeyned by authority and expressed in the Advertisements."

Ridsdale, 9.

Letter, 56, 57.

This is the Ritualistic method of quotation in order to show how the "chief personages" repudiated "Royal" authority!

1566, June 29.—The Privy Council put forth an order that "no one should print any books against . . . any injunction, letters patent, or *ordinances passed or set forth*, or to be passed or set forth *by the Queen's grant, commission, or authority*." It spoke of certain who "for refusing to wear such distinct and decent apparel as is by public Order commanded, by due order of law already are *deprived*." (Strype's Parker, App. 85.)

This explains why the criticism of the Advertisements was anonymous, why no printer dared to put his name to these "books," and also the view taken of them by the "chief personages in Church and State at the time."

1566, Oct. (27?).—In a minute of the Privy Council, Mr. Crowley was said to have been committed "in summer last," "for disobeying such Orders as were thought requisite by the Queen's Majesty." [Shaw's Arg. in Ridsdale case, p. 529.] Now Crowley's committal took place on that 4th of April, 1566, when "my Lord of London and I dismissed them all with our Advertisements." [P. Corr., 277.] Crowley immediately published "A Declaration of the doings of those ministers of God's Word and Sacraments in the city of London, which have

* That this risk was keenly felt is shown by a memorandum (in Cecil's handwriting) of a Privy Council meeting on June 4, 1565—"The Bishops complain that they dare not execute the ecclesiastical laws to the furtherance of religion for fear of the praemunire wherewith the judges and lawyers of the realm being not well affected in religion, threaten them, some authority might be given them from the Queen to continue during her pleasure." (Stevenson's State papers foreign, Eliz., June 4, 1565.) Leicester's influence steadily declined from this time. (See Lewis' Reformation Settlement, p. 255.)

refused to wear the upper apparel and ministering garments of the Pope's Church." As a side-heading is the title "The Bishop's Advertisements." Thus what the Puritans (for strategic reasons) called "the Bishop's Advertisements" were recognized by the Privy Council as "Orders" emanating from the Queen.

1567.—Abp. Parker's articles for the visitation of Norwich are in the British Museum. T¹⁰¹³. They are preceded by "instructions to the Commissioners," the first of which is "to reduce the clergy unto one uniform order in their ministration and preaching; and that without any partial respect you will put in due execution the Queen's Majesty's ecclesiastical laws, statutes, injunctions, and her Highness's other commandments given and published in that behalf." The fifth was the articles "together bound with the Advertisements, fourpence." Cardwell, who correctly says [Doc. Ann. I.-303] that these same articles were issued to *all* the Cathedrals in the Province of Canterbury, unfortunately omitted these preceding directions.

In answer to the "third article" the return from Canterbury Cathedral made by George Gardynner, Prebendary, was—"The communion is administered in a chalice contrary, as he saith, to the Advertisements of the Queen." [Strype's Parker, App. liv.]

1569.—Archbishop Parker [Doc. Ann. I.-320] and Bishop Parkhurst [Rit. Rep. App. 405-1] both speak of the Advertisements as "set forth by public authority"; Parkhurst specifying for use at perambulations in the Rogation Days "homilies as be appointed by the Queen's Majesty's authority." [*ibid.* 404-4.] Now, "the use of homilies at perambulations was prescribed, not by the Injunctions of 1559, but by the Advertisements." In these same Articles of 1569, No. XXV., Archbishop Parker spoke of "the Queen's Majesty's ecclesiastical laws, statutes, injunctions, and all *Her Highness' other commandments*." "Public authority" is a phrase constantly used for the highest authority common to the whole community. [See Mr. Benj. Shaw's Argument, p. 536.] A good example is seen in Canon 65.

1573.—Note also the language of Archbishop Parker, "Order hath been taken publicly this seven years by Commissioners, according to* the Statute," viz., the proviso in the Act of Uniformity—a passage which we showed at page 2, could relate only to the Advertisements.

During the same year, Queen Elizabeth herself stated that she had "caused at several times since the beginning of her reign certain Injunctions and *other Orders* to be published by the advice of her clergy." [Strype's Parker, p. 456.]

1575.—Archbishop Parker's Articles for Winchester [Rit. Rep. 418-50] speak of "the Queen's Majesty's Injunctions,

* Provided always and be it enacted that such Ornaments of the Church, and of the ministers thereof, shall be retained and be in use as was in this Church of England, by authority of Parliament, in the second year of the reign of King Edward VI. UNTIL *other order* shall be *therein* taken by the authority of the Queen's Majesty, with the advice of her Commissioners appointed and authorized under the Great Seal of England for causes Ecclesiastical, or of the Metropolitan of this Realm." 1 Eliz. c. 2. §. xxv.

and other Her Highness' commandments, orders, decrees, and Advertisements."

1576.—Grindal [cited in Ridsdale Judgment, p. 716] speaks of not opposing "the Queen's Injunctions, nor the Ordinations, nor Articles made by some of the Queen's Commissioners, January 25, in the seventh year of the Queen's reign."

This is very interesting as showing the sense in which the undated Advertisements of 1566 came to be spoken of as "made" the seventh year. It was "by virtue of the Queen's Majesty's letter commanding the same," which letter was dated "January 25, 1564" (*i.e.* 1565, New Style). Grindal, who was himself a "Commissioner under the Great Seal for Causes Ecclesiastical," and as such was one of the signatories of the Advertisements of 1566, refers their "making" to the Queen's Letter of the preceding year, which, he said, empowered the Commissioners to "decree good Orders."* Thus the Bishops' Advertisements and the Commissioners' Advertisements were also the Queen's Advertisements, as being "made" by her Commission.

1582.—The Privy Council sent to Archbishop Grindal "a special letter to urge the Book of Advertisements" which "were commonly at Visitations printed and dispersed." [Strype's Whitgift, p. 100.]

1583.—Draft of Articles endorsed by Cecil as presented to Queen Elizabeth herself by Archbishop Whitgift and Bishop Piers, signed by them and four other bishops, in which they speak of "the Advertisements set out by Her Majesty's authority."—Lord Selborne's Notes, p. 77.

In 1584 appeared "An Answer to an Abstract of certaine Acts of Parliament," by Richard Cosin, Dean of the Arches, and "published by authority" in which he rebuts the contention of the Puritan writer, who had said that "though Her Majesty's excellent name be used by the publishers of the said Advertisements for confirmation of them, and that they affirm Her Majesty to have commanded them thereunto by Her Highness' letters," yet they lacked credit because "not printed by Her Majesty's printer," and "without Her Majesty's privilege."†

The Dean of the Arches thus replied:—"And is any man to surmise that those reverend and wise Fathers, who subscribed unto the said Book of Advertisements, would or durst publish

* This also explains what had misled Strype, Cardwell, &c., and has puzzled so many people, viz., why Archbishop Parker placed on the forefront of the Advertisements at the time of their being "newly printed," in March, 1566, the words "by virtue of the Queen's letters commanding the same the 25th day of January, in the seventh year of the reign of our Sovereign Lady Eliz." Cardwell puts in a comma after "letters"; and Mr. James Parker says he is "not called upon to justify, or even explain, the expression 'Advertisemens by virtue of'; it is perhaps vague!" [Letter, p. 146.] "Vague"? Not a bit!

† Such a test was, of course, worthless. But we may remark that the words "cum privilegio" are on the title-page, and that Wolfe is called "Nostrum Typographum" in Queen Elizabeth's letters patent, 1560: [Clay's Eliz. Liturgies, p. 301. See also Droop's Ed. Vest. p. 95.]

them in Her Majesty's name, and as by Her Highness' authority and letters dated such a certain day if it were not so, or that they would enterprise to forbid or restrain that which the law had so exactly charged and commanded?" ("Answer," p. 74.)

On this the Rev. T. W. Perry, of the E.C.U., says: "It is certain that Cosin could not have been defending their authority as being the 'other order' of Elizabeth's Act of Uniformity, because he considered that that order had never been taken." In proof of this, he refers to John Cosin's notes of 1640 as his voucher for what Richard Cosin in 1584 must have "considered." [Perry on Purchas, p. 155.] Admirable critic!

1585.—Archbishop Whitgift, in the fifth of his Articles for Chichester, speaks of "Her Majesty's Injunctions and Advertisements." [Card. Doc. Ann. II-6].

Our last Elizabethan witness shall be the Judicious Hooker, who, in A.D. 1587, in a letter to Abp. Whitgift, intended to be laid before the Privy Council (of which Whitgift had been sworn a member in February, 1586), described the Advertisements as "a decree agreed upon by the bishops, and confirmed by Her Majesty's authority." [Keble's Hooker, iii.-587.] As Lord Selborne truly said, "No writer of reputation, in any work published before the Eighteenth Century, seems to have suggested a doubt that the Advertisements were, as matter of fact, authorized by Queen Elizabeth." It follows that Dr. Littledale's statement has no semblance of truth in it.

NOTE, p. 2, *supra*.

STATE PAPERS DOMESTIC, ELIZ., VOL. 39, No. 76.

"After my hartie cōmendacyons these are to require and to give yo^u in especyal charge that wth all convenient speed yo^u call before yo^u all & singuler the mynisters and Ecclasticall psons wthⁱⁿ yo^r deanry of Poules and office, and to ps̄cribe & enjoyn everie of them upon payne of deprivaçon to prepare forthwth and to weare such habit and apparell as is ordeyned by the Queenes majesties authoritie expressed in the treaty intituled the adverisement^s, &c. which I send heerein enclosed unto yo^u and in like to enjoyn everie of them under the said payne of deprivaçon as well to observe the order of mynistraçon in the Church with surples, and in such forme as is sett forth in the saide treatie, as alsoe to require the subscription of every of them to the said Advertisem^s. And yf yo^u shall pceive any of them to be disobedient wth shall refuse to conforme themselves heerein, that then wthout any delay yo^u certifie me the names of all such before Trynitie Sundaie next ensuinge to the intent I maie pceed to the reformatiōn and deprivaçon of everie of them as appertayneth in this case with a Certificate allsoe of the names of such as pmiseth conformytie. And thus I bidd yo^u farewell from my howse in London, this xxith of Maie, 1566."

Yo^r in Christ,

Indorssed

EDM. LONDON.

To the right-worshippfull the DEANE & CHAPTER OF POWLES,
Yeve theise.

ALTAR LIGHTS:

THEIR HISTORY AND MEANING.

THE symbolic use of candles in Divine worship was not derived from the Jewish Church. St. Ephraem, the Syrian, in commenting on Exodus xxxvii., says expressly:—"But when the Dawn appeared, through Our Lord, the service of the lamps became vain and passed away."¹ And though Mr. F. G. Leo and others quote, as authority for their "two candles," a Syriac Ordo Communis, yet Sir Wm. Palmer,^{1a} Dr. John Mason Neale,^{1b} and Mr. Trollope^{1c} admit that this so-called "*earliest* form of the Eastern rite" is, in fact, "spurious, late, and worthless." These lights were in truth

UNKNOWN TO THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH.

The late Mr. Scudamore, the most learned of English writers on Ritual, said in his "Notitia Eucharistica," p. 133, and in Smith's Dict. of Christian Antiquities, Vol. II., p. 993:—"It is certain that for more than three centuries after Christ no ecclesiastical sanction was given to the symbolical or ritual use of lights in the public offices of religion. They were so employed by the heathen, and Christian writers reprobated every such use of them as a senseless mode of honouring the gods. Thus Tertullian, A.D. 192, ridicules the practice of 'exposing useless candles at noon,' and by that means 'encroaching on the day.' 'Let them,' he says, 'who have no light, kindle their lamps every day.'^{1d} 'They kindle lights to God,' says Lactantius, A.D. 303, 'as if he dwelt in darkness. . . . Is he then to be thought in his right mind, who offers for a gift the light of candles and wax tapers to the Author and Giver of light? But light of another kind He does require of us, and that not smoky, but, as the poet sings, liquid and clear, to wit, that of the mind.' Gregory Nazianzen, A.D. 370:—'Let not our houses blaze with visible light . . . for this is indeed the custom of the Greek Holy-Moon . . . but with . . . lamps that light up the whole body of the Church, I mean with divine contemplations and thoughts.' These writers objected to this employment of light on principle, and not merely because it was in honour of idols; from which

¹ Opp. Syr.-Lat. Romæ, 1737, Vol. I., p. 230.

^{1a} Orig. Liturg., i.-21.

^{1b} Hist. Eastern Church, ii.-326.

^{1c} Liturgy of St. James, p. 21, cf. Renaudot, i.-58, 245. Swainson's Greek Liturgies, p. 334.

^{1d} Apol. xlvi., xxxv.

No. 91.]

we must infer that they knew of nothing similar to it in the practice of the Christian Church."

THEIR PAGAN ORIGIN.

The steady influx into the Church of *adult* converts (many of them ignorant semi-barbarians, retaining much of the engrained superstition and habits of their early childhood), soon began to import Pagan Rites into Church Worship.

Cardinal Baronius,² admits that the *cultus* of images by means of lights burning before them was taken directly from idolaters, "the venerable ecclesiastical antiquity brought it to pass," he says, "that what used to hang before the idols should be providently converted to the worship of God." The Synod of Elvira, A.D. 306, condemned the use of pictures in the churches, and decreed "that candles be not burned during the day in coemeteries, for fear of troubling the spirits of the saints." This Canon was only one of a series directed against heathenish rites then calling for repression; and Mr. Dale in his interesting "Essay on the Synod of Elvira" (published by Macmillan), has shown (pp. 207-22), that the 'Fathers' who condemned these rites were themselves infected by a belief in necromancy. So soon had "the fine gold become dim"! Dupin honestly says, "that the Fathers of this Council did not approve of the use of images, no more than that of wax candles lighted in full daylight."³

The deterioration of Christianity in the fourth century is evident also from the well-known complaint of Vigilantius, that—

"Under the pretext of religion we see a custom introduced into the churches which approximates to the rites of the Gentiles, namely, the lighting of multitudes of tapers while the sun is yet shining. And everywhere they kiss in adoration a small quantity of dust folded up in a little cloth, and deposited in a little vessel. *Men of this stamp* give great honour, forsooth, to the most blessed martyrs, thinking with a few insignificant wax-tapers to glorify those whom the Lamb, who is in the midst of the throne, enlightens with all the brightness of His majesty."

St. Jerome in reply denied that it was "the practice of the Church." He said:—

"We do not light candles in the daylight as you falsely accuse us, but we do so that we may alleviate the darkness of the night by this comfort."

Yet he admitted that the 'Ritualists' were beginning the practice complained of:—

"But what if *some* do so, in honour of the martyrs, through the ignorance and simplicity of secular men or even of religious women (of whom we may in truth say, 'I bear them record that they have a

² Annals, p. 551, ed. 1597. The direct imitation of the heathen in the matter of lights is avowed by Valesius in his note on Eusebius' Life of Constantine, Lib. IV., c. 22, p. 243, also by Bede, De Temp. Rat. 10

³ Hist. ii.-593.

zeal of God, but *not according to knowledge* ') what loss do you thereby sustain ? " ⁴

Unluckily, St. Jerome was not content with this merely defensive attitude, but (urged, perhaps, by the controversial spirit) apologised for the encroachments of Paganism by saying "that was done to the idols, and therefore to be detested; this is done to the martyrs, and therefore may be received."

Jerome mentions also a practice which had not then been imported into Europe, that

"Throughout all the Churches of the East, *when the Gospel is about to be read*, lights are lit at noon-day, not to disperse the darkness, but to show gladness . . . so that under the type of a corporal light, that light might be shewn concerning which we read in the Gospel, 'Thy word, O Lord, is a lantern unto my feet and a light unto my paths.'"

This mode of dramatising Psalm cxix.-105 might be childish, and was certainly quaint, but at least it involved no Romish doctrine. On this point we may cite the testimony of two learned Roman Catholics.

Erasmus said,⁵

"Jerome seems to have been of this opinion that he thought it superstitious to burn candles in honour of the saints by day, and that they were not to be burned except for a solace of the night, although at the present day sacred worship consists chiefly in candles. But it appears that in that age the custom was rather tolerated than approved of; and time changes many things."

Cardinal Zaccaria says,⁶

"We learn three things from this place [viz. of St. Jerome], 1st. That the cause of lights and candles being burned at the reading of the Gospel was for a sign of gladness. 2nd. That the custom did not exist in the whole Church, for he said that it was peculiar to the Churches of the East. 3rd. We gather that in the Churches of the East no candle was burned in the other parts of the Mass, nor at the introit, and we gather the same thing, too, from the *Ordo Romanus*, written after [the time of] St Jerome."

The "Gospel lights" were at first "extinguished in their place after the reading of the Gospel"⁷ and at a later time "we find them when extinguished set behind the altar—a practice which, in conjunction with the need of light at an early celebration, in due time paved the way for the introduction of altar-lights."⁸ "One proof that those candles served for the reading is, that

⁴ Epist. Hieronymi, xxxvii., "Ad Riparium Presbyterum." Dr. Gilly's "Vigilantius and his Times," p. 395. Mr. J. D. Chambers (p. 283) calmly attributes the half-quotation from Jerome to "Prudentius"!

⁵ Cited in Dallæus (*de cultibus religiosis Latinorum*, 1671, p. 1167) who says that Cardinal Sandoval, the censor, struck out the passage.

⁶ *Bibliotheca Ritualis*, Tom. III., page xciv.

⁷ Smith's Dict. Christian Antiq., ii.-994.

⁸ Smith's Dict. Christian Antiq., ii.-994, Not. Euch., 136. "In course of time," says Romsée, "it seemed more convenient to set the candlesticks with the candles on the slab of the altar, and to burn the candles" (Not. Euch., 138).

according to the Ordinary of the Jacobins, and the Missal of the Order of the Holy Cross, the minister or clerk, when removing the Missal from one side to another, ought, at the same time, to shift the candle, if there was not one on each side; that is to say, in one word, the light *followed the Missal*, and only referred to the Missal.”^{8a} In Spain, Isidore of Seville, so early as A.D. 636, had begun to confuse and extend the symbolism of the Gospel-lights. He said, “Those who in Greek are called acolytes, are in Latin called ceroferarii, from their carrying wax candles when the Gospel is to be read, or the sacrifice to be offered.”⁹ This vague extension of the meaning is the earliest hint we get of the later symbolism of the Middle Ages. Yet “no candles are shown in representations of the Mass of the tenth century.”¹⁰ Mr. Scudamore adduces many illustrations, ranging from A.D. 1100 to A.D. 1541, showing that Mass was even then said either “without light,” or with only one candle, shifted from side to side for mere utility.

But in 1215 at the Council of Lateran, Pope Innocent III. first defined the doctrine of ‘Transubstantiation’ by name, and appropriately enough, this same Innocent (“a man most pernicious to the Church and Commonwealth of Christ,” as Ridley termed him) was the first bishop to order lights to be set upon the altar.¹¹ In England the earliest order of this kind is that of the Council of Oxford, A.D. 1222,¹² presided over by the Cardinal Legate of the Pope, in which the decrees of Lateran were closely followed.

THE ‘SYMBOLISM’ OF LIGHTS.

Symbolism is the reflection of man’s imagination embodied in the works of his hands. “As the fool thinks, so the bell tink.” “The eye sees what it takes with it the power of seeing,” says Kingsley. And hence, Ritualists gravely assign to the self-same rite a variety of meanings, derived solely from their own changeable wishes and fancies.

For example, Jerome’s “Light of the Gospel” became in Durand “The Law and the Prophets,” or, the Jews and Gentiles, or, according to others, “The two Natures of Christ” (which view, by the way, would involve the *separation* of the two natures, i.e. Nestorianism). Next, as sacrificial notions grew up, Suarez and Lyndwood claim the lights as meaning “sacrificial fire,” and refer to Levit. vi.-13 for a scriptural warrant! The Gemma Animæ (in A.D. 1130) taught that “the Holy Ghost,” as the consecrator of the sacrament, was thus symbolised. Lastly, Lyndwood refers us to the Decretals, which teach that the sacrament should be

^{8a} De Vert. Explication, p. 159.

⁹ Smith’s Dict., 996.

¹⁰ Not. Euch., p. 138. Pugin’s Glossary, Art. “Altar candlesticks.”

¹¹ Robertson, p. 313, note. Lewis’ Ref. Settlement, p. 78.

¹² Wilkins, i.-595.

carried to the sick "with a light going before it, because it"—the sacrament—"is the brightness of the æternal light." "Lumine præcedente quod sit candor lucis æternæ" (De Celebration, cap. 10).

Thus, before the Reformation, the "lights before the sacrament" had come to be regarded as symbolising (1) Transubstantiation, and (2) the sacrifice of the Mass; and they were burned both 'before' the Host in processions, and in honour of the reserved 'Host,' precisely as the heathen worshipped their sacred images, by 'setting' lights 'before' them.

THE ENGLISH REFORMATION.

Up to the day of his death King Henry VIII. sent men to the stake for denying Transubstantiation, and he left money for Masses to be said for the repose of his soul.¹³ Yet he curtailed the worship of images, and, by his Vicar-General's Injunction, ordered, in 1536,

"Ye shall suffer from henceforth, no candles, tapers, or images of wax to be set *before* any image or picture, but only the light that goeth across the church by the rood-loft, the light before the sacrament of the altar, and the light about the sepulchre, which for the adorning of the church and divine service ye shall suffer to remain still."¹⁴

In 1538, 1539, and again in 1541 he required "no other lights to be used but that *before* the Corpus Christi"—"but only to the blessed sacrament of the altar."¹⁵

The celebrated Injunction of July 31st, 1547, published by Edward VI. in the first year of his reign, was copied directly from these Injunctions of Henry VIII. It ran—

"Item. . . shall suffer from henceforth no torches nor candles, tapers or images of wax to be set *afore* any image or picture, but only two lights upon the high altar, *before* the Sacrament, which for the signification that Christ is the very true light of the world, they shall suffer to remain still," &c.¹⁶

The lights thus "suffered to remain still" were of course the same lights which had existed in the reign of his father;¹⁷ for during the whole of the first year of Edward VI. (*i.e.*, A.D. 1547) Transubstantiation was not only the received and authorised

¹³ Collier, ix.-225.

¹⁴ Wilkins, Conc., iii.-816, 842, 847.

¹⁵ Strype's Cranmer, p. 92. Burnet I.-ii.-279.

¹⁶ Card., Doc. Ann., i.-7.

¹⁷ It is to be remembered that altar-lights (as distinguished from the solitary lamp before the *reserved wafer*) never were usual or even common in England. "There is no allusion to altar-lights in the 'Lay-folk's Mass Book,' or the 'Virtue of the Mass,' or the Explanation of Ceremonies drawn up under the eye of Cranmer, if not by himself, about 1543; all professing to explain to the laity the whole of the service of the Mass." This "suffrance to remain still" was therefore a temporary tolerance of existing lights till other order could be taken; *not* an Injunction to provide the like ornaments elsewhere.

doctrine of the Church of England, but a denial of it was punishable with *death*. The bloody act of the "Six Articles" still remained on the statute book, and Edward issued a commission under it as late as April 19th, 1547. (Foxe V. App. No. xx.) So real was the terror which it inspired that even in Nov. 1547 Convocation was afraid to discuss any reforms of the service books until it had been repealed.¹⁸ The Latin Mass, the elevation, reservation, and adoration of the host, the denial of the cup to the laity, the doctrine and practice of the seven sacraments were all exclusively in use throughout the year A.D. 1547. "The necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christian man" drawn up by Gardiner was still the authorised formulary of the English Church. In short, no reformation of doctrine or ritual, so far as regards the Lord's Supper, had even commenced when this Injunction of Edward was issued in 1547.

Transubstantiation, then, and the Mass-sacrifice were both symbolised by the two lights thus "suffered to remain still" in 1547.

THE INJUNCTIONS OF KING EDWARD VI.

Under these circumstances it might naturally be asked what can we possibly have to do with them now—seeing that the 'altar' for sacrifice is abolished, and the doctrine of transubstantiation is repudiated as a falsehood. And the natural answer "nothing at all," is also the true one. It has been disputed whether these Injunctions of 1547, which *claim* only Royal authority, had any authority of 'Parliament.' But that question is disposed of by the fact that the statute 1 Ed. VI., c. 12, sec. 4, passed on December 24th, 1547, repealed *nominatim* not only the heresy acts, but every statute which had been held to give to royal Proclamations the force of a statute.¹⁹ Consequently, in the "second year of Edward VI." (commencing January 28th, 1548) these Injunctions had no *Parliamentary* force. For

"It is a well-settled principle of law that any obligation flowing from a statute either immediately or mediately (*i.e.* from some rule or order made in pursuance of powers granted by a statute) becomes null and void as soon as the statute is repealed. It is on this ground that when it is intended to keep alive what has been previously done under the powers of a repealed Act, a saving clause is always inserted to this effect in the Act which repeals it."²⁰

Nor could the Injunctions of 1547 gain any Parliamentary force from King Henry's Will (as suggested by Cardwell, Doc.

¹⁸ Blunt's Annotated Prayer Book, p. xxi.

¹⁹ Yet Dr. Stubbs omits from his summary of this statute its express repeal of the Proclamation Acts (31 H. VIII. c. 8, and 34 & 35 H. VIII. c. 23), by which they were "utterly made void and of none effect." [See Ecclesiastical Courts Comm. Report, Historical Appendix, i. p. 41.]

²⁰ Mr. B. Shaw, in *Contemporary Review*, i.-23, who cites the cases of *Surtees v. Ellison*, *Kay v. Goodwin*, *Reg. v. Mawgan*, *Barrow v. Arnaud*, and an opinion of Mr. Badeley to the same effect.

Ann., i-5), because that Will required that a *majority* of the executors should sign the document, whereas only half (viz. eight out of sixteen) of them signed these Injunctions. "Five of the Aiders and Assistants also signed them, but their names were not required by the Statute and the Will. The Injunctions, therefore, if issued under the authority of the Succession Act and the 'Will' of Henry VIII., must be pronounced *invalid*, as not signed in conformity with their requirements."²¹

"THE SECOND YEAR OF KING EDWARD VI."

The "Second Year" began January 28th, 1548. It was a year of continuous change and transition. During the first twenty-eight days of that year all images which had not been specially 'abused' were retained. Up to Easter in that year the elevation of the host and the denial of the cup to the laity were the law of the Church. Even after Easter there was "no varying of any other rite or ceremony in the Mass," so that up to (and beyond) the end of the second year of Edward VI. the following ceremonies were in use, viz. processions of candle-bearers, thurifers, deacon and sub-deacon; repeated crossings of the face, book, breast, chalice, and paten; making crosses with the host over the chalice and before the priest's head and mouth; kissing the priest's hand, book, altar, pax, paten, and corporal; bowing to the priest and altar; elevating, joining, and washing the hands; censing of the altar, priest, sacrifice, Gospel, &c. Except at the actual distribution of the elements, the service was still in Latin, and prayers were offered "by the merits of the saints," and "by the intercession of the blessed, glorious, and ever-virgin Mother of God." The use of the cope at Holy Communion was unlawful during the whole of "the second year of Edward VI." The use of amice, girdle, stole, maniple, dalmatic was compulsory throughout that second year. The crucifix, pyx (or tabernacle), holy-water vat, and all the paraphernalia of the 'seven' sacraments was sanctioned as matter of fact during the whole of that "second year."

But (and this is most important) not one of these things rested upon any "authority of PARLIAMENT."

That "authority of Parliament in the second year" was conferred by the first Act of Uniformity (2 & 3 Ed. VI. c. 1) passed during the last week of that "Second Year," and it utterly swept away and abolished all the above-named *non-Parliamentary* usages of the "Second Year," and of course abrogated all merely Royal Injunctions which involved any variation from the new "Book of Common Prayer." Yet, so far as they harmonised with and were subsidiary to the changes made in the new 'Parliamentary' Prayer Book, the Royal Injunctions would still be

²¹ Pinnock, "Transition Period," p. 59.

recognised as entitled to observance, though resting, of course, solely upon the Royal prerogative.

The further progress of the Reformation was effected not by formally *canceling* the Royal Injunctions of 1547 as a whole, but by *omitting* such as had become illegal from their conflicting with the new Prayer Book. Hence the first of the Royal Injunctions of 1549 ran as follows:—

“That all parsons, vicars, and curates *omit* in the reading of the Injunctions all such as make mention of the Popish Mass, of chantries, *of candles upon the altars*, or any other such like thing. Item for an uniformity, that no minister do counterfeit the Popish Mass, as setting any light upon the Lord’s board at any time; and finally to use no other ceremonies than are *appointed* in the King’s Book of Common Prayers.”²²

Ridley’s Diocesan Injunctions, given in his Visitation in May, 1550, begin: “That there be *no* reading of such Injunctions as extolleth and setteth forth the Popish Mass, candles,” &c.; and he forbade “counterfeiting the Popish Mass in saying the Agnus before the Communion, setting any light upon the Lord’s board,” &c.

“And finally, that the minister, in the time of Holy Communion, do use only the ceremonies and gestures appointed by the Book of Common Prayer, and *none other*, so that there do not appear in them any counterfeiting of the Popish Mass.”²³

In the same way, Hooper’s Injunctions of 1551, while ordering the clergy to “*not read* such Injunctions as extolleth and setteth forth the Popish Mass, candles,” &c., and forbidding the “setting any light upon the Lord’s board,” yet at the same time direct “the homilies to be read orderly according to the King’s Majesty’s Injunctions.”²⁴

Thus the Royal Injunction of 1547 relating to the Mass lights was held to have been abrogated by the Act of Uniformity (2 & 3 Ed. VI. c. 1) which in “the second year of King Ed. VI.” superseded and supplanted all previous ritual possessing any “authority of Parliament” even had the Injunctions ever possessed any *such* ‘authority.’ This is proved by the conduct of Ridley on his appointment to the See of London—“before he would enter the choir, he commanded the lights on the altar to be extinguished” at St. Paul’s.²⁵ The contemporary *Greyfriar’s Chronicle* says (p. 67) April xii. 1550, “At that same time the Bishop cam-

²² Cardwell, Doc. Ann. No. XV.

²³ Doc. Ann. No. XXI. “It is also especially worthy of note that, where he is supported by these Articles or other known authorities, he speaks in a tone of command; that where he is not, he only exhorts and recommends. He *orders* that there shall be no reading of the Injunctions that set forth candles, and that no minister shall “set any light upon the Lord’s board;” while he ‘exhorts’ the curates and churchwardens, for reasons which he gives, to remove stone altars.” [Scudamore, Not. Euch., p. 130.] As to the stone altars, the Order in Council for their removal did not issue till November, while Ridley’s Articles were in May, 1550.

²⁴ Later Writings, P.S., p. 128.

²⁵ Milman’s “Annals of St. Paul’s,” p. 226.

manded the lytt of the auiter to be put owte or he came into the
qwere."

Cranmer altered his conduct gradually so as to conform to the successive changes of the law. Thus in 1548 (*i.e. before the reformation of the Missal*) he asked

"Whether they suffer any torches, candles, tapers, or any other lights to be in your churches, but only two lights upon the high altar."²⁶

Here it will be noted that he omits the significant words "*before the Sacrament.*" For, during that same year²⁷ he published his 'Catechism' from which he had struck out the accompanying



woodcut ("where is the altare with candel light set forth, the priest appareled after the old sort," as Gardiner jeeringly



boasted) and substituted the "Lord's Supper" as here depicted; so that, as he told Gardiner, "you should rather have gathered

²⁶ Doc. Ann., p. 43.

²⁷ Before August 18th, 1548. See Orig. Lett. P.S. ii.-381.

your argument upon the other side, that I mislike the matter, because I *left out* of my booke the picture that was in the originall before.”²⁸

At that very time he was engaged in the compilation of the “first Prayer Book.” In 1550 his Visitation Articles were changed. Nothing is now said about ‘lights’ even at Canterbury Cathedral.

On the contrary, it is demanded

“Whether any of this Church do keep or observe . . . the book called the Common Prayer . . . and whether you use any other ceremonies at the Communion or other Divine Service than is mentioned or allowed in the same book.”²⁹

In 1551 (still under the first Prayer Book) he says—

“Thus our Saviour Christ, like a most loving Pastor and Saviour of our souls, hath given us warning beforehand of the perils and dangers that were to come, and to be wise and ware, that we should not give credit unto such teachers as would persuade us to worship a piece of bread, to kneel to it, to knock to it, to creep to it, to follow it in procession, to lift up our hands to it, to offer it, *to light candles to it . . . having always this pretence or excuse for our idolatry* ‘Behold here is Christ.’”³⁰

Latimer preached his celebrated “Sermon on the Plough,” on the very day on which the Act of Uniformity passed the House of Lords, for the third time, January 15th, 1549. He said (p. 70)—

“Where the devil is resident, and hath his plough going, there away with books, and up with candles; away with Bibles, and up with beads; *away with the light of the Gospel, and up with the light of candles, yea, at noon-days.*”

No higher authorities as to the meaning of the first Prayer Book than Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer can be imagined, yet Cox, another of its compilers, is remarkable as having (like Dr. May) assisted at *both* revisions of Edward’s Prayer Book as well as at that under Elizabeth. No change as to altar-lights was made by either of the later books. Cox was the leader of the “High Church Party” (so to speak) among the Marian refugees at Frankfort, and when Calvin had been misinformed that lights were authorised by the English Prayer Book, Cox wrote to him—“As for our lights, we never had any;” and the Puritan leaders felt so discredited by the supposition that they had been furnishing to Calvin false information that they wrote—

“By cause that Maister Calvin in his letter maketh mention of lights, some might gather that he was untruly informed that in the English Book lights were prescribed, the *contrary whereof* appeareth by the description before.” They argued “for so much as lightes and

²⁸ Dr. Burton’s “Preface to Cranmer’s Catechism, p. xx. Wafers placed in the mouth, and vestments were retained in the First Prayer Book, so that the only detail ‘misliked’ in the picture must have been the ‘lights.’”

²⁹ Remains, p. 159.

³⁰ Answer to Gardiner, p. 238.

crosses be 2 of the most ancientest ceremonies . . . are yet for such cause abolished ; how much more , " &c.³¹

* *

Although candlesticks for the Holy table were not among the "ornaments of the church" contained in or prescribed by the "first Prayer Book of Edward VI.," yet two pieces of evidence have been tendered to show that they were actually used under that book. The first is a letter from Bucer and Fagius dated at Lambeth on April 26th, 1549, in which they said—

" As soon as the description of the ceremonies now in use shall have been translated into Latin, we will send it to you. We hear that some concessions have been made both to a respect for antiquity, and to the infirmity of the present age ; such for instance as the vestments commonly used in the Sacrament of the Eucharist, and the use of candles : so also in regard to the commemoration of the dead, and the use of chrism ; for we know not to what extent or in what sort it prevails."

It is to be observed that when Bucer and Fagius wrote this letter they had not had twenty-four hours' experience of England, and were entirely ignorant of the language : no translation of the new Prayer Book then existed, while its actual use began on June 9th, i.e. a fortnight later. On the same day (April 26th), Fagius wrote two other letters in each of which he said, " I cannot at present give you any certain information about English affairs."³² Bucer and Fagius added that " these things . . . are only to be retained for a time, lest the people, not having yet learned Christ, should be deterred by too extensive innovations from embracing his religion."³³ That temporary toleration may have ceased at the introduction of the "first Prayer Book;" but in any case the second-hand impressions of newly arrived foreigners can be no evidence as to the requirements of a book with which they had then had neither time nor opportunity to become acquainted.

In estimating such evidence it is well to call to mind the words of the present Bp. of Carlisle, Dr. Harvey Goodwin, when Chairman of the Committee of Canterbury Convocation.

" To show the extreme difficulty of arriving at a true judgment on historical evidence, I may mention that on preaching at the Chapel Royal lately the candles on the altar were lighted. Supposing that, after the manner of a Zurich Letter, I had mentioned the fact in

³¹ Troubles at Frankfort, p. liv., or Gorham's "Ref. Gleanings," p. 347. Cosin's blunder about 'Knox's' altar-lights was pointed out in 1669 by his friend Durel (*Vindiciae*, p. 97).

³² Orig. Letters, pp. 332, 535. Gorham's "Ref. Gleanings," p. 78.

³³ Compare Luther's explanation—" We allow the Mass dresses, altar, lights, to remain, until they all disappear, or it pleases us to alter them ; but whoever will do otherwise herein we let him. But in the true Mass, among simple Christians, the altar must not remain so, and the Priest must always turn to the people, as without doubt Christ did in the Supper. Now let that wait its time." Daniel, *Codex Liturgicus*, ii.-105. Compare Hebert on Lord's Supper, ii.-297.

writing to the Continent, and two hundred years hence my letter had turned up. It would be evidence very difficult to be got rid of; whereas the truth was that on that day there was a London fog, and it would have been difficult to have read the Communion service without lights of some kind. If, then, we take contemporary letters without knowing all the surrounding circumstances of the events narrated, we are liable to be led into error. There are, then, great doubts whether there ever was what might be called a 'Use' for lighted candles on the Lord's table since the Reformation or not. My own feeling is that *there was no such Use.*"³⁴

A second witness wrongly alleged is Bp. Hooper, who on December 27th, 1549, complained of the nonconformity of certain old Popish incumbents—

"Where they used heretofore to celebrate in the morning the *Mass* of the apostles, they now have the *communion* of the apostles; where they had the *Mass* of the blessed Virgin they now have the communion which they call the *communion* of the Virgin; where they had the principal, or High Mass, they now have, as they call it, the high communion. They still retain their vestments and candles *before* the altars. . . God knows to what perils and anxieties we are exposed by reason of men of this kind."³⁵

These candles 'before' the altars were, however, not altar-lights, but the two tapers ordered by the Sarum Consuetudinary to be carried by acolytes and set down at the altar-step. Six months before Hooper's letter was written, the Privy Council had complained to Bonner of his connivance at the same irregularities mentioned by Hooper.³⁶ Bp. Bonner had been deprived for non-compliance on October 1st; and just two days before Hooper's letter above cited, an Order in Council directed the defacing of the Sarum Missal and all the old service books, "the keeping whereof should be a let to the usage of the said Book of Common Prayer." . . . 'That they never after may serve either to any such use as they were provided for, or be at any time a let to that godly and uniform order.'³⁷

The charges against Bonner are given at length in Foxe, "Acts and Monuments," V.-763, and included these—

"That ye know . . . that certain persons within your diocese . . have heard, been at, or celebrate mass or evensong in the Latin tongue, and after the old rite and manner, other than according to the King's Majesty's Book," and "that the rites of the common service of the Church, now set forth, be in some parts of your diocese diversely used; and you, knowing or hearing of the same, have not called any ministers of the service before you for redress of such diversity, nor corrected the *misusers* thereof."

Hooper and Latimer were Bonner's accusers; and Hooper and Ridley describe what they complained of as a "counterfeiting of

³⁴ Chronicle of Convocation, 1866, p. 401.

³⁵ Compare Bucer's Script. Angl., p. 706. Orig. Lett. p. 72.

³⁶ Cardwell, Doc. Ann. I. Nos. xvi., xvii. and xviii.

³⁷ Doc. Ann. i.-75.

the Popish Mass," as including "setting any light upon the Lord's board," which they forbade accordingly, being "other ceremonies than are appointed in the King's Book of Common Prayers."

The use of Mass lights existed, therefore, "under the first Prayer Book only" in the same sense that theft exists 'under' the Eighth Commandment, or Ritualism 'under' the Public Worship Act.

UNDER ELIZABETH.

A fresh set of Injunctions was issued in 1559, based on those of 1547, but the Edwardian Injunction 'suffering' the "two lights" to 'remain' was omitted, while the general prohibition against "setting up candles" was retained. In Elizabeth's private chapel lights were burned before the crucifix, at evening service as well as at other times during the first four years of her reign; but this had no connection with lights "before the Sacrament." The history of Elizabeth's image-lights has been fully detailed in THE CHURCH INTELLIGENCER, Vol. III., p. 4. Strype says they were "contrary to her own Injunctions."³⁸ Their introduction greatly alarmed the Protestants who wrote to ask what should be done "suppose the Queen should enjoin the bishops and clergy to admit this image with its candles (*imaginem cum candelis*) into their churches?"³⁹ After April 26th, 1563, the Elizabethan image-candles were never again lighted.⁴⁰

On Aug. 1st, 1563, the second book of Homilies was published with a preface by Bp. Cox: and in the Homily on "Peril of Idolatry" Bp. Jewel taught that "In the daytime it needeth not, but was ever a proverb of foolishness to light a candle at noon-time." Long before this, on March 24th, 1560, Cox had refused to minister in the Queen's Chapel "lights and the cross remaining." Abp. Parker also protested on the same occasion.⁴¹ Bp. Bullingham, one of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners who framed the Advertisements of 1566 (which were issued "by virtue of" Elizabeth's Letter of January 25th, 1565), preached against "candles at noonday."^{42a} Bps. Grindal and Horn, two of the Elizabethan revisers of the Prayer Book, wrote in 1567—"The Church of England has entirely given up the use of lighted tapers, and other things of that kind, which by prescript of the laws are never to be recalled."⁴³ Those last words are especially to be noted as showing that the Prayer Book excluded what it did not expressly 'retain.' Harding, the Romanist, taunted Bp. Jewel—"If lights at the Gospel and Communion be not had . . . judge ye whether ye have duly kept the old ceremonies of the Church."

³⁸ Life of Parker, p. 46.

⁴⁰ Z. L. i.-129.

^{41a} Robertson, 74 n.

³⁹ Z. L. i.-64 and App. p. 36.

⁴¹ Strype's Annals, i.-176 and App. xxii.

⁴² Z. L. i.-178, and App. 106.

Jewel defended the Use of the Church of England by quoting Jerome and Tertullian, as above.⁴³ But the most conclusive proof of the entire absence of altar-lights from Elizabethan Churches, is the fact that the Puritans who were morbidly sensitive about the most trivial matters of ritual, *never once* complain of altar-lights. Hooker and Whitgift are equally silent. Dean Sampson expressly said, "The candles are retained at Court alone."⁴⁴

It has been shown in THE CHURCH INTELLIGENCER, 1886, Vol. III., p. 3, that Elizabeth's fancy ritual was political rather than theological in its significance, and was always recognised as being at variance with the formularies, and with the received usages of the Church in her own day.

* *

When the genuine Mass was restored under Mary, we read in Strype (under date August 21st, 1553), "Mass began at St. Nicholas Cole-Abbey, sung in Latin, and *tapers set on the altar, and a cross.*"⁴⁵ The clean sweep made of altars and their furniture in 1559, at the restoration of Edward's second Prayer Book, finally banished the Mass-lights from the Church of England. Bp. Andrewes describing "some of the superfluous and wicked ceremonies of the Papists borrowed from the heathen," instances that "their burning of tapers at noonday is altogether a pagan custom."⁴⁶

Yet Andrewes is the earliest bishop after the Reformation who adopted the use of candlesticks on the holy table in his private chapel: but of course, only for necessary use. At that very time we know that the candles in the Chapel Royal were also unlit from the celebrated lines of Andrew Melville ridiculing its clasped books and "blind lights."

"Cur stant clausi Anglis libri duo regiâ in arâ?
Lumina cæca duo, pollubra sicca duo?"⁴⁷

Laud, the professed imitator of Andrewes, introduced candlesticks at Lambeth where they had been "never used in his predecessor's days;" but in his defence, he testifies that they were "not burning."⁴⁸ The eccentric Nicholas Ferrar had candles "not for the purposes of superstition but for real use, which for a great part of the year the fixed hours of prayer made necessary both for morning and evening service."⁴⁹

At the coronation of Charles I. at Edinburgh, in 1633, the two wax candles "were *unlighted.*" See Canon Robertson's "How shall we conform to the Liturgy?" third edition, p. 392, correcting Mr. Fuller Russell's misrepresentation of Spalding.

⁴³ Def. Apol., 176.

⁴⁴ Z. L. i.-63.

⁴⁵ Eccl. Mem. iii.-22.

⁴⁶ Minor Works, Anglo-Catholic Library, p. 370.

⁴⁷ Perry's Hist. Church of England, i.-146. We learn from Howell's Letters, p. 140, that the candlesticks taken to Madrid for Prince Charles' Chapel were "never used."

⁴⁸ *Exarugia Anglicana*, p. 162.

⁴⁹ Wordsworth's Eccl. Biog. v.-158.

Prynne himself, in his "Quench Coal," published in 1637, said (p. 34), "There is no analogie between the Communion table and light, unless in respect of those candlesticks, and *unburning* tapers which some Popish novellers place for a double shewe upon it." In 1640, a proctor in Convocation said, "I know not why we should have candles in the day-time; I wish there may not be so much as an emblem of a fruitless prelacy or clergy in the Church, that only fill the candlestick, but give no light."⁵⁰

In the following year a pamphlet entitled "Vox Borealis" described a person who on "coming into a new altered church, and looking upon their implements, told his friend that was with him . . . that . . . their two dark tapers betokened blindness and superstition."⁵¹ "Lambeth Fair," a Puritan satire, describes the candles at St. Paul's Cathedral,

"When we at matins, and at even-song were,
We had them by us then devoid of fear,"

But no hint is given of their being used at Holy Communion.⁵²

On the eve of the Savoy Conference "divers ministers of sundry counties" published "reasons showing the necessity of reformation," in which they complain of the Laudian party that "they must have all (*except* candles lighted) that are upon Popish altars where Mass is used."⁵³

At the Savoy Conference, "Dr. Bates urged Dr. Gunning that on the same reasons they so imposed the cross and surplice, they might *bring in* holy water, and *lights*, and abundance of such ceremonies of Rome, which we *have cast out*."⁵⁴

After the Restoration, Hickeringill wrote—

"I profess, when I came from beyond sea, about the year 1660, to Paul's and Whitehall, I almost thought at first blush that I was still in Spain or Portugal; only the candles on our altars, most nonsensically, stand unlighted to signify what? the darkness of our noddles, or to tempt the chandlers to turn downright Papists, as the more suitable religion for their trade?" . . . "For what signification of light can this ceremony be any more than a stick?"⁵⁵

Bp. Cosin testifies that, at Durham, "during the whole season of the year no candles were lighted or used for the performance of Divine service but when it was dark;" but they were lit, he says, when the 'lessons' were read and the 'psalms' sung at night.⁵⁶

Yet Mr. J. D. Chambers stated—"that Cosin continued the practice of 'lights before the Sacrament' after the Restoration, is proved by a passage in Walter Brereton's Travels, quoted in Mr. Street's lecture given at Durham in 1868, *who saw them so used.*"⁵⁷

⁵⁰ Robertson, p. 79.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Hierurgia Anglicana, p. 256.

⁵³ Hier. Ang. p. 329.

⁵⁴ Sylvester's Life of Baxter, p. 340.

⁵⁵ Works, ii.-405, 441.

⁵⁶ Works, iv.-390, 395.

⁵⁷ Comment and Confutation, p. 25.

That is a typical sample of a Ritualistic voucher. Brereton never mentions either Cosin, or "lights before the Sacrament;" and the only allusion to an 'altar' is in Bp. Morton's remark to Brereton, viz., that "it was not to be counted an altar, but the Communion-table."⁵⁸

In 1674, Hickman wrote—"We, in England, in many places, set candles and candlesticks on the tables, but do not light them."^{58a}

In 1695, a Puritan writes—"In some topping churches you shall see huge unlighted candles (for what use nobody alive can tell), but the meaner churches are forced to shift without them."⁵⁹

Lathbury⁶⁰ quotes from a dissenting writer of George the Second's time—"There is no command for setting up of candles upon Communion tables, and yet we see unlighted candles placed on Collegiate and Cathedral altars, which some inferior churches awkwardly ape:" and also a Scotch Presbyterian, writing in Queen Anne's time against the Scottish Union, who urged—"We shall have *blind* lights, altars, and bowing to the altar."

Mr. Fuller Russell cited "Drake's Eboracum, p. 524," as proving that in 1736 lights were burned at York Minster "at every service," though his voucher merely says they were lit in winter "at *evening* service."

Cosin referred, vaguely and inaccurately, to Edward's Injunction of 1547, but he never quotes, nor appears to have been aware of the crucial words "before the Sacrament." The fact is, his 'Notes' were written before Sparrow had reprinted these Injunctions; hence, like Wheatly, Cosin seems to have thought that the table-candles were for use at *evening* service. And this 'tradition' led to the introduction of many candlesticks during the reign of Queen Anne. Dr. Hook, in his "Church Dictionary" (eighth edition), takes Wheatly's view, as also did Dr. Stephens in his "Notes on the Common Prayer."

But lights "*before the Sacrament*" were unknown in the Church of England for 300 years, till the revival of Romish doctrine gave rise to the recent introduction of this appropriate symbol of a localised deity.

"The lights are of course not for use, but to symbolise the divine presence. We burn them on our altars, on the right side and on the left, before the oracle, when, *as the Bible says [sic]* there is 'no need' of them. 'Two candlesticks standing before the God of the earth' appear in the Revelation, and in the authorised [sic] use of the English Church."⁶¹

That is "the History and Meaning of Altar-lights."

⁵⁸ Brereton's Travels, Chetham Society, p. 81.

^{58a} Hist. Quinq-Articularis Exarticulata, p. 13.

⁵⁹ Hierurgia Anglicana, p. 354. ⁶⁰ Hist. Book of Common Prayer, p. 427.

⁶¹ "What Ritual has God appointed ?" by the Rev. J. S. Pollock.

THE MIXED CHALICE.

"*THY silver is become dross, thy wine mixed with water,*"—such was the language used by Isaiah (i.-22) to describe the adulteration of doctrine in his own day: and the words have a singular fitness to the same purpose nowadays.¹ For a brief period after the Reformation the priest was ordered by the rubric (in the Prayer Book of 1549) to "put the wine into the chalice. . . . putting thereto a little pure and clean water": but this direction was finally withdrawn in 1552. And the Thirty-fourth Article "Of the Traditions of the Church" explains the authority by which this was done.

So clear is the law of the Church of England that when the English Church Union employed nine eminent counsel in 1866 to give an Opinion as to the legality or otherwise of adding water during the Communion service, the three most eminent—viz., Sir W. Bovill, Mr. J. D. Coleridge, and Mr. W. M. James said expressly that it was "not lawful." Two held it arguable, "but upon the whole *not* authorised;" these two being Mr. J. Hannen and Sir R. Phillimore, the latter of whom two years later, as Dean of the Arches, pronounced "that the mixing may not take place during the service, because such mixing would be a ceremony *designedly omitted in and therefore prohibited by* the rubrics of the present Prayer Book."² Every one of the above counsel subsequently became a Judge of one of Her Majesty's Supreme Courts. Dr. Deane "had some doubt as to the lawfulness" but "strongly inclined to the opinion" which his clients sought. Only two held that the practice was "not

¹ The word used by St. Paul in 2 Cor. ii.-17 for 'corrupting' is taken from Isaiah i.-22, in the LXX.

² Judgment in Martin v. Mackonochie, Phillimore's Report, p. 93.

illegal," and these two (Messrs. Prideaux and Cutler) were certainly not the most eminent. These Opinions were published by the English Church Union in 1866, having been given upon *their own ex parte Case*. Yet the E.C.U. have ever since employed their funds in defending a practice which all the courts have repeatedly condemned, as counsel had predicted. With what consistency can persons who act thus pretend that they care two straws for the "law of the Church of England"? or how can the E.C.U. possibly be mistaken for a body of loyal Churchmen?

Some advocates of the practice, however, take higher ground and declare that the mixed chalice was instituted by Christ Himself, so that the Church of England has *no right* to forbid the practice. Even though this were true, it would not justify the conduct of non-conforming clergymen who take orders from choice, and with their eyes open, in a Church which, on their theory, is all the time imposing sinful terms of Communion. But, it may be said, laymen do not promise to use the forms in the Prayer Book "and none other." To them, it needs to be pointed out that—not every circumstance attending the institution of the Lord's Supper formed part of the Divine rite. For example, the semi-recumbent position; the 'celebrant' dressed like the rest in the every-day garb of a layman, and facing the communicants (who could not else have witnessed the scene which they describe to us); the exclusion not only of women, but of "the disciples" other than the chosen twelve; the words addressed in the plural to the whole company, and *not* to each communicant; the absence of any symbolical 'breaking' of the bread prior to its breaking for distribution; the total consumption of the 'body' before the 'blood' even *began to be* 'consecrated'; the "upper room," and the post-prandial hour—these, which are all directly mentioned, or necessarily implied in the story of the Evangelists, and of St. Paul are, notwithstanding, no part of the "Lord's Supper." Even the so-called "words of institution" not only differ in the Missal (and even, though in a less degree, in the Prayer Book) from any one of the inspired versions, but the words "*hoc est enim corpus meum,*" which in

the Missal are printed in large capitals as being supposed to effect the miracle of Transubstantiation, have been altered—both by addition and by subtraction—from the words actually used by Christ Himself at the original institution.

We have no certain evidence that our Lord used watered wine, still less that He ‘mixed’ the cup Himself. Some of the more learned Ritualists themselves admit this. Archdeacon Freeman says: “On the whole I think it improbable that our Lord mixed the cup.”³ Mr. Scudamore admits “it is not absolutely certain (1) because in instituting a new ordinance He was not bound to follow in every particular that ancient rite on which He modelled it; and especially He was free (if I may so speak) in regard to the cup of wine, the use of which was only a tradition of the elders, and not prescribed by the Divine law; and (2) because although ‘they commonly mixed water’ with the wine, it was not considered essential, their rule being ‘if anyone has drunk the wine pure, and not mingled with water, he has done his duty’; and (3) because there was no certain tradition to that effect among the first Christians; Origen even affirming, as from the Scripture, that the sacrament was instituted with unmixed wine.”⁴

Dr. Edersheim thinks it probable that *hot* water was used at the Paschal supper.⁵ And the Greek Church to this day orders *boiling* water to be poured thrice into the consecrated wine. Their rubric runs, “*The deacon taking boiling water, says to the priest, Sir, bless this holy heat ($\zeta\epsilon\sigma\nu$). And the priest blesses it, saying, Blessed be the fervour of thy saints always, now and for ever, and to endless ages.—Amen. But the deacon pours it into the holy cup crosswise, saying, The fervour of faith, full of the Holy Ghost.—Amen. And this he does thrice.*”⁶ “The Latin omission of this rite is noted in the Nomo-Canon of the Greeks as a mark of heretical pravity.”

We read in 2 Maccabees xv.-39, “for as it is hurtful to drink

³ Rites and Ritual, p. 77.

⁴ Notitia Eucharistica, p. 392.

⁵ The Temple, its Ministry and Services, p. 204, note.

⁶ Goar, pp. 81, 175.

wine or water alone; and as wine mingled with water is pleasant and delighteth the taste: even so speech," &c. But this book was written by Greek-speaking Jews, who did not live in Palestine, but in a country in which the wine required to be mixed with water to form a beverage. This was the reason why the Jews of the Dispersion came to mingle their Paschal cup. Orientals living in Palestine, Syria, and Arabia to this day mix their wine with strengthening ingredients. Thus in Scripture we find that men were "of strength to mingle strong drink." When wine was mixed with water it was in order that it might be drunk more freely and in larger quantities. "Since our Saviour, then, did not sit at meat with His disciples for good cheer, and since pure wine only was allowed at the Jewish sacrifices (although the Passover partook more of the character of a feast than of a sacrifice), it is obviously more likely that the wine He blessed and drank was pure, than that it was mixed with water."⁷ Neither would our Saviour have called it "the fruit of the vine," or, as Clement of Alexandria and Cyril of Jerusalem both term it, "the blood of the vine," had it been a mixture. "For the vine produces wine, not water," says St. Chrysostom.⁸ If the "fruit of the vine" does not mean wine there is no authority in the Gospels for employing wine at the Lord's Supper. [See 1 Cor. xi.-21.]

The earliest account of a celebration appears to be that in the "Teaching of the Twelve Apostles," which says, cap. ix., "First, with regard to the cup, 'We give thanks to Thee, our Father, for the holy vine of thy child David.'" So, Clement of Alexandria said, "He poured out for us the wine of the vine of David, that is to say, His blood."⁹

The Jewish Rabbinical writers of the Middle Ages do not agree as to their 'tradition.'

Lightfoot¹⁰ says he that drank pure wine performed his duty; so that, although it seems probable that our Lord used the mixed

⁷ Dr. S. C. Malan's "Two Holy Sacraments," p. 268.

⁸ See Cranmer's "Answer to Gardiner," p. 274.

⁹ Didachē, Spence, p. 41.

¹⁰ Temple Service, I.-691.

cup, yet it is not certain He did so. Buxtorf¹¹ says it was indifferent whether the cup was mixed or not; and in his "Synagoga Judaica," where he gives full details of the Passover, does not mention a cup of wine diluted with water.¹²

The true origin of the mixed chalice was probably the fact that watered wine being used at the Agape,¹³ or love feast which then accompanied the Lord's Supper, the same mixture was naturally adopted into that rite as a matter of pure indifference; just as on the other hand leavened bread, as being "usual to be eaten with other meats" was almost universally adopted. [See Scudamore, Not. Euch. p. 864.]

When the doctrine of transubstantiation came into vogue, this added water was a difficulty to the Roman 'theologians.' Was the water, too, transubstantiated? and, if not, did it break the priest's fast? Moreover would it not involve an act of idolatry to "bow down before" the untransubstantiated 'creature'? Some Romish writers held that "the water is not converted into wine, but that the water and the wine are *severally* converted into blood." In support of this view Baronius tells a story how a piece of the Host fell accidentally into a vessel containing water, and that the water was thereupon "changed into blood."¹⁴

But the Catechism of Trent tells us that "according to the opinion and judgment of ecclesiastical writers, that water is converted into wine" before being (by a second miracle) transubstantiated.¹⁵

Yet before the Reformation an English Bishop, at his conse-

¹¹ De Primæ Coenæ Ritibus et Forma, § 20.

¹² Ep. Tully Kingdon says, "It is very doubtful indeed whether the supper at which the Lord instituted the blessed sacrament was, or was intended to be, the usual paschal supper" (Fasting Communion, p. 341), and Mr. Scudamore, in his second edition, p. 861, says "in the first edition I spoke with too much confidence of the use of unleavened bread at the last supper."

¹³ In Marriott's Vestiarium Christianum, Pl. xvi., is an inscription, "Irena da calida[m] Agape misce mi[hi]" which seems to refer to the use of *hot* water at a love feast. From the cemetery of Marcellinus and Peter at Rome.

¹⁴ Scudamore, p. 391.

¹⁵ Pars II. de Euch. Sacr. c. xviii.

cration, was only required to answer affirmatively the following question :—“ Do you believe that *the wine* mixed with water, which is put into the chalice to be consecrated, is truly and essentially converted into the blood which by the soldier’s spear flowed from the wound in the Lord’s side ? ”

The importance attached to this apocryphal miracle by Ritualists is shown by the fact that the Rev. T. W. Perry, formerly a member of the Royal Commission on Ritual, and since member of the Council of the E.C.U., published in 1857 a selection of ancient Canons still in force. From the Canons of Abp. Walter, A.D. 1195, he selects this one—

“ A priest may not celebrate mass twice a day, unless the necessity be urgent. When he does, let nothing be poured into the chalice after the receiving of the Blood at the first celebration ; but let the least drops be diligently supped out of the chalice, and the fingers sucked or licked with the tongue and washed, and the washings kept in a clean vessel to be had for this purpose ; which washings are to be drunk after the *second* celebration.”

The rinsing water, *not being transubstantiated*, might otherwise break the priest’s fast. Mr. Perry adds, in a parallel column, this note :—“ All these laws are still in force, and might be a most useful and very practical guide to the clergy of the Church of England.” (“ Lawful Church Ornaments,” p. 478.)

The rabbis of Ritualism “ strain out ” the gnat of two or three drops of water, while swallowing the camel of the entire withdrawal of the cup, which the Saviour expressly bade “ ALL ” to drink !

Is not this a “ teaching for doctrines the commandments of men ” ?

The ‘ symbolism ’ imputed to this watering of the wine was very various. Some said it ‘ symbolised ’ cleansing and redemption ; others, Christ and the Church ; others, the two natures in Christ ; others, the water from the Rock ; others, the water and the blood which flowed from the side of Christ. This last, might seem at first sight plausible, till we call to mind that the separation of the water from the blood (as a token and proof of the finished “ sacrifice of the death of Christ ”), is not in any way

represented by the commingling of the two elements, so as to make the water invisible. Moreover, it was the constant teaching of the Fathers that just as "the mother of all living" was formed from the side of the first Adam, so the water from the side of Christ was a type of Baptism and witnessed to the unique character of the TWO Sacraments, by which the Bride of the Second Adam is formed. [See Pusey's Tract 67, p. 298.] The Armenian Church has *never* used water; and though they were censured by certain councils, it was not for their refusal to 'mix,' but for denying that the mixture was even lawful.¹⁶ The ancient Church of Ireland did not use it.¹⁷ The Syriac "Liturgy of St. James" is innocent of the practice, though the interpolated Greek versions mention it, not, however, always in the same terms.¹⁸

As to the proportion of the two ingredients, the custom varied from one-third water, to two drops. By some Churches it was added at a preliminary service; by others poured ceremonially into the 'blood' already consecrated. In none of these varying usages was there anything which can properly be termed 'Catholic.'

"Every particular or national Church hath authority to ordain, change, and abolish, ceremonies or rites of the Church ordained only by man's authority, so that all things be done to edifying" (Art. xxxiv.). And the first essential to 'edifying' is that all things be done according to pre-arranged 'order' (*τάξιν*, 1 Cor. xiv.-40). "*The appointment of the which order appertaineth not to private men,*" as the Preface to the Prayer Book says. It is in the defence of our Christian liberties no less than in subjection to lawful authority, that we are bound to resist every attempt to make the Mixed Chalice compulsory upon

¹⁶ S. Thomas Aquinas, cited by Trevor on Eucharist, p. 445.

¹⁷ Scudamore, p. 390.

¹⁸ Renaudot, ii.-126. "In the Apostolic Constitutions in Coptic, no mention is made of water, but only of bread and wine being *p-smot*, the figure or semblance of the body and blood of Christ, with milk and honey." ("Malan on Ritualism," p. 97.)

unwilling laymen at the mere caprice of individual priests. Yet Mr. Berdmore Compton contends that it is even now binding by Canon Law.¹⁹

Mr. Maskell, in the Preface to his "Ancient Liturgy of the Church of England" (1846, p. cxxxv.), notwithstanding his strong Roman sympathies, stated the rule very clearly long before it came before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council:—

"It is not necessary that every ancient practice which is no longer to be observed, should particularly be mentioned: the mere omission of directions must, in many cases, be allowed to be sufficient. More than this; the Statute 1 Eliz. c. 1' [2?] 'which enforces the Act of 2nd & 3rd Edwd. c. 1.'²⁰ 'ordains that all ministers shall be bound to say, and use the mattens, evensong, administration of each of the sacraments, and all other common and open prayer, in such order and form as is *mentioned in* the said book so authorised by Parliament, and none other, or otherwise.'"

That Statute is part of the existing Prayer Book (though illegally omitted in copies published by the S.P.C.K.), and is directly applied to it by the last Act of Uniformity. Mr. Maskell's conclusion seems therefore to be irresistible:—

"The wise and proper course for the minister of the Church of England to pursue must be to consecrate wine only without any mixture of water. The intention and object with which anciently the mixture was ordered were mystical and to be signified by a public adding of the water to the wine, that those who were present might see, and acknowledge its hidden meaning, so that if this mixture be not public as of old, and explained to the people, the purpose of it must be lost, and disobedience to the rubric be accompanied by no reasonable benefit whatever."

¹⁹ Report of Eccl. Courts Commission, Vol. 2, Q. 2784.

²⁰ Rather, 5 & 6. Ed. VI. c. 1.

ADDITIONAL EVIDENCE RESPECTING THE ORNAMENTS RUBRIC.

No. II.

IN "Additional Evidence respecting the Ornaments Rubric," No. I., Dean Durel and Abp. Sancroft, with *every* bishop who took any part in the last revision of the Prayer Book, were produced as witnesses that our present 'rubric' was understood by its first framers to require precisely the same "Ornaments of the Minister" which had been in use under the Elizabethan Act of Uniformity, and the Canons of 1604, viz. the surplice and hood at the administration of sacraments in parish churches. Two whole years had elapsed between the Restoration of Charles II. and the enactment of our present Rubric, during which time the surplice and hood had been the *only* "Ornaments of the Minister" anywhere to be seen in parish churches where the Liturgy was retained and in use.

We are able to show that it was the intention of the Legislature to re-enact that *status quo ante*. On March 16th, 1661, there came from the King to the House of Lords a *proviso*, which was adopted (after certain small verbal amendments) by the House of Lords, giving to the King power to dispense with rubrical conformity in the case of any worthy incumbent who —like Richard Baxter at Kidderminster—was then in actual possession of a living. This proviso ran: "That no such minister shall be deprived or lose his benefice or other ecclesiastical promotion for not wearing the surplice or for not signing with the sign of the cross in baptism."¹ This proviso was, however, disallowed by the Commons, who by their spokesman, Serjeant Charlton, explained the reasons of their dissent, viz.: "That it would unavoidably establish schism. All persons of different inclinations would apply to such as should have this liberty, and that necessarily make parties, especially in great cities. . . . The gentleman added that he thought it better to impose no ceremonies than to dispense with any; and he thought it very incongruous, at the same time when you are settling uniformity, to establish schism."²

Thus the House of Commons refused to "dispense with any" ceremony required by the new Prayer Book, while the King, Lords, and Commons alike recognised 'the' surplice as being the bone of contention in 1662. In determining the meaning of

¹ Swainson's Hist. Act of Uniformity, p. 45.

² Swainson, p. 59.

the Act of Uniformity, the intention of the Legislature is evidently of more importance than the proposals of Divines.

* *

In 1667 a Bill was brought into Parliament by the Government of the day for the relief of those who felt aggrieved by the Act of Uniformity. Sir Matthew Hale, Chief Baron (afterwards Chief Justice), Sir Orlando Bridgman, Lord Keeper, and Sir Robert Atkins (afterwards Chief Baron), were all living at the time of the passing the Act of Uniformity, and were parties to the proposed relief Bill.

"In this Bill it was proposed that the use of the surplice should be left indifferent and discretionary, but nothing was said of any other Eucharistic vestments, to which the non-conforming clergy would have felt far greater repugnance than to the surplice, and from which they would doubtless have been protected by an express provision in that Bill for their relief, if the framers of the Bill had supposed those vestments to be required by law. In the opinion of those great lawyers, those Eucharistic vestments were not required by the Act of Uniformity; and inasmuch as the Act of Uniformity was designed, as its title shows, and as Lord Clarendon and Abp. Sheldon affirmed, for the very purpose of securing one uniform ritual, those vestments are not lawful, even on the ground of Statute Law." The preamble to the Act of Uniformity avows its "intent that every person within this Realm may certainly know the rule to which he is to conform."

* *

Thus, in addition to the evidence given in No. I. of the official translator of the Liturgy, of the Secretary to the Revision at every stage of its progress, of the Revisers themselves, and of the Ordinaries who enforced the provisions of the new book, we have now the witness of the King, Lords, and Commons in 1662, and again in 1667. To these might be added the negative testimony of a long string of Nonconformists who complained only of the "three nocent ceremonies," viz. 'the' surplice, cross in baptism, and kneeling at Holy Communion.³

* *

Richard Baxter, the leader of the Nonconformists, died on December 8th, 1691, and in 1690 appeared a second edition, "amended and corrected," of his "English Nonconformity, as under King Charles II. and King James II., truly stated and argued."

In this, his latest *Apologia*, Baxter enumerates "forty points of ministers' conformity" to which he took exception. As the book is scarce, and has not before been referred to in this controversy, it is best to reprint the entire chapter.

³ See Lord Selborne's Notes on the Liturgy, p. 54.

"Chap. XX. Point XVII. Of Consenting to all the Ornaments of Church and Ministers that were in use in the Second year of King Edw. 6.

L. *WHAT have you against this?*

M. The words are, [That such Ornaments of the Church, and of the Ministers thereof, at all times of their Ministration, shall be retained in use as were in this Church of England by the Authority of Parliament in the Second year of King Edw. 6.]

Against this we have these Exceptions.

1. We know not what was then in use, and therefore cannot consent to we know not what.

2. We are told that the Albe, and many other Ornaments were then in use that are since put down, and we must not consent to restore them, without more reason than we hear. And the Canon enumerating the Ornaments *now*, we suppose the addition of all those will contradict it.

3. We meet with few Conformists that know what was then in use. *And we see that all those that subscribe or consent to this, yet use them not.* And we will not run for company into a solemn Covenant consent, to the use of those things that we see *no body* use. The second year of King *Edw. 6*, was the minority of the Reformation. and before we consent to make it our pattern, we must know what it was, and whether no Act of Parliament have since reversed that which then was used?"

His "thirtieth point" was "Of Canon 58, that maketh the surplice necessary to ministration"; and about a score of the Canons of 1604 were also adduced by him as furnishing various 'points' of objection in 1690.

It will be seen that although twenty-eight years had elapsed since the new 'rubric' came into force, not one of the conforming clergy had used the ornaments of 1548, which Baxter admits had been "put down." Moreover, the 58th Canon, which confessedly does 'contradict' the Rubric of 1549, was admitted by Baxter to "enumerate the ornaments *now*." Indeed, so purely speculative and theoretical was his "Point xvii.", that he had to confess that he did not even know what "the many other ornaments" were to which he vaguely refers as "all those."

"Dolus latet in generalibus." At the Savoy Conference these same unknown ornaments of the Elizabethan 'Rubric' had been described by Baxter and his friends as "the cope, albe, &c., and other vestments."⁴ But this last term expressed only ignorance as Baxter at last candidly avows, though he claims with justice that "few Conformists" were any better informed than himself.

It is undoubtedly true that ignorance as to ritual matters was almost universal⁵ at that time. For the very few copies of the first Prayer Book of Edward which had survived the destruction

⁴ Card. Conf. p. 314.

⁵ Bishop Cosin was no exception to this statement. His blunders as to the two Prayer Books of King Edward were of the grossest kind. See CHURCH INTELLIGENCER, 1885, Vol. II., pp. 115, 116, 117.

caused by the Proclamation of Philip and Mary in 1555⁶ were, as L'Estrange in his preface, and Collier⁷ testify, hardly at all known. Cosin's son-in-law, Dean Granville, had not even seen the book till 1683, though he "had searched for it a great while with great diligence" till he found it at last in the Bodleian.⁸ The only reprint then accessible was in the first edition of Hamon L'Estrange's "Alliance of Divine Offices," published in 1659, where the "Certain Notes" at the end of the first Prayer Book were printed by themselves in a column parallel to the so-called Elizabethan 'Rubric.' To enable everyone to understand how this evidence presented itself in 1661, a copy of page 63 of L'Estrange's first edition (1659) is given on the opposite page, where the "Common Prayer" means, of course, the printed book of King James I. referred to in the 80th Canon.

It will be seen that these "Certain Notes" (as printed in column 1) required only the surplice and hood for clergymen under the degree of a Bishop. Hence arose a tradition widely prevalent in 1661 that the surplice only was prescribed by the first Prayer Book. Strange as it may seem to us, that view was taken by Dr. Cornelius Burges (1660) and Prynne (1661) on the side of the Puritans, as well as by Savage, the Master of Balliol and Chaplain to Charles II., who replied to them.⁹ Even Bp. Wren, when he wrote in 1641, held the same view.¹⁰ And the really learned Joseph Bingham, when replying directly to this very chapter of Baxter's, quoted the Rubric from the end of the first Prayer Book, and added:—

"This it was that led Mr. B. into his mistake. He had heard something of albes and other ornaments in use in King Edward's time, but he unluckily put the Bishop's robes upon every private minister: whereas no other ornament belonged to them but only the hood or surplice, the one enjoined, the other allowed or recommended."

He then quotes the 58th Canon, and concludes triumphantly, "Where is now the contradiction between this Canon and the Rubrics? They all speak of surplices and hoods, but of no other ornaments belonging to private ministers."¹¹ Nor was this peculiar to Bingham. Dr. C. Burges, who had been one of the Committee of Divines in 1641, writing in 1660 said, "The book of 2 Ed. VI. enjoins only a surplice in parish churches and chappels. See last page of that book, where are Notes for explanation."¹²

⁶ Doe. Ann. i.-167. Even Abp. Whitgift had not seen a copy. (Strype's Whitgift, App. 55.)

⁷ Hist. Eccl. v.-282. "The book is very scarce. I grant it may be met with by parts" in L'Estrange.

⁸ Correspondence, Surtees Soc. I.-172. ⁹ Droop, Ed. Vest., pp. 65-70.

¹⁰ Parentalia, p. 92. Ed. 1750. ¹¹ Bingham's Works, viii.-114.

¹¹ Reasons showing the Necessity of a Reformation, p. 12. The chapter is headed "some of the differences and alterations in the present Common Prayer Book from the Book established by Law, in quinto and sexto Edw. 6, and 1 Eliz."

Chap. 3

C H A P. III.

The order where Morning and Evening Prayer shall be used and said.

Common Prayer.

Omitted in the 1. B. of Edw. 6. The morning and Evening Prayer shall be used in the accustomed place of the Church, Chappel, or Chancel, (B) except it shall be otherwise determined by the Ordinary of the Place. (C) And the Chancels shall remain as they have done in times past.

1. B. of Edw. 6.

In the saying of Mattens and Evensong, Baptizing & Burying, the Minister in Parish Churches and Chappels annex to the same (E) shall use a Surplice. And in all Cathedral Churches and Colledges, the Arch-Deacons, Deans, Provosts, Masters, Prebendaries and fellows being Graduates, may use in the quire, besides their Surplices, such hoods as pertaine to their several degrees, which they have taken in any university within this Realm. But in all other places every Minister shall be at liberty to use any Surplice or no. It is also seemly that Graduates when they do preach should use such hoods as pertaine to their several degrees.

And wheresoever the Bishop shall celebrate the holy Communion in the Church, or execute any other publick ministracion: he shall have upon him beside his Rochet a Surplice or Alb, and a Cope or Vlment, and also his Pastoral staffe in his hand, or else borne or helden by his Chaplain.

2 B. of Edw. 6.

The morning and Evening Prayer shall be used in such places of the Church, Chappel, or Chancel, and the Minister that so turn him as the people may best hear. And if there be any controverfie therein, the matter shall be referred to the Ordinary, and he or his deputy shall appoint the place. And the Chancels shall remain as they have done in times past.

The Common Prayer.

And here is to be noted, that the Minister at the time of the Communion, and at all other times in his ministracion shall use (D) such ornaments in the Church as were in use by Authority of Parliament in the 2. year of the reign of King Edw. the 6th according to the act of Parliament set in the beginning of the Book.

Scotch Liturgy.
And here is to be noted, that the presbyter or Minister at the time of the Communion, and at other times of his ministracion, shall use such ornaments in the Church, as are prescribed, or shall be by his Majesty or his successors according to the Act of Parliament provided in that behalf.

2. Book of Edw. 6.

And here is to be noted, that the Minister at the time of the Communion and at all other times in his ministracion shall use neither Alb, Vestment, nor cope, but being Arch-Bishop, or Bishop he shall have and wear a Rochet, and being a Priest or Deacon, he shall have and wear a surplice only.

Archdeacon Sharp, writing in 1735, said :—

“ So that the injunction concerning the habits and ornaments of ministers, which is *at the end* of King Edward’s first Service Book, with its explanation in the Act of Uniformity by Q. Elizabeth, is the legal or statutable rule of our Church habits at this day.”¹²

A very popular book at one time was “The Clergyman’s Vade Mecum,” by John Johnson of Cranbrook, of which the second edition appeared in 1706. The writer said :—

“ There must likewise be in every parish church and chapel, a surplice, which the minister is obliged to use, in saying mattins, evensong, baptizing, burying, etc., in churches and parochial chapels; the minister in other places shall have liberty to use any surplice or no, by a Rubric *at the end* of Ed. VI.’s Common Prayer Book, authorized in the second year of his reign, and enforced by the Rubric immediately before Morning Prayer in our present Liturgy.” In the third edition (1709) the writer had at length discovered “the occasion of which mistake was, that we looked no further, than to the long rubric *at the end* of that book” (p. 21, note).

In our own day Canon Trevor has vindicated this view,¹³ urging that the special Rubrics at the beginning of the Communion office of 1549 disappeared together with that special office, and that the Sacrificial Vestments were never in the Church “*by authority of Parliament*” in the sense in which the surplice and hood and the eucharistic cope exclusively were.

It is highly probable that this belief (whether mistaken or not) made the acceptance of the revised “Ornaments Rubric” a mere matter of course in 1662. No debate or discussion whatever appears to have arisen respecting it in Convocation.¹⁴ The list of ‘alterations’ prefixed to the book in which all the important changes were carefully entered up during the revision of 1661 does not even allude to any change in the wording of the Ornaments Rubric. A footnote to the list, explains: “These are all ye materiall alterations: ye rest are onely verball: or ye changing of some Rubrics for ye better performing of ye service: or ye new moulding of some of ye collects.”

The slight regard thus paid by Convocation to the change in the Rubric is fatal to the Ritualistic contention that Cosin and his brother bishops *designed* to repeal, by means of it, the Injunctions of 1559, the royal Advertisements of 1566, and the 58th Canon, in order to reinstate in 1662 the sacrificial vestments of 1548. The Committee of Revision, presided over by Bp. Wren, expunged from the Elizabethan ‘Rubric’ the words which, by differentiating “the Holy Communion and all other times,” might have seemed to imply a distinctive dress for Holy Communion. Wren had himself urged in 1660—

¹² Sharp on the Rubric, p. 208.

¹⁴ Parker’s Hist. Revis., p. 409.

¹³ In his “Disputed Rubrics,” p. 45.

"But what is now fit to be ordered herein, and to preserve those that are still in use, it would be set down in express words, without *these uncertainties which breed nothing but debate and scorn.* The very words too of that Act, 2 Ed. VI., for the minister's ornaments, would be set down, or to pray to have a new one made; for *there is somewhat in that Act that now may not be used.*"¹⁵

"These uncertainties," and the 'somewhat,' again indicate the thickness of the fog in which all parties at that time found themselves, owing to the crooked policy of Elizabeth (or her Council), in tampering with the Ornaments Rubric of 1552, which had been re-enacted in 1559 by the first section of 1 Eliz. c. 2. It is now admitted on all hands that Elizabeth struck out the two authorised Rubrics before morning prayer, and substituted for them two perfectly unauthorised 'Rubrics' in the book as actually printed in 1559. Yet the Act 5 & 6 Edw. VI., which established the *second Prayer Book of Edward*, was in 1559 reinstated, "only concerning the said book . . . with the alteration and additions *therein* added and appointed by" 1 Eliz. c. 2, among which the Rubrics as *printed* assuredly were *not*. That pious fraud was the fruitful parent of unnumbered mischiefs to the Church. The illegal alterations in the first Rubric as to "the accustomed place" were detailed in the CHURCH INTELLIGENCER for September, 1884. The Puritans were well within their legal rights when, as in 1641, their "Committee of Divines" pointed out as an 'innovation' the "putting to the Liturgy *printed* 'secundo tertio Edwardi sexti,' which the Parliament hath reformed and set aside."¹⁶

So again, at the Savoy Conference, the 'Ministers' said, "forasmuch as this Rubric¹⁷ seemeth to bring back the cope, albe, &c., and other vestments *forbidden by the Common Prayer Book 5 & 6 Ed. VI.* . . . we desire it may to be wholly left out": and "we desire that the words of the first rubric may be expressed as in the book by authority of Parliament 5 & 6 Ed. VI."¹⁸

The meaning and force of the words which we have italicised in these extracts, seem to have escaped Dr. Cardwell, and even Lord Selborne and Mr. Droop. That meaning is nevertheless perfectly clear, viz. that by the Elizabethan Act of Uniformity (1 Eliz. c. 2), the *second Prayer Book of Edward* (*including* the Rubrics in that book, which prescribed the place where morning prayer should be said, and the dress of the minister), was in full legal force, the Statute of 5 & 6 Ed. VI. having been expressly revived. The actual text of the two Rubrics of 1552 ought therefore to have been 'printed,' in 1559,

¹⁵ Jacobson's Fragments, p. 55.

¹⁶ Card. Conf. p. 273.

¹⁷ i.e. The Fraud-Rubric of Elizabeth.

¹⁸ Card. Conf. p. 314. Even Bp. Cosin recognised that "the Act of Uniformity doth not specify this alteration, or receding from the form of the fifth of Ed. VI." (Works v.-438.)

and of course the Rubrics substituted for them by Elizabeth to "be wholly left out."

Had the Puritan party been content merely to insist upon the illegality of the 'printed' Rubric of 1559, their position would have been impregnable, and they would consequently have been justified in contending that the "Injunctions and Advertisements of Queen Elizabeth are not in force but by way of commentary and imposition."¹⁹ For the Injunctions of 1559 really did enforce the Rubric of 1552; and the Advertisements of Elizabeth did 'impose' the cope in cathedral churches, and other additions to the simple Rubric of 1552.

Unhappily, the Puritans illustrate the old saw, that "oppression maketh a wise man mad." They were far more anxious to throw blame upon the bishops, and to accuse the conforming clergy of breaking the law, than to vindicate the Rubric of 1552, to which, in fact, they themselves refused to conform. It was the Puritans of the baser sort, like Barrow and Greenwood,²⁰ who first affected to doubt the royal authority of Elizabeth's Advertisements, in order to throw odium upon the bishops, as Bp. Cox (one of the revisers of the book of 1552) complained.²¹

It was from the more obscure, and from anonymous writers of the Puritan party that the Ritualists have borrowed their two favourite pretences, that the Advertisements had merely episcopal authority, and that the Mass vestments were in strict law binding upon all the clergy under the spurious 'Rubric' of Elizabeth.

But every one of the bishops, from Abp. Parker down to Abp. Sancroft, steadily treated these pretences as being unreal, far-fetched, and captious. They did so at the Savoy Conference. Had Baxter candidly desired to know "whether no Act of Parliament had since [1548] reversed that which was then so used," the needed information lay ready to his hand in the published writings of Sparrow, L'Estrange, and Heylyn, all of whom testified that the Advertisements of 1566 had been duly issued under the penultimate section of the 1 Eliz. c. 2, a Statute which so far from being repealed was in 1662 expressly incorporated into our present Prayer Book as the standard of legal Ritual. It is instructive to note that all that Baxter could urge in reply was the "tradition of the elders" of his party—"We are told" so and so. At the Hampton Court Conference that tradition had been either forgotten or laid aside as discredited. The history of its revival in our own day was detailed in the CHURCH INTELLIGENCER, Vol. III., pp. 46, 114, and is instructive as showing the evidential value of 'Tradition.'

¹⁹ Card. Conf. p. 273. ²⁰ Strype's Whitgift, 1-414. ²¹ Zurich Letters. i.-235.

THE DOCTRINE OF A 'SPIRITUAL' PRESENCE, AS TAUGHT BY THE RITUALISTS.

THE Ritualists elevate the consecrated bread "for the worship of the faithful;" they teach that the wicked, who eat this consecrated bread, must needs eat the flesh of Christ,¹ and that the napkins and vessels used in the celebration of the Lord's Supper do so literally "touch Christ" that "the linen cloth upon which has been laid the Lord's Body" must be "first washed by a clerk in holy orders," after which mechanical process, it "may be touched by laics again."²

This plainly *looks* as though they believed in that "Corporal Presence" which the Church of England rejects in the last Rubric at the end of the Communion Service.

But the Ritualists deny that they teach any "Corporal Presence" of the Lord's Body in the Eucharist. They say that they hold that the Lord's Body is present *after the manner of a spirit*, just as a man's soul inhabits his body; and this presence they call a 'Spiritual' presence.³

¹ Hence Dr. Littledale, in his "People's Hymnal," hymn 187, sings of Judas Iscariot—

"Thou hast stretched those hands for silver
That had held the immortal food;
With those lips that late had tasted
Of the Body and the Blood."

Compare Art. XXIX. Jeremy Taylor said:—"He that receives unworthily, receives no benefit... therefore he that receives benefit to his body, receives it by his worthy communicating; therefore the benefit reaching to the body by the holy eucharist comes to it by the soul; therefore by the action of the soul, not the action of the body; therefore by faith, and not by the mouth." (Real Presence, sec. vii.-8, Eden's Edit VI.-70.)

² Directorium Anglicanum, 2nd edition, pp. 60, 96, 203.

³ Perry on Kneeling, *passim*. Denison-Pusey Declaration, First Report of Ritual Commission, p. 128.

Now, it can be shown that *this* doctrine of a 'Spiritual' presence was

- I. Defended by the Papists, and denied by the Reformers at the time of the Reformation.
- II. Involves a meaningless self-contradiction.
- III. And is not sanctioned by 1 Cor. xv.-44.

I.

Bishop Gardiner, Cranmer's antagonist, said: "The Catholic teaching is, that the manner of Christ's presence in the Sacrament is spiritual, and supernatural, *not corporal*—but only spiritual."⁴

Langdale, disputing with Ridley in 1549, said that Christ was in the Sacrament "invisibly, indeed spiritually and sacramentally."⁵

Harding, the Jesuit, affirmed against Bishop Jewel that the Body is present, "not after corporal, carnal, or natural wise, but . . . supernaturally, *spiritually*," &c. (Jewel's Works, I., p. 455, Parker Soc.)

Cardinal Bellarmine says that Christ is not present "after that manner which is natural to *corporal* things, . . . but according to the manner of existence *proper to Spirits*, whole and entire in each part of the Host." (Cosin's "Hist. Transub.", Cap. III. Vol. IV., p. 43, A-C. L.)

And that this was the generally admitted doctrine of the Romanists Bishop Burnet recognised when he remarked that "the assertors of Transubstantiation itself . . . say the Body is not present corporally, but spiritually, or as a spirit is present."⁶

The phrase "Corporal presence" is used sometimes to describe the *nature* of the thing present, viz., a body (*corpus*), sometimes to indicate the *mode* of that presence, viz., after the *manner* of a body.

Gardiner explained that "if the word corporally be referred to the manner of the presence, then we should say Christ's Body were present after a corporal manner—which we say not, but in a spiritual manner."⁷ The Church of England avoids all ambiguity by denying "ANY corporal presence" within the sacramental elements. This phrase was substituted—after the Great Rebellion, when reverence for the Holy Sacrament had been unduly lowered—instead of "real and essential presence." For a "real and essential presence" to the faithful of the slain Body and *shed* Blood of Christ by its virtue, efficacy, and grace in the right use of the ordinance (as distinguished

⁴ Cranmer's Works, Parker Society, i.-155.

⁵ Foxe, Act and Mon., Ed. 1846, vi.-315.

⁶ "Hist. Ref.", Pt. III., Preface, p. vii. Ed. 1829.

⁷ Cranmer's Works, P. S. i.-89.

from a presence within the elements) was never denied by the Church of England. See Declaration on kneeling, at the end of Communion Service. In none of the authorised formularies, however, is the word ‘presence’ ever employed. For it is obvious that to speak of the ‘presence’ of a body must suggest its local residence in space. Hence Dr. Pusey adopted from the schoolmen the theory of a “*supra-local*,” or non-local presence in the consecrated elements. Jeremy Taylor, however, had anticipated this verbal puzzle. He said : “ I wish these words were sense, and that I could tell the meaning of being in a place locally and not locally, unless a thing can be in a place and not in a place, that is so to be *in*, that it is also *out*: but so long as it is a distinction it is no matter; it will amuse and make a way to *escape*, if it will do nothing else.” (Real Presence, xi., sec. 21.)

To these rationalistic speculations of the Romaniasts

Cranmer replied,⁸ “ I say that Christ is but spiritually in the ministration of the Sacrament, and you say that he is but after a spiritual manner IN the Sacrament ” Again,

“ Christ is not IN the bread neither *spiritually* as he is in man, nor corporally as he is in heaven, but only sacramentally—as a thing may be said to be in the figure whereby it is signified.”

“ For the effect of his godly eating is the communication of Christ’s Body and Blood, but to the faithful receiver, and not to the dumb creatures of bread and wine, under whose forms the Catholic faith teacheth not the Body and Blood of Christ invisibly to be hidden.”

“ The Papists confound His two natures, His Godhead and His manhood, attributing unto His Humanity that thing which pertaineth only to His Divinity—that is to say, to be in heaven, earth and many places at one time. The other is that they divide and separate His human nature, or His Body,—making of one Body of Christ two Bodies and two natures,—one which is in heaven, visible and palpable, having all members and proportions of a most perfect natural man; and another which they say is in earth here with us, in every bread and wine that is consecrated, having no distinction, form, nor proportion of members.”

Ridley (who rejected “the opinion of Melancthon ”⁹ as being further from the truth than Transubstantiation itself) taught¹⁰ that the Body of Christ is “ communicated and given, *not to the Bread and Wine*, but to them which worthily do receive the Sacrament”—“ Not that Christ hath transfused grace into the Bread and Wine.”

⁸ “ Answer to Gardiner,” pp. 91, 36, 238, 100.

⁹ Foxe A. and M. vi.-436, cf. 505. Compare Cranmer, Works, i.-374.

¹⁰ Works, Parker Soc., 240-1.

Latimer (Bp. and Martyr) distinguished thus, — Christ “delivered not His body to be taken by the mouth, but He delivered the sacrament of the body to the mouth, but the body itself to the mind.”¹¹

Hooper (Bp. and Martyr) said, “I believe that all this Sacrament consisteth in the use thereof; so that without the right use the bread and wine in nothing differ from other common bread and wine that is commonly used; and therefore I do not believe that the Body of Christ can be contained, hid, or inclosed in the bread, under the bread, or with the bread; neither the Blood in the wine, under the wine, or with the wine. But I believe and confess the very Body of Christ to be in heaven on the right hand of the Father; and that always and as often as we use this bread and wine according to the ordinance and institution of Christ, we do verily and indeed receive His Body and Blood.”¹²

Coverdale (Bp. and Confessor) said, “But this thing is chiefly to be remembered, that we exclude all carnal imagination, and that the mind ought to be erected up into heaven, and that we think not our Lord Jesu Christ to be so vile that He may be contained in corruptible elements. Again, lest the force of this most sacred mystery should be diminished, we must think that it is wrought by the secret and wonderful power of God, and that His Spirit is the bond of this partaking, which is *for that cause called ‘spiritual.’*”¹³

Bishop Jewel said,¹⁴ “We are plainly taught by the Catholic learned Fathers to put a difference between the Sacrament and the Body of Christ: and that one of them is not really lapped up, or shut within the other.”

“And where he saith the Sacraments of the New Testament contain covertly under them the thing itself which they signify, verily this saying covertly containeth a great untruth.”

“Christ is present unto us of His part ‘only by His grace;’ of our part ‘only by our faith;’ by the Sacraments only as by mean of outward instruments to move our senses.”

Bishop Jeremy Taylor,¹⁵ more clearly than any other writer, has pointed out the ambiguity which is involved in the phrase “Spiritual presence.” “By *spiritually* they’ (the Romanists) mean ‘present after the manner of a spirit’: by *spiritually* we mean ‘present to our spirits only’; that is, so as Christ is not present to any other sense but that of faith, or spiritual susception; but their way makes His Body to be present no way but that which is impossible, and implies a contradiction: a body not after the manner of a body: a body like a spirit: a body without a body; and a sacrifice of body and blood, with-

¹¹ Latimer’s Remains, p. 487.

¹² Hooper’s Works, ii.-48.

¹³ Coverdale’s Works, p. 465.

¹⁴ Works, P. S. ii.-602, 1122, iii.-488.

¹⁵ Real Presence, Sec. I-8, Works (Eden.) VI-17.

out blood: *corpus incorporeum, crux incruentus*" (*i.e.*, a bodiless body, bloodless blood).

Thus they change the "spiritual eating" of a Body, into the *bodily* eating of a Spirit!

Well has Bp. Jewel exposed this confusion.¹⁶

"The eating of the Body of Christ is not gross or corporal, but ghostly and spiritual, as a peculiar *work of the mind*. . . . Here let us imagine that there are two men in every man, and that every man is flesh and spirit, body and soul. This man thus doubled must be furnished with double senses, bodily to serve the body, and spiritual to serve the soul. He must have eyes of the body, and eyes of the soul; ears of the body, and ears of the soul. . . . When we speak of the mystery of Christ, and of eating His Body, we must shut up and abandon all our bodily senses. And as we cannot say that we see Him with bodily eyes, or hear Him with our bodily ears, or touch Him with our bodily feeling: so likewise can we not, and therefore may we not say we taste Him, or eat Him with our bodily mouth."

II.

We have said that the Ritualistic Doctrine of a body present "after the manner of a spirit" is absurd. For, the only definite idea which we can form of a 'Spirit,' is the negative one, that it is *not* a body. To speak of a "spiritual Body" in that sense is as if we should talk of a square circle, a black white, or a solid liquid. Bp. Morley (who, as one of the last Revisers of the Prayer Book, procured the insertion of "the Black rubric" at the end of the Communion Service) observes: "A Body cannot be a body and no body, as it must be if it were a spirit; and nothing can have the presence or propriety of a spirit but a Spirit, and, consequently, nothing can be anywhere as a spirit but a Spirit." ("Vindication of the Argument from sense," 1683, p. 26.)

Yet the Ritualists employ the following language:—

"O see! within a creature's hand
 The vast Creator deigns to be
Reposing infant-like, as though
 On Joseph's arm, or Mary's knee.
Sweet Sacrament! we Thee adore!
O make us love Thee more and more!"

(People's Hymnal. Hymn 179.)

And they appropriate these lines, Hymn 178:—

"Taste, and touch, and vision, in Thee are deceived;
 But the hearing *only* may be well believed."

¹⁶ Works, P. S., ii.-1117-9. In the "Liturgia sacra, seu ritus ministerii in ecclesia peregrinorum," published at Frankfort in 1554, by the English Marian exiles, we read, page 21, "Spiritualiter, hoc est, mentibus nostris revera exhiberi" corpus.

Such language amounts to a formal declaration of Transubstantiation, and implies that the combined evidence of three of our senses may be ‘deceived,’ in which case, what proof can we have of the Incarnation, or of the Resurrection of our Lord?

III.

It is true that the phrases “spiritual body” and “natural body” are contrasted in 1 Cor. xv.-44: and hence many have supposed that a material and an immaterial Body are there intended. But the word which is rendered ‘natural’ cannot possibly mean ‘material.’ That word is ‘psychical,’ *i.e.*, belonging to the soul (*psychè*, $\psi\chi\eta'$), in contrast with ‘pneumatic,’ *i.e.*, belonging to the spirit (*pneuma*, $\pi\nu\epsilon\nu\mu\alpha$). Wycliffe renders 1 Cor. xv.-44 “a beastly body,” meaning merely to convey the perfectly correct idea that the $\psi\chi\kappa\sigma\nu\sigma\omega\mu\alpha$ (“natural body” in our translation) is an *animal* body, or body controlled by the ‘*anima*’ or soul, in contradistinction to the future ‘spiritual’ body which will be controlled wholly by the ‘spirit.’ Even Bellarmine wrote, “‘It is raised a spiritual body,’ *i.e.*, obedient to the spirit in all things.” [See Bp. Thirlwall’s Charge, 1869, p. 111.]

The ‘soul’ and ‘spirit,’ though frequently confounded, are quite distinct (see St. Luke i.-46; Phil. i.-27; Heb. iv.-12). Thus in 1 Thess. v.-23, the “Spirit, soul, and body” are carefully distinguished.

The *Psychè* (though sometimes used for the mere principle of animal life, Acts xxvii.-22) is that emotional part of our nature which we have in common with the lower animals (see St. Luke ii.-35, and xii.-19. St. John x.-24, Greek. Acts ii.-43. xiv.-2, Greek. Col. iii.-23). Hence the ‘*Psychè*’ is the seat of lusts (1 St. Peter ii.-11; Rev. xviii.-14), and corresponds to “the heart” in St. Mark vii.-21; and the adjective ‘Psychical’ is always used in a bad sense in the New Testament, as in 1 Cor. ii.-14; St. James iii.-15; St. Jude, 19.¹⁷ So far, however, from implying anything *material*, “the soul” (*Psyche*) is contrasted with the Body (St. Matt. x.-28; Acts ii.-31) just as directly as the ‘Spirit’ is.

The spirit (*Pneuma*) is that higher part of our nature by which we know, and in the possession of which we resemble God (St. John iv.-24; Rom. viii.-16); but in which the brute creation are wholly deficient, viz., the “moral reason” (*i.e.*, reason and conscience), “the candle of the Lord” (Prov. xx.-27), which, when enlightened by the Holy Spirit, becomes the “spiritual understanding.” (Col. i.-9.) When the Spirit of God has enabled the human spirit to regain its supremacy over both soul and body, the whole man’s nature thus regenerated is called “the

¹⁷ The usage of the Old Testament is similar. See Girdlestone’s “Old Testament Synonyms,” p. 99.

spirit," in opposition to the fallen nature of the *same* man, which is called "the flesh" (St. John iii.-6; Gal. v.-17). Therefore, just so far as human nature is conformed to the likeness of Adam, or of Christ, it is called "the old man," or "the new man." "The flesh" (*σάρξ*) must not be confounded with "the body" (*σῶμα*) (Rom. vii.-5; viii.-8), but includes the degraded spirit as well as the unbridled soul. For the Body is 'redeemed,' 'sanctified,' made one with Christ no less than the soul or spirit (Rom. viii.-23; 1 Thess. v.-23; 1 Cor. vi.-15, 19, 20). "This mortal" (*i.e.*, the body) "shall put on immortality." The title 'spiritual' when applied to bodily things by no means implies *immateriality*. Thus Manna was 'spiritual' meat, the rock in the wilderness was a 'spiritual' rock, the Church Hymns were 'spiritual' songs, and living *flesh-and-blood* men were 'spiritual' men (1 Cor. x.-3, 4; Eph. v.-19; 1 Cor. ii.-14, 15). The contrast is not between spiritual and material, but between spiritual and 'psychical'; so that a disembodied man may be 'psychical,' while one still in the flesh may be 'spiritual.' Our Blessed Lord's body was never at any time 'psychical.'

That our Lord's resurrection-body had not lost its nature as a body we know from His own words, "handle me and see; for a spirit hath not flesh and bones, as ye see me have," and he "did eat before them." (St. Luke xxiv.-39, 43.) During his lifetime that Body had possessed miraculous power of movement from place to place (St. Luke iv.-30; St. John viii.-56; St. Matt. xiv.-29); but to assert of a Body which is now whole and entire in the heavens (Acts i.-11. and iii.-21), that it *is at the same time* in many separate places, is (not to state a 'mystery,' but) a contradiction in terms. (See Article IV. of the Thirty-nine Articles.)

Let it not be forgotten that it was not His Glorified Body, but His Body in the act of "*being broken*," and His blood as "*being shed*" [present participles being used in both cases] which our Lord gave to His Disciples. "For the continual remembrance"—not of Christ triumphant in heaven, but—"of the Sacrifice of the *Death* of Christ" was the Lord's Supper ordained. So that, says Bishop Andrewes, "if an Host could be turned into Him now glorified as He is, *it would not serve*; Christ offered is it—thither we must look." "Christ's body that now is. True; but not Christ's body *as* now it is, but as then it was, when it was offered, rent, and slain, and sacrificed for us."¹⁸

The opposite doctrine was censured in the *Reformatio Legum* (drafted by Abp. Cranmer, and published by Abp. Parker), because "it so depraves the true body of Christ as either to induce upon it a divine nature, *spread over all places*, or to

¹⁸ Sermons, Vol. II., p. 302, and 301. A.C. L.

manufacture out of it a sort of phantom."¹⁹ And by Hooker, who said : " If His majestical Body have now any such new property by force whereof it may everywhere, even in substance, present itself, or may at once be in many places, then hath the majesty of His estate *extinguished the verity of His nature.*"²⁰

Thus we have seen that the doctrine of the Ritualists as to the nature of Christ's presence in the Eucharist is—

I. Popish. II. Absurd. III. Unscriptural.

Whether they do or do not adopt the metaphysical theory called 'Transubstantiation' is of little moment. For a local worshipable presence of Christ IN the Elements being granted, what matters it whether the Elements do, or do not *also* remain? When the "King of Glory" is present, who cares to ask whether a bit of bread be there too?

But though it may be convenient to repudiate the word 'Transubstantiation,' their adoption of such hymns as we have quoted (all of them written by men who *avowedly* believed in Transubstantiation), and the language of their most thoughtful writers, alike show that between their doctrine and that of Rome "the contradiction is verbal rather than real ; in language and not in thought."²¹

Nor is this wonderful, for upon this doctrine rest not only the Sacrifice of the Mass, and the adoration of the Host, but (as Bp. Hamilton expressed it) their possession of "the same powers which the priests of the rest of the Catholic Church, both in the east and west, have EVER claimed."

But it is wonderful how, with their views, they can continue to subscribe the Eucharistic Declaration, that "*The Natural Body of Christ is in heaven, and not HERE.*"

J. T. T.

¹⁹ Cardwell's edition, p. 18. "Verum Christi corpus ita depravat, ut vel divinam in illud inducat naturam omnibus locis diffusam, vel ex eo spectrum aut machinam quandam comminiscatur, totum hoc papisticae fæcis somnium auferri volumus."

²⁰ Eccl. Pol., v. lv., 6.

²¹ Adn. R. Wilberforce's "Doctrine of the Eucharist," p. 128. Pusey's "Eirenicon," third edition, p. 229.

THE TEACHING OF THE CATECHISM AS TO THE LORD'S SUPPER.

Q. How many Sacraments hath Christ ordained in His Church?

A. Two (¹) only, as generally (²) necessary to salvation, that is to say, Baptism, and the Supper of the Lord.

¹ Hence, "those five commonly called Sacraments" by the Ritualists "are not to be counted for Sacraments of the Gospel."*

² "Whereby ye may perceive the great necessity of this Sacra-
ment, where it may be had."†

¶ But if any man, either by reason of extremity of sickness, or for want of warning in due time to the curate, or for lack of company to receive with him, or by any other just impediment, do not receive the Sacrament of Christ's Body and Blood, the curate shall instruct him, that if he do truly repent him of his sins, and steadfastly believe that Jesus Christ hath suffered death upon the cross for him, and shed His Blood for his redemption, earnestly remembering the benefits he hath thereby, and giving Him hearty thanks therefore, he DOETH EAT and DRINK the Body and Blood of our Saviour Christ profitably to his soul's health, although he do not receive the Sacrament with his mouth.‡

Q. What meanest thou by this word SACRAMENT?

A. I mean an outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual grace,§ given unto us, ordained by Christ Himself, as a means whereby we receive the same, and a pledge to assure us thereof.

* Article 25.

† Second Exhort. in Office of Adult Baptism.

‡ Rubric in Communion of the Sick.

'Generally' is, perhaps, equivalent to generically: i.e. these 'two' differ in *kind* (in genere) from matrimony, holy orders, &c., which are means of grace only to certain individuals, and have no promise of forgiveness annexed to the due use of their outward rite. (See Homily of Common Prayer, &c.)

§ This comma after 'grace' has been illegally omitted from most printed Prayer Books; and its omission alters the meaning of the entire sentence. The word 'given' relates to the 'sign,' and was translated "signum gratiae quod nobis datur" in the authorised Latin version issued by King Charles II. in 1670. The comma exists both in the folio and the small quarto Prayer Books of 1603-4, in the black-letter book in which Sancroft posted up the final alterations made by Convocation, in the MS. 'annexed' to the Act of Uniformity, in that attached to the Irish Act of Uniformity, and in all the sealed Prayer Books. In copying from Rymer's Foedera (both editions of which contain the comma after 'grace'), Cardwell's Hist. Conferences carelessly omits the comma. In 1850 Dr. Stephens pointed out the error in his "Notes Legal and Historical;" and in 1868 the Committee of the Lower House of Canterbury Convocation also reported the omission. Yet the S.P.C.K. continue to publish this incorrect version of the Church Catechism!

- Observe 1. This is the definition of a theological term,—this WORD ‘Sacrament.’

 2. The word means “a sign OF grace;” not “a sign AND grace.”*
 3. ‘Inward’ and ‘outward’ relate respectively to the soul and body of the receiver, not to the sign. So “the inward and spiritual grace” of Baptism, viz. “a death unto sin, and a new birth,” &c. are not contained in the water of the Font, but in the soul which dies, and is new born.
 4. Put into the form of question and answer the sentence would stand thus:—

What sort of Sign is a 'Sacrament'?

- a. An outward and visible.†
 - b. Of an inward and spiritual grace.
 - c. Given unto us.

d. Ordained by Christ Himself { (1) As a means.
(2) As a pledge.

5. The words "*given unto us*" exclude from the definition of "a Sacrament" the "Reserved host," the unused (though consecrated) water in the font, and the wine which is withheld from lay communicants.
 6. "*Given unto us*" also excludes *sacrifice* (*i.e.* a thing given by man *to God*) from the definition of "*this word Sacrament*." A Sacrament is essentially a thing given *by God to man*.†

Q. How many parts are there in a Sacrament?

A. Two: the outward visible sign, and the inward spiritual grace.

Note 1. That to make *three* parts in the Lord's Supper§ is a departure from the teaching of the Catechism.

Note 2. This answer is not given as a definition of the meaning of the 'word,' but as a popular account of the nature of a Sacrament intended for young persons. So, Cranmer explained, " Sometimes by this word ' Sacrament,' I mean

* St. Augustine said Sacraments "are signs of things, *being* one thing and *signifying* another." Ridley, just before his martyrdom, said—"Of late all that were endued with the light and grace of understanding of God's holy mysteries did bless God which had brought them out of that horrible blindness and ignorance, whereby in times past, being seduced by Satan's subtleties, they believed that the sacrament was not the sacrament, but the Thing itself whereof it is the sacrament, that the creature was the Creator, and that the thing which hath neither life nor sense (alas! such was the horrible blindness) was the Lord Himself, which made the eye to see, and hath given all senses and understanding unto man."—Foxe, A. and M. vii. 568.

† (a) Describes the sign. (b) Gives the thing signified. (c) Refers to the Form. (d) Specifies the Institution.

† "A sacrifice is a thing given to God: the Sacrament was a thing given to us. Nothing, therefore, can be of nature more contrary than your sacrifice and Christ's Sacrament."—Bp. Cooper's Answer to the Apology of the Private Mass, 1562, p. 88.

§ "Signum, res, virtus" is the Ritualistic substitute for the Church's definition.

the whole ministration and receiving of the Sacrament."* So a £5 note might be defined as "an outward and visible sign of £5, given to us, ordained . . . as a means whereby we receive the same, and a pledge to assure us thereof." Yet in a popular practical explanation intended for children we might well say there are "two parts" to be considered in such a note, viz. "the outward visible sign" (*i.e.* the printed paper), and the £5 of which it is the "effectual sign." But no one should infer that five sovereigns must be "really present," actually wrapped in the folds or concealed in the texture of the paper before the "thing signified" could be received. In the Thirty-nine Articles (intended for Theologians) the word 'Sacrament' is never used in this looser sense. Thus, in Article XXX., "both the parts of the Lord's Sacrament" means bread and wine. Compare "the sign OR Sacrament OF" grace. (Art. XXIX.).

Q. Why was the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper ordained?

A. For the continual remembrance of the sacrifice of the death of Christ, and of the benefits which we receive thereby.

Note. For the 'remembrance' of a finished sacrifice; not to perpetuate or to "re-Present" it.

"We must take heed lest of a memory it be made a sacrifice."† The word 'remembrance' is doubtless taken from 1 Cor. xi.-25, which is explained by verse 26. "For,—ye do shew the Lord's death," &c. where the word 'shew' means preach—literally, "bring DOWN the message." A symbolic representation to the Church, *not* a sacrificial memorial to God is here meant. Moreover it is a remembrance "of the benefits which we receive thereby," as well as of the Crucifixion. Compare the Rubric—"break the bread before the people,"—with the use of the word 'remembrance' in the last sentence of the Catechism.

Q. What is the outward part or sign of the Lord's Supper?

A. Bread and wine, which the Lord hath commanded to be received.

As Baptism is not mere consecrated water, but consists in the use of water "wherein the person *is baptized*." So there is no "Supper of the Lord" when the elements are merely reserved, gazed upon, or worshipped.—(Art. 28.) The sacramental action is as essential to the Rite as are the "creatures of bread and wine." The efficacy of the Sacrament is due solely (Art. 26) to the "institution and promise" of Christ, who "commanded it to be received," not to be offered up in sacrifice.

Q. What is the inward part, or thing signified?

A. The body and blood of Christ, which are verily and indeed taken and received by the faithful in the Lord's Supper.

* Works, P.S., p. 3.

† Homily of the Sacrament, Part I.

"For the unbelievers and faithless *cannot* feed upon that precious Body." *

"RECEIVE it with the hand of the heart, and TAKE fully with thy inward man." †

"When you come to these mysteries, do not think that you receive *by a man* the body of God,' meaning of Christ. These be St. John Chrysostom's own words. Then, if we receive not the body of Christ at the hands of a man, *ergo* the body of Christ is not really, corporally, and naturally IN the Sacrament, and so given to us *by the Priest.*" ‡

Christ Himself gives "the Bread which is the Lord," the priest gives only "the bread OF the Lord." §

Q. What are the benefits whereof we are partakers thereby ?

A. The strengthening and refreshing of our souls by the body and blood of Christ, as our bodies are by the bread and wine.

"AS our bodies are," yet each in its own order and after its kind. For "the communion of the body and blood of the Lord [is] a marvellous incorporation, which *by the operation of the Holy Ghost*—the very bond of our conjunction with Christ,—is through faith wrought *in the souls* of the faithful." ||

"Christ giveth himself truly to be eaten, chewed, and digested; but all is spiritually with faith, not with the mouth." ¶

Observe ;—only the faithful receive the body of Christ "in the use of the Lord's Supper;" but ALL who receive that body are partakers of the benefits.—(St. John vi.-51-58.)

Kneeling at the Lord's Supper is declared (in the Declaration at the end of the Communion Service) to be "*for a signification of our humble and grateful acknowledgment of the benefits of Christ therein given to all worthy receivers*"—i.e. for a reason the same in kind with that for which we kneel at the absolution, at confirmation, and benedictions.

Q. What is required of them who come to the Lord's Supper ?

A. To examine themselves, whether they repent them truly of their former sins, steadfastly purposing to lead a new life; have a lively faith in God's mercy through Christ, with a thankful remembrance of His death, and be in charity with all men.

Not one word of the "Sacrament of Penance!" The '*self*'-examination relates to the '*truth*' of the repentance, and '*steadfastness*' of the purpose—not to the bare '*numbering*' of outward acts. And it is the work of Good Friday, centuries ago, not the "*propitiatory sacrifice*" about to be offered, which is proposed for our '*remembrance*.'

From all false doctrine, heresy, and schism—

Good Lord deliver us.

* Homily of the Sacrament, Part I. See Art. 28, 29.

† Ibid.

‡ Cranmer's Answer to Gardiner, p. 182.

§ "Panem Dominum, panem Domini."

|| Homily of the Sacrament.

¶ Cranmer's Answer to Gardiner, p. 15.

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OR,

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THE well-known definition of the meaning of the word *The Printers’ Definition.* “Sacrament,” given in the Catechism as printed in the Prayer Books sold by the “Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge,” is worded thus: “I mean an outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual grace given unto us,” &c. The National Society also publishes “Sunday School Lessons on the Church Catechism,” by the Rev. John Watson, in which that Divine says (p. 181), “Let it be observed that there is no comma in the second Answer after the word ‘grace.’ In repetition a pause is too often made here, obscuring the true sense.”

Nevertheless, it can be demonstrated that both the text of the S.P.C.K. and the commentary of the National Society are not merely inaccurate, but are contrary, both in the letter and the spirit, to the law of the land and the mind of the Church of England as expressed in its *authorised* Catechism.

The Book of Common Prayer differs from all other books in having its exact text fixed and safeguarded by Act of Parliament,

so that in case of dispute we may "certainly" know the true reading. Not only was the utmost care taken with the beautifully written MS. "annexed" to the Act of Uniformity (13 & 14 Car. II., c. iv.), but copies authenticated by the signatures of the Royal Commissioners and sealed with the Great Seal of England were made, and deposited in each of the cathedral and collegiate churches, the four courts of Westminster, and the Tower ; and each of these "Sealed copies" is by the statute made "good and available in the law" as a legal standard of the true text. Eight of these Sealed copies were collated with the MS. attached to the Irish Act of Uniformity by Dr. A. J. Stephens in 1849 for the "Ecclesiastical History Society," and Mr. Masters has also reprinted the Tower copy. With the exception, however, of these reprints and that of the late Mr. Pickering, there is now absolutely no accurate copy of the authorised Prayer Book furnished to the Public by the printers !

Dr. Stephens carefully tested a large number of printed Prayer Books and found in them *thousands* of mistakes, so that he did not hesitate to say that "if the Attorney-General strictly discharged his duty, he would file an information against them [the Queen's printers and the two Universities] 'for their breach of trust.'¹ If some enterprising publisher would make a specialty of publishing cheaply the exact literal text of the "Sealed book" (with only such alterations as are authorised by Statute or by Orders in Council), he would find it remunerative even in a commercial point of view ; and Churchmen who subscribe to the various Societies for publishing the Book of Common Prayer ought to insist on getting the genuine article for which they have to pay.

Sometimes controversialists try to throw dust in the eyes of unwary students by giving an imposing list of *printed* books in which some particular false reading which happens to suit their views may be found. But it is sufficient to say, in reply, that if *every* printed book from 1662 to the present day contained a reading which is *not* found in the Sealed books, the agreement would

¹ "Notes Legal and Historical," vol. ii., Preface p. xxxvi.

only convict their printers of carelessness in copying one another's blunders, or of conspiracy to defraud.

The authentic reading of the passage above quoted is, "I mean The Church's an outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual grace, given unto us, ordained by Christ himself, as a means whereby we receive the same, and a pledge to assure us thereof." Definition.

Now it is obvious on looking at *this* sentence, that on no known system of punctuation could a participial adjective be comma'd off from the noun with which it *immediately* agrees, and which stands *next* it in the sentence. Therefore "given" relates *not* to "grace" but to "sign." This comes out clearly in the earliest Welsh Prayer Book (that of 1664) authorised by sec. 27 of the Act of Uniformity, and which, literally translated, reads: "I understand a sign visible and outward, of spiritual grace within, given to us; which Christ himself ordained, as a means for us to receive grace through it, and to be a pledge to assure us of that grace."²

The earliest Latin translation was that of Durel, dedicated to K. Charles II., in A.D. 1670. Dean Durel was the executor of Bishop Cosin and the Official translator of the Prayer Book of 1662 into French. Lord Selborne says in his "Notes on the Liturgy" (p. 73), "There seems to be some reason to believe that this may be the same Latin translation which was made under the direction of Convocation, as recorded in its Acts of the 26th April, 1662, and the 18th of May, 1664: because it can hardly be supposed that a version made under such auspices would have been entirely suppressed, and the work of a private translator preferred." Durel renders it "Externum et visibile signum intelligo, internæ ac spiritualis gratiæ, quod nobis datur," &c.; where, "sign" being *neuter*, and "grace" *feminine*, it is clear that the clause—

² Marshall's "Latin Prayer Book of Charles II.," p. 155. "Yr Wyfi yn ddeall, Arwydd gweledig oddi allan, o'rás ysprydol oddifewn, a roddir i ni; yr hwn a ordeiniodd Crist ei hun, megis modd i ni i dderbyn y grâs hwnnw trwyddo, ac i fod yn wylt i'n sicrhau ni o'r grâs hwnnw." In modern reprints of this book, published by the S.P.C.K., the punctuation has here also been changed.

"given to us"—relates to "sign" and not to "grace." This reading was followed by Parker's and Bagster's Latin Prayer Books until the year 1866, when the latter *changed* it into "gratiæ collatæ," for some unexplained reason. The first writer, however, who ventured to make this unauthorised change was Mockett (A.D. 1617), whose book was forthwith ordered to be burned publicly, and Collier⁸ adds that he was accused also of mutilating the Homilies. This publication, thus discredited, made by a private individual, is the earliest known authority for the popular mis-reading.

But the Manuscript "annexed" to the Act of Uniformity is absolutely decisive as to the true reading—viz., "sign of . . . grace, given."⁹ Nothing *can* add to the value of this credential, else pages might be filled with a list of the editions in which the true reading was retained. The *earliest* text of the latter half of the Catechism, viz., the Letters Patents of King James, as given in *both* editions of Rymer's "Fœdera,"¹⁰ gives the same : the two editions of 1603 (O. S.), which were the earliest printed containing this part of the Catechism, give the same.⁶ It is found also in "Sancroft's Prayer Book" in the Bodleian (dated 1634), which was used by the Committee for preparing the Revision of 1661 ; also in the Black-letter Book of 1636 (photozincographed by Government), in which Convocation (in 1661) "marked up" all their alterations. It is found also in the MS. annexed to the Irish Act of Uniformity (17 & 18 Car. ii., c. 6, Ireland).⁷ In short, *it is found in every Prayer Book which has any pretension to an Official character.*

Terms of the Definition. Before considering the precise theological value of the reinstated words "sign . . . given unto us," it is worth while briefly to consider the entire sentence in which they occur. Observe then,

⁸ Eccl. Hist., vii-390.

⁹ Chronicle of Convocation, 1868, vol. iii., App. p. 7. Marshall, p. 152.

¹⁰ It is necessary to note this because Cardwell's "Hist. Conf.," p. 220, *professes to copy "Rymer."* but has in fact altered the text found *loco citato*.

⁶ In the British Museum are a quarto and a folio edition, both dated "1603," which year ended March 24th, Old Style. They do not contain the proclamation of King James which was dated March 5th, 1603-4, and they must have been printed before that date, and after the issue of the

1st, That the words are professedly given as the formal *definition* of a technical term—"this WORD 'Sacrament.'" 2nd, That the "word" means "a sign of⁸ grace," not a sign AND grace (compare Articles XXIX. and XXX.). 3rd, That "inward" and "outward" relate respectively to the soul and body of the receiver, not to the sign. For example, "the inward and spiritual grace" of baptism (viz. "a death unto sin, and a new birth," &c.), are not contained in the water of the font, but in the soul which thus dies, and is new born. Grace can form no "part" of a "Sign of grace."

Put into the form of question and answer the sentence would stand thus :—

What sort of sign is a "sacrament"?

- i. An outward and visible.
 - ii. Of an inward and spiritual grace.
 - iii. Given unto us.
 - v. Ordained by Christ himself {
 - (a) As a means.
 - (b) As a pledge.

No. i. Describes the Sign. (ii.) Gives the thing Signified.
(iii.) Refers to the Form. (iv.) Specifies the Institution.⁹

In a "Practical Exposition of the Church Catechism," published in 1708, by Matthew Hole, B.D., Fellow of Exeter Coll., Oxford, and dedicated to Bishop Trelawny, the necessary constituents of a "Sacrament" are thus enumerated:—

- “ i. There must be an outward visible sign.
 - ii. An inward and spiritual grace represented by it.
 - iii. *It must be given or applied to us.*
 - iv. It must be ordained by Christ himself.
 - v. It must be ordained as a means to convey grace.
 - vi. It must be ordained as a pledge or earnest to assure us thereof.”

The drift of the sentence is well summed up, for children, in "Meres on the Catechism" (published by Heywood, Paternoster Buildings, price twopence): "I mean an outward and visible sign

Letters Patents, Feb. 9th, 1603-4. The copy, "C. 25. m. 11," is quite perfect. There are also a quarto and a folio of 1604. (C. 25. ^{h.} ₁ 13, and 3405. ¹ d. 5), and a folio of 1605, "C. 25. m. 9, and 3406. e." All these (which are the only copies of those years) give the comma after "Grace."

⁷ Stephens' Irish Prayer Book, ii. 512.

⁸ Compare Ridley in Foxe A. and M., Townsend's Edition, vii. 563.

⁹ Marshall, p. 152.

of an inward and spiritual grace, (which sign is) given unto us, (and this outward and visible sign so given, was) ordained by Christ himself as a means whereby (by which) we receive the same (inward and spiritual grace), and a pledge to assure us thereof (of our receiving that grace)."

History of the Definition.

It has been shown by various writers¹⁰ that the second part of the Church Catechism relating to the Sacraments was not composed by Dean Overall, but merely edited by him from Nowell's, which had been approved by the Convocations of 1562, 1571, and 1603. Nowell's "Shorter" Catechism (its immediate source) is mentioned in Canon 79, and may be procured from M'Gee, 18, Nassau Street, Dublin, price two shillings. It is very little known in England, being often mistaken for the "Larger" or "Middle" Catechism, published by the Parker Society, and by the Prayer Book and Homily Society.

This "Little Catechism set forth by Authority" gives the question and answer thus:—

"What meanest thou by this word *Sacrament*?"

"I mean an outward and visible sign representing an inward and invisible spiritual grace, ordeined by Christ himself, to testify God's good will and bountifulnesse towardeſ us through the same Christ our Saviour: by the which, God's promises touching forgiuenes of sinnes and eternal salvation geven through Christ, are as it were sealed, and the truth of them is more certainly confirmed in our harteſ."

The words "by the which God's promises . . . are . . . sealed . . . in our hearts" correspond to the plainer language of Overall "as a means whereby we receive the same"; while the words "the truth of them is more certainly confirmed in our hearts" correspond to the present clause "**as a pledge to assure us thereof.**" The next question ran, "How many parts *then* be there in a Sacrament?" Thus showing that the (popular) statement about two "parts" resulted from the (theological) definition of the "*Word*" previously given.

¹⁰ Goode's "Nature of Christ's Presence in the Eucharist," vol. ii., p. 728; Dr. Stephens' "Argument in the Bennett case," p. 92; Cardwell's "Synodalia," i. 128; Churton's "Life of Nowell," pp. 185, 191; Jacobson's Pref. to Nowell's Cat., p. xxxv.; Stephens' Notes Legal, &c., p. cxviii.

It is a curious coincidence that Overall himself, the reputed editor of the latter half of the Catechism, has (like the Catechism) been tampered with as to this very point.

He had written "so that in the right *use* of the sacrament, and to those who receive worthily, the bread being given and received, the body of Christ is given and received." And again, "in the sacrament of the Eucharist, the body and blood of Christ, and thus whole Christ is given to the worthy receivers not by way of transubstantiation or consubstantiation, but by the Holy Spirit operating through faith."

Mr. Alexander Knox, in quoting this, thought it right to entirely omit the words "*usu sacramenti, digneque recipientibus,*"¹¹ and to change "*recto*" into "*recte*," in order to conceal the "mis-print." Thus Overall is quoted by him as though he had said without any qualification that "in the bread duly given and received the body of Christ is given": whereas Overall is expressly defending himself against the false imputation which "they pretended that I should affirm . . . the body and blood of Christ is really and substantially present in the Eucharist," for which he carefully substituted the words quoted in footnote ¹¹.

The addition, therefore, in 1604, of the words "given unto us" as *part of the DEFINITION* of the word "Sacrament" was new, being then designedly interpolated into Nowell's simpler though vaguer definition.

Two very grave and most important theological truths were thus Import of the safeguarded from Romish error by this apparently simple addition. Definition. The first is the doctrine that the sacramental *Action*, no less than the mere element, is of the *essence* of a "Sacrament"; in other

¹¹ The misquotation is found in *both* editions of Knox's "Remains," and is retained by the Rev. Jas. Hornby in his reprint of Knox "On the doctrine of the Sacraments," p. 94. The original Latin may be seen in the Harleian MSS. in the British Museum, No. 3142, pp. 24, 95. It runs "ita ut in recto *usu sacramenti, digneque recipientibus, dato et accepto pane, detur et accipiatur corpus Christi,*" and after rejecting transubstantiation and consubstantiation it adds "*similiave rationis humanæ commenta.*" In the second sentence the words are "*digne recipientibus non per modum transubstantiationis, nec per modum consubstantiationis, sed Spiritu Sancto per fidem operante.*"

words, that "sacraments" are not sacraments "extra usum," i.e. when *unused*, or when used *otherwise* than is warranted by "Christ's institution and promise" (to which Article XXVI. rightly declares they owe all their efficacy). For instance, Baptism is not mere consecrated water, but water "wherein the person is *baptized*." So likewise there can be no "Supper of the Lord," when the consecrated elements are merely reserved, gazed upon, or worshipped. (Art. XXVIII.)¹² The cup when denied to the communicant, and the reserved host though censed, adored, and carried about in procession, is no "sacrament of the Gospel" by "Christ's institution and promise," because not "**GIVEN TO US.**" The "matter" of a Sacrament needs not only a "form" of consecrating prayer, but a *sacramental application* and use of the matter before this definition of a "sacrament" can be fulfilled. Indeed, it may be observed that the sacramental *action* was more directly "ordained by Christ himself" than the sacramental "matter." "Water" was not mentioned in the institution of baptism, nor "wine" in that of the Eucharist; whereas, "Baptize," "Take," "Eat," "Drink ye ALL" were expressly commanded, and the "promise" of Christ annexed to those sacramental actions. For the "promise" was made to the individual communicant, not to the inanimate "creatures." It was, as Hooker¹³ says, "*first Take, eat; then This is my body.*" It is "as oft as ye *eat* this bread, or *drink* this cup, that ye do show the Lord's death." (1 Cor. xi. 26.) The "breaking" of the bread was not a mere ritual or symbolical act; it was for *distribution* to those who were "all part-takers of that one loaf." (1 Cor. x. 17.) The broken bread was in the hands of the disciples *before* our Lord said, "This is my body." (St. Matthew xxvi. 26.) And "they

The
Sacramental
"Action."

¹² "Christ's ordinance," in Art. 28, is obviously equivalent to "Christ's institution and promise" in Art. 26, and to "ordained by Christ Himself" in the Catechism.

¹³ "Eccl. Pol.," V. lxvii-6. Scudamore, "Notit. Euch.," p. 442. The Councils of Trullo and Carthage rebuked the superstitious usage of burying the Host with the dead, on this ground, that "the bodies of the dead could neither 'Take' nor 'Eat.'" (Stephens, "Notes Legal and Historical," p. 1686.)

all drank of it" before He said, "This is my blood." (St. Mark xiv. 23.)

Thus we see how, in the definition of a "Sacrament," the addition of the requirement that it *must* be "given unto us" cuts at the root of Reservation and adoration of the consecrated wafer, Benediction with the tabernacled species, and all kindred superstitions. For, as Bishop Cosin expressed it:—

"We deny that the elements still retain the nature of sacraments when not used according to Divine institution, that is, *given* by Christ's ministers, and *received* by His people; so that Christ in the consecrated bread ought not, *cannot*, be kept and preserved to be carried about, because He is present only to the communicants."¹⁴

"If," says Bishop Jeremy Taylor,

"The bread was not consecrated when Christ said, '*Take, eat,*' then Christ bid them take bread, and eat bread, and they did so; but if it was consecrated by these words—['*Take, eat,*' there being nothing to show why they should not form part of the institution or consecration]—then the words of consecration refer wholly to use, and it is Christ's body *only* in the *taking* and *eating*: which is the thing we contend for."¹⁵

It would not be possible to express this idea in clearer or more solemn language than that used by Bishops Coverdale, Ferrar, Hooper, and their fellow-Martyrs as their joint confession of faith:—

"We confess and believe the sacraments of Christ, which be Baptism and the Lord's Supper, that they ought to be ministered according to the institution of Christ . . . And that they be no longer Sacraments, than they be had in use, and used to the end for which they were instituted."¹⁶

Hence, when it was objected to Philpot the Martyr, at his examination, that "you will make the Sacrament to stand in the receiving, and that receiving maketh it a Sacrament," he replied, "I do not say that the receiving only maketh it a Sacrament; but I say that a common receiving must needs be concurrent with the true Sacrament, *as a necessary member, without which it cannot be a Sacrament.*"¹⁷ When asked, "Then you would not have it to be

¹⁴ "Hist. Transubstantiation," p. 60.

¹⁵ "Real Presence," p. 556, seq.

¹⁶ Foxe, "Act. and Mon.," vi. 553; or Bradford's Works, P.S., p. 373. Hooper's Later Writings, p. 49.

¹⁷ Philpot's Writings, P.S., p. 95.

the body of Christ, unless it be received?" he answered, "No, verily it is not the very body of Christ to any other, but such as condignly receive the same after His institution." (P. 67.)

Bradford the Martyr also testified—"The receiving maketh not the presence : but God's grace, truth, and power is the cause of the presence, which grace the wicked that lack faith cannot receive.

. . . This is a promise *depending upon condition*, if we take, and eat."¹⁸ Compare the very accurate statement made also by another Martyr, in Foxe, viii. 715. Also Bucer's statement, "It is anti-christian to affirm that aught of Christ is present in the elements apart from their use in giving and receiving."¹⁹

The same thought had been expressed by Ridley :—"The Body of Christ is communicated and given, not to the bread and wine but to them which worthily do receive the sacrament" . . . "the sacrament hath not grace included in it ; but to those that receive it well, it is turned to grace,"²⁰ or, as Archbishop Cranmer expressed it, "the working of God in the Sacraments is not his working by grace in the water, bread, and wine, but in them that duly receive the same."²¹

So then, "Sign-given-unto-us" is equivalent to "Ordinance" or "Rite." Cranmer explained that he sometimes used the word "Sacrament" for the sacramental sign, but "sometime by this word 'Sacrament' I mean the *whole ministration and receiving* of the sacraments, either of Baptism or of the Lord's Supper ; and so the old writers many times do say that Christ or the Holy Ghost be present in the sacraments ; not meaning by that manner of speech that Christ and the Holy Ghost be present *in* the water, bread, or wine—which be only the outward visible sacraments, but that in the due *ministration* of the sacraments according to Christ's ordinance and institution, Christ and his Holy Spirit be truly and indeed present by their mighty and sanctifying power, virtue, and grace, in all them that worthily *receive* the same."²²

¹⁸ Foxe, A. and M., vii. 163.

¹⁹ Cited in "Woodhead's Two Discourses," 1687, p. 2.

²⁰ Works, P.S., p. 240. ²¹ "Answer to Gardiner," P.S., p. 232, cf. 180.

²² "Answer to Gardiner," Preface, p. 3; compare p. 232, line 5, and Bullinger's "Decades," v. 269.

So at a later date, Bishop Philpotts of Exeter, in his "Answer to Butler,"²³ gave this caution as to the "ambiguous meaning of the word Sacrament":—

"A word sometimes and more strictly applied to the sign, or matter, sometimes to the *whole sacred rite*. Now, it is in the former sense that the Church of Rome holds the real presence of the body and blood of Christ in the sacrament; it is in the latter that the real presence in the sacrament, maintained by the Church of England, must be sought."

But we have not even yet got at the principal reason for adding *Sacraments versus Sacrifice.*
the words "given unto us" to the definition of a "sacrament." It was done to accentuate the contrast between a "sacrament" and a "sacrifice." A Sacrament, *as such*, was God's gift to man: a "Sacrifice," *as such*, was man's gift to God. To make their being "given to us," to stand as a necessary part of the very *definition* of Baptism and of the Lord's Supper was therefore to guard against this confusion. The Benediction in our English Liturgy, "The body of our Lord Jesus Christ which *was* given *FOR thee*," did not exist in the mediæval office books. It is taken from the Reformed office of Cologne, viz. Archbishop Herman's "Consultation," which was translated into English in 1548, and the following extracts from his book throw light upon the changes then adopted by the English Reformers :—

"Before all things the pastors must labour to take out of men's minds that false and wicked opinion whereby men *think commonly that the priest in masses offereth up Christ our Lord to God the Father* [compare Art. XXXI.] 'after that sort, that with his *intention and prayer* he causeth Christ to become a new and acceptable sacrifice to the Father for the salvation of men, *applieth and communicateth the merit of the passion of Christ and of the saving sacrifice whereby the Lord Himself offered Himself to the Father a sacrifice on the cross*, to them that receive the same with their own faith . . . the Holy Fathers by the name of sacrifice understood *not application*, which was devised a great while after . . . but a solemn remembrance of the sacrifice of Christ, as Augustine expoundeth it."²⁴

Ten years before the publication of Herman's book, the German

²³ Ed. Murray, 1866, p. 120.

²⁴ Bishop Thirlwall's "Charge," 1867, p. 145.

Ambassadors had urged upon King Henry VIII., that the words "Take, eat, drink," could not mean "Sacrifice."

"Nor is it commanded by these words that we should offer aught to God, but rather should receive from Him, since He adds 'given for you,' and 'blood which is poured out for you ;' which words show that the Eucharist is not exhibited as a sacrifice to God by those who take it, but a gift given to men."

After a long argument to this end they conclude :—

"Wherefore it cannot be called a sacrifice since no one can be ignorant that there is a great difference between sacrifices and sacraments: by the latter we receive gifts offered *to us* by God, by the former we render and offer *to God* what is ours."²⁵

This thought was indeed a theological common-place. The Homily for Whit-Sunday says, "Christ commended to His Church a *Sacrament* of His body and blood; they have changed it into a *Sacrifice* for the quick and dead."²⁶ Bishop Geste (who was one of the Royal Commissioners for revising the Prayer Book under Elizabeth, and the reputed "penman" of a portion of Art. XXVIII.) said in 1548—"which is the Sacrament and not the sacrifice, for in the sacrifice there is nothing *applied* and rendered *to us*, but to God alone—for why, the appliall and delivery of the fruits of Christ's death and again-rising to us, is God's gift to us, and *not ours to Him*, so that it is the Sacrament and not the sacrifice of the Mass that is available."²⁷ Archbishop Grindal, another Royal Commissioner for revising the Prayer Book, said, "Christ gave a Sacrament to strengthen men's faith; the priest giveth a sacrifice to redeem men's souls. Christ gave it to be *eaten*; the priest giveth it to be worshipped."²⁸ Bishop Jewel, the official "Apologist" of the Church of England, said, "it is our faith that applies to us the death and cross of Christ, and not the acting of a mass-priest."²⁹ Roger Hutchinson in his "Image of God," published A.D. 1550, said, "Wherefore the Supper of the Lord is no sacrifice for sin, *forasmuch* as it is a sacrament."³⁰

²⁵ Burnet, "Hist. Ref.", vol. i., pt. 2, pp. 504-7.

²⁶ The Homily on the Sacrament says, "Take heed lest of the memory it be made a *sacrifice* . . . Thou needest no other man's help, no other sacrifice or oblation, no sacrificing Priest, no Mass."

²⁷ "Treatise against the Privy Mass," p. 97.

²⁸ "Remains," p. 57.

²⁹ Works, Parker Soc., p. 49.

²⁹ "Apol.," p. 64.

Bishop Cooper, A.D. 1562, said : "A sacrifice is a thing *given to God*: the Sacrament was a thing *given to us*. Nothing, therefore, can be of nature more contrary than your sacrifice and Christ's Sacrament."⁸¹

Bishop Bilson, A.D. 1585, said : "The Lord's table . . . is an heavenly banquet which we must eat and not sacrifice; but the duties which He requireth at our hands when we approach His table are sacrifices, not sacraments."⁸²

Bishop Beveridge, on Article XXXI., says : "As the doctrine is contrary to Holy Scripture, so it is repugnant to reason too, there being so vast a difference betwixt a sacrament and a sacrifice. If it be a sacrament it is not a sacrifice, and if it be a sacrifice it is not a sacrament—it being impossible it should be a sacrament and a sacrifice too."

Waterland⁸³ obviates the objection which might be raised to this last statement by pointing out that "our Lord's sacrifice actively considered, as a proper *Act* of sacrificing, was performed once for all, was one *transient act* . . . therefore Christ's sacrifice is our sacrifice, but" [i.e. solely] "in the *passive* sense, for us to partake of, not to *give to God*." In other words, a sacrificed Victim is not the same thing as an *Act* of sacrificial offering, though the same ambiguous term "Sacrifice" is indiscriminately applied to both. In the latter sense of the word we have the testimony of Cardinal Newman, in 1879, that "sacraments the Church of England has ever claimed, but *never sacrifice*."⁸⁴

It has been shown that the two ideas of (1st) a Covenant *Rite* Summary, of the New Testament, as distinguished from mere consecrated matter; and (2nd) of a Gift from above downwards (*i.e. from God to man*) as contradistinguished from the Pagan and Jewish belief in human sacrificial offerings from man *to God*, were intended to be embodied and perpetuated by the new definition of a "Sacrament:" the word "**GIVEN**" excluding non-communicant attendance or

⁸¹ "Answer to Apology of the Private Mass," p. 88.

⁸² Waterland "On the Eucharist," p. 428, note.

⁸³ Works, V., 235.

⁸⁴ Preface to "Hutton's Anglican Ministry," p. x.

"hearing mass ;" the words "unto us" excluding all notion of sin-offerings, "so that they must let *that* alone for ever." (Psalm xlix. 8, Prayer Book version.)

But, beside this, the vulgar reading, "grace given," is inaccurate also in a Theological sense. It is not true that an *actual* gift of grace is any part of the definition of a "Sacrament." The baptism of Simon Magus (Acts viii. 21) and the XXIXth Article of Religion show that a sacrament may be complete in itself though no grace be actually "given." (See last clause of Article XXV.) Moreover, the words "grace given" would have been altogether superfluous, seeing that Christ could "ordain" nothing in vain, nor could His "pledge" be worthless. Therefore, the definition of "Faith" as a "belief in *promises* made to us in that sacrament" excludes all need of any such iteration. Moreover, the vulgar misreading makes the very next Question and Answer in the Catechism contradict the present one : the earlier one making a "Sacrament" to be a sign "of" grace; the other, a sign "and" grace.

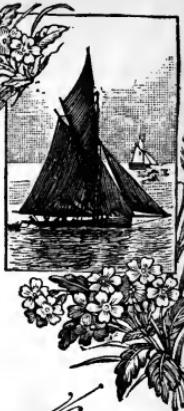
True Definition alone harmonises with context.

Whereas, "Sign-given-unto-us" is equivalent to Rite or Ordinance; and there is then no contradiction in saying that there are two "parts" to be considered in the *Ordinance*, viz. what is outside the communicant and what is "within" him. On the other hand the Ritualistic doctrine is that Grace is a "substance"⁸⁵ included "under the form," i.e. within the superficies of the consecrated matter which is therefore capable of being treated as an idol or as a charm, and need not necessarily be "given unto" the worshipper. Ritualists further contradict the Catechism by making one of the sacraments to have "Two parts;" the other, *Three (signum, res, virtus)*.

Again, the gift of Christ's body "*For*" us—which is past, and the gift of that same body "*To*" us—which is present, are clearly discriminated the one from the other by the *authorised* definition that a Sacrament is essentially a thing (*quod nobis datur*) which is *given unto us*.

⁸⁵ "Blunt's Annotated Prayer Book," vol. ii., p. 158. Cobb's "Sequel to Kiss of Peace," p. 408.

"INTO
THEIR
HANDS."



A PLEA

FOR

THE OLD WAY OF 'TAKING' THE BREAD
AT THE HOLY COMMUNION.

BY

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“Into their hands.”

THE following official announcement has been made to the congregation of St. Andrew's, Worthing :—

“ Communicants are particularly requested to observe the following points :—1. To receive the Sacrament of the Lord's Body into their hands, viz., the palm of their hands, and not to take it between their thumb and finger. 2. To take hold of the foot of the chalice when it is administered to them, and so to ensure being communicated. This will save the priest much anxiety. [Signed] Gilbert Moor.”

Mr. T. Smelt states that at Hurstbourne Tarrant, near Andover, the officiating clergyman

“ Refuses to administer the sacrament unless the recipient will receive the bread in the palm of his hand; he won't allow anybody to touch or take it with the fingers, and if they attempt to do so he passes them by without farther notice, not even offering them the cup.”

Now, as ‘high’ priests teach that no one can ‘generally’ be saved who does not “eat the flesh and drink the blood” of the “Sacramental Jesus,” the “Eucharistic God” (as the consecrated elements are variously designated by Romanists and their imitators), it would seem that the sin of ‘taking’ the bread from the clergyman’s hand is held by them to endanger the spiritual safety of the rejected communicant! Does not the uncharitableness of Rabbinical pedantry consist in “teaching for doctrines the commandments of men?”

Three reasons for the new mode are assigned by Ritualists.

1st. That the Prayer Book orders the minister to “deliver the communion to the people into their hands,” which, they say, *must* mean depositing it in the open palm of one hand.

2nd. That S. Cyril of Jerusalem (A.D. 361), wrote—

“When you draw near, do not come with your palms wide open, or your fingers apart; but making your left hand a support for your right, as about to receive a king, and making your palm hollow, receive the body of Christ.”

And that the same direction was repeated by the Council of Constantinople, A.D. 692, and by John of Damascus, A.D. 750, both of whom add that the hands must be in the form of a cross.

3rd. That danger of a possible accident is incurred by every communicant who ‘takes’ the bread instead of allowing the priest to deposit it in the ‘hollow’ palm.

Since these ‘reasons’ find acceptance in certain quarters, it becomes worth while to consider them.

As regards the English Prayer Book it is clear that the ‘delivery’ of the Cup “into the hands” cannot possibly mean depositing it in the hollow palm of one hand, although the ‘delivery’ of the cup is prescribed in identical terms with that of the bread in the Rubric which relates to “both kinds.” That delivery, moreover, is directed to be “in like manner” to the reception by the celebrant, who necessarily employs his fingers when ‘taking’ the bread. The old Mozarabic liturgy directed the priest to say “I will take from the table of the Lord,” &c.¹ And the Church of Rome even now directs the priest to “take (*accipit*) both parts of the (broken) Host between the thumb and forefinger of his left hand” at the time of his own reception. That was prescribed also in the Use of Sarum.² So that it is only laymen’s fingers which appear to be objectionable.

¹ “*De mensa Domini accipiam,*” Smith’s Dict. Christian Antiquities, p. 415.

² Maskell’s Ancient Liturgy, p. 121-3. Hammond, p. 350.

The English Rubrics twice direct the minister to "take the cup into his hands." He is also to "take the paten into his hands," just as at baptism he is to "take the child into his hands." These are the only instances in which the same words occur, and in not one of them can the phrase be understood as implying the open palm of one hand made 'hollow' for the occasion. The word 'Take,' it will be remembered, was part of the Divine formula of Institution, and it is beyond question that as so employed it implied some use of the fingers. For where it is said that our Lord 'took' the loaf, and 'took' the cup, as also when He said, "Take this, and divide it among yourselves" (Luke xxii. 17, *λαβετε*), the very same word is employed which the Anglican minister now addresses to his fellow communicants.

In the Syriac liturgy of Ignatius the Patriarch, our Lord's words stand paraphrased. "Take and drink each from one another's hand."³ In the liturgy of S. Chrysostom, as Canon Swainson points out, "if other priests were present they seem to have passed the paten and chalice to each other. Then the deacons receive in like manner."⁴

The Rubrical word there was 'share' or 'partake,'⁵ corresponding to the 'part-taking' of the sacrificial meal mentioned by St. Paul 1 Cor. x. 17, 21, at which it need hardly be said that (before the invention of knives and forks) some use of the fingers was always involved.

Indeed, the liturgical utterance of the word 'Take' was not only the warrant but the signal for the delivery to the individual of his 'share' in the covenant feast.

Mr. Scudamore remarks:—

"After the words 'Take, eat,' the liturgy of St. Mark bids the deacon say, as a direction to the people, 'Stretch forth.' Similarly, after the clause 'Drink ye all of it,' he says, 'Still stretch forth,' I understand, 'your hands.' 'Εκτείνετε χεῖρα is

³ Scudamore, *Notitia Eucharistica*, p. 630.

⁴ Swainson's *Greek Liturgies*, p. 147.

⁵ μεταλαμβάνονται, Swainson, p. 140.

the common phrase, when anything is, as here, to be *touched* or *taken hold* of. See the LXX, Gen. viii.-9; xix.-10; xlviij.-14; Exod. iv.-4, &c. St. Matt. viii.-4; xiv.-31; xxvi.-51; St. Mark i.-41; St. Luke v.-13, &c., &c.”⁶

About a thousand years later, when “hearing mass” had taken the place of the primitive participation of the Lord’s Supper, Maldonatus, the Jesuit, mentions that “the non-communicating laity when the Eucharist is exhibited stretch forth their hands as if in the gesture of taking it, and then move their hands to their mouths,” which (as the writer who sometimes passes under the name of “Bp. Cosin” observes) is a pathetic protest against the unjust Stewards who have taken away the children’s bread.⁷

On reverting to the Gospel narrative of the original institution it will be seen that all modern distinctions between reception by the celebrant and that of the rest of the Church can only be defended as being matters of order which have in fact varied, and may lawfully be modified from time to time, “according to the diversities of countries, times, and men’s manners.”⁸ Since, as Chrysostom says, “under the Old Testament, when the priest ate some things, and those under him others, it was not lawful for the people to partake of those things whereof the priest partook. But *not so now*, but before all one body is set and one cup.”⁹

All who were bidden to “Take, eat,” were also authorised to ‘Do’ what our Lord then did. The force of this consideration is shown by the precaution of the Louvain Doctors, who in 1662

⁶ Not. Euch. p. 614. So Dionysius of Alexandria (A.D. 200) speaks of a layman “standing at the holy table, and stretching forth his hands to receive the holy food,” *χεῖρας προτείναντα.* (Euseb. Eccl. Hist. lib. vii. c. 9.) And in his Canonical Epistle to Basilides, he speaks of believing women as “approaching the holy table and touching the ‘body’ and ‘blood’ of the Lord”; on which Balsamon remarks, “anciently women went into the sanctuary and communicated from the holy table” (*ἀπὸ τῆς ἄγιας τράπεζης μεταλαμβάνον*). Bohn’s edition of Eusebius states, quite *incorrectly*, that Chrysostom prescribed the ‘hollow’ palm.

⁷ Cosin’s Works, V.-112.

⁸ Art. xxxiv.

⁹ Hom. xviii. on 2 Cor.

altered Matt. xxvi.-27 into "Drink ye all *twelve* of it," and St. Mark xiv.-23 into "and all the *twelve* drank of it."¹⁰

Whereas the 'We' who 'broke' the bread and 'blessed' the cup in 1 Cor. x.-16 are described by St. Paul as being the whole Church, as the very next verse, and indeed the whole context demonstrates. The word 'We' in that verse, so far from being emphatic, is not even expressed in the original. If, then, the whole celebration thus belonged to the Church, as such, *a fortiori* the mere distribution of the elements after consecration belonged to the minister only as being "the brother who presided"¹¹ and who customarily distributed the broken fragments by the hands of the deacons to the rest of the 'brethren.'

But all this was merely regulated by custom. Tertullian (A.D. 200) says "the Sacrament of the Eucharist, commanded by our Lord both at a meal time, *and to ALL*, we are in the habit of taking *even* in meetings before daylight, nor from the hands of others than the Presidents."¹² He gives this as an illustration of current traditions "which no scripture has prescribed."

About the same date, Clement of Alexandria wrote: "Some in the dispensing of the Eucharist *according to custom* ($\omega\varsigma \ \dot{\epsilon}\thetao\varsigma$) enjoin that each one of the people should take ($\lambda\alpha\beta\acute{e}i\nu$) his portion; conscience being the best guide for choosing or refusing rightly."¹³

In the next century Basil wrote: "It is superfluous to show that it is no great offence for a man to be compelled, in the times of persecution, to take ($\lambda\alpha\mu\beta\acute{a}v\epsiloni\nu$) the communion with his own hand, in the absence of priest or deacon, for long custom has established this by this very practice. For all the

¹⁰ Littledale's Plain Reasons, Chap. 58.

¹¹ The title $\Pi\rho\varepsilon\sigma\tau\omega\varsigma$ used by Justin Martyr, belonged then to a civil officer who might 'preside' at a wedding, a village club, or on the bench with his fellow judges. Tertullian says "certain seniors preside, obtaining that honour not by purchase but by established character." Apol. xxxix. Compare Didachè, xiv.-1.

¹² De Corona, Cap. 3.

¹³ Stromata, p. 318, Ed. Potter.

monks in the deserts, where there is no priest, retaining the communion at home, receive (*μεταλαμβάνοντιν*) from themselves. Again in Alexandria and in Egypt, each, even of those who live amongst the people (*as is done for the most part*) has the communion at home.”¹⁴

So common was this that Jerome (who mentions incidentally that the bread was conveyed in a wicker basket, and the ‘blood’ in a glass vessel) complains of some who even preferred to receive at home instead of coming to church. Various councils, as that of Saragossa, A.D. 380, and Toledo, A.D. 400, denounced those who after taking their ‘portions’ in church did not, after all, partake of the elements so reserved.¹⁵ So late as A.D. 1180 Balsamon, writing of the reserved sacrament, says “the Latins, even though they be laymen, give these sacraments not only to themselves, but to others also.”¹⁶ And in 1886 Mr. Scudamore testifies that “Greek monks still carry the holy Eucharist with them when on a long journey.”¹⁷ In all such cases (which might be multiplied indefinitely) it “goes without saying” that laymen’s fingers *must* have been used in ‘taking’ the morsel. Yet such “Catholic Fathers of the Church” as Cyprian, Augustine, Basil, Ambrose, Gregory, and Jerome (to name no more) recognised and approved the custom without thought of our nineteenth century fad about laymen’s fingers. Even when (in A.D. 692) the Council of Constantinople forbade laymen to help themselves *in presence of* a clergyman, they merely punished the offenders by *a week’s suspension*, “that they may thereby be taught not to be wiser than they ought to be.” This was evidently regarded as a mere clerical bye-law to secure order, without so much as a hint or suggestion of ‘sacrilege,’ which would have met with a far severer punishment.

Bp. Kingdon has shown, too, that in the earliest times, even

¹⁴ Ad Cœsarium Patriciam. Ep. 93 or 289.

¹⁵ Not. Euch. 905.

¹⁶ Bp. Beveridge’s Pandects, i.-225.

¹⁷ Not. Euch. 906. Boys and women were sometimes employed to distribute the fragments to the sick, prisoners, and other absentees. *Bona Rerum Liturg.*, II. xvii.-5, 7.

apart from the Agapè, the Eucharist frequently formed the prelude to an ordinary meal;¹⁸ and Martene mentions that certain orders of monks used on Maundy Thursday to place a host on each man's bread in the refectory when "the blessing having been made silently by the Prior, each man who chose might take the host and eat it, the Prior taking the lead."

When we call to mind that the Eucharist was the analogue of the paschal supper, and the counterpart of the communion feast in other forms of sacrificial worship (1 Cor. x.), and lastly that the joint participation of the consecrated viands constituted it the pledge of unity among brethren sharing the same covenant feast in common at the 'table' of their reconciled Father, we shall readily recognise that the 'taking' by individuals of the bread broken for each and of the cup delivered to all alike was a not inappropriate gesture at the Supper of the Lord.¹⁹

But superstition soon marred the simplicity of the rite. Men began (A.D. 692) to bring receptacles of gold or other precious materials for the reception of their 'portions,' and though this practice was checked, women were, nevertheless, bidden to cover their hands with clean linen cloths, and the Council of Auxerre so early as A.D. 578, forbade "a woman to receive with bare hands," or to "put her hand to the corporal."²⁰ This was followed in 847 by Pope Leo IV. forbidding women to touch even the cup; and the Council of Rouen (A.D. 880) "strictly prohibited

¹⁸ Fasting Communion, pp. 201-233.

¹⁹ Compare the *Reformatio Legum de Sacramentis C. 4.* "Eucharistia sacramentum est, in quo cibum ex pane sumunt, et potum ex vino, qui convivæ sedent in sacra Domini mensa."

²⁰ The free access of the laity to the Holy Table is shown also by the story which Gregory of Nazianzum tells of his sister Gorgonia (A.D. 339), who "laid her head against the altar" while "her hand treasured somewhat of the antitypes of the precious body and blood," which (alas!) she applied as a cure with which to "anoint her whole body" [Orat. VIII. § 18]. It is shown too by the allusion of Chrysostom who threatened a theatre-goer, "I will not receive him within this chancel; I will not give him to partake of the mysteries; I will not suffer him to touch the Holy Table" [Contra Ludos., Tom. VI. 276. D. So again De Davide, Hom. iii., Tom. IV. 769. C.].

Presbyters from placing the Eucharist in the hands of any lay person, commanding them to place it in their mouths.” Even sub-deacons had thenceforth to forego the use of their own hands. This priest-glorifying arrangement prevailed from the ninth century downwards and was temporarily retained in the provisional order of 1549, which had the following rubric :—

“ Although it be read in ancient writers, that the people, many years past, received at the priest’s hands the sacrament of the body of Christ in their own hands, and no commandment of Christ to the contrary : yet, forasmuch as they many times conveyed the same secretly away, kept it with them, and diversely abused it to superstition and wickedness : lest any such thing hereafter should be attempted, and that an uniformity might be used throughout the whole realm, it is thought convenient the people commonly receive the Sacrament of Christ’s body in their mouths, at the priest’s hand.”

Of course such a barbarous method would fail to prevent any real sacrilege. The Pseudo-Aquinas mentions that the origin of the use of the mediæval (unconsecrated) wine-cup after receiving the consecrated wafer was “ that women addicted to witchcraft might not so easily be able to reserve the body of Christ *in their mouth* for the perpetration of any crime of theirs, as we have often understood that many cursed women have done.”²¹

But so soon as Cranmer and the reforming bishops could rid themselves of their Romish colleagues (Bonner, Gardiner, Heath, Day, Voysey, and the rest) they at once directed the cup to be ‘delivered’ to the people, instead of merely “giving the Sacrament of the blood” for “every one to drink ;” and the bread also to be given “to the people in their hands,” while at the same time the words of distribution were changed into—

“ Take and eat this, in remembrance that Christ died for thee, and feed on Him in thy heart by faith with thanksgiving.”

It is important to remember that the word ‘Take’ was for the

²¹ Not. Euch. 725 n. John Beleth in A.D. 1192 explains that this was done “lest by chance any of the Sacrament should have been left in their mouth, which might easily be spat out.” Ibid. p. 715.

first time introduced as an address to the communicants in the "Second Prayer Book of Edward," 1552. More than a twelve-month previously, however, John a Lasco had published in London, and under Royal Letters Patent, a liturgy, in which each separate communicant was directed to "Take thence (*i.e.* from the paten) a morsel of the bread"; and "one hands to another the cup he had received from the minister."²²

That practice had also been advocated so early as 1533 by the Martyr Tyndale who proposed—"Every man breaking and reaching it forth to his next neighbour."²³

Tyndale's description of wafers shows also why they were abolished in the Liturgy of 1552. "Little pretty thin manchets that shine through, and seem more like to be made of paper, or fine parchment, than of wheat flour. About which was no small question at Oxford of late days, whether it were bread or none; some affirming that the flour, with its long lying in water, was turned to starch and had lost its nature." Gluten bread is no more true 'bread' than gelatine is beef; and unbroken wafers could not represent either, "the breaking the bread," or the oneness of "the loaf." (1 Cor. x.-17.)

The Marian exiles at Geneva, in 1566, had a rubric, "The Minister takes the bread, breaks and distributes it. So likewise the cup. They, when they have received, divide it in their turn among themselves."²⁴

John Knox's Scotch liturgy of 1567 had "The Minister breaketh the bread, and delivereth it to the people, who distribute and divide the same among themselves," &c.

²² La Forme et Maniere, &c., fol. 144. The direct influence of this liturgy upon our own Prayer Book was shown in the CHURCH INTELLIGENCER, iv.-13. Even in England, as we learn from Becon, the chaplain of Abp. Cranmer (Works, ii. 301), "a layman to touch the sacramental bread or cup with his bare hand is counted in the Parish Church a grievous sin; but if the layman have a glove on his hand, made of sheep's skin, then he may be bold to touch it: as though there were more holiness or worthiness in a sheep's skin than in a christian man's hands. O hypocrites, swallowing in a camel and straining out a gnat!"

²³ Works, Parker Soc., iii.-267.

²⁴ Ratio et Forma, p. 52.

Under Elizabeth, the words of distribution remained the same which had been adopted in 1552, though prefaced as now by the *prayer*, “The body of our Lord preserve,” &c. Yet it is clear that the word ‘take’ was then understood to imply an active use of the whole ‘hand’ and not the passive tendering the mere ‘palm’ of one hand.

The papist Myles Huggard, in his “Displaying of Protestants,” 1556, deriding the Edwardian usages, said, “Some would hold the cup himself, some would receive it at the minister’s hands, some of his next fellow.” John Rastell in his “Challenge to Bp. Jewel,” 1565, taunts him, “that the lay people communicating did take the cup at one another’s hands, and not at the priest’s.”²⁵ Mr. Lewis, in his recently published “Life of Bp. Hall,” (p. 33), quotes a like railing description of the practice at Emmanuel College in 1584. They “doe pull the loaf one from the other, after the minister hath begon. And soe the cup, one drinking as it were to another, like good fellows, without any particular application of the saide words, more than once for all.”²⁶

After making due allowance for the exaggerations of professed caricaturists, such statements prove at least that at the time when the word ‘Take’ was originally introduced, it was understood to admit of the practice which some private parsons now presume “of their own extemporal wits” to forbid. As the direction to ‘deliver’ is binding on the clergyman, so the direction to ‘take’ is addressed to the layman, whom alone it concerns. Let each therefore mind his own business.

“Here it may be noted that the old Latin service gave only the

²⁵ Heylin, Hist. Ref., ii.-430.

²⁶ The question of the administration to ‘railfuls’ at one time is not now under discussion; but it must be remembered that in 1552 the distributive words “to everyone” were struck out from the book of 1549, and that the existing words “to any one” (which are general but not necessarily distributive) were not inserted till 1661. The Twenty-first Canon of 1604 restricted the liberty which under the rubrics of Edward and Elizabeth had existed in this respect. The abolition of that restriction was recommended by the Ritual Commissioners in their Fourth Report, p. 20.

form in which the priest received, while in 1549 and ever after, the form of delivery to the people alone was given, showing how once the priest alone was remembered, and now he was merged in the people.”²⁷ “When the Prayer Book was revised at the beginning of the reign of Elizabeth (1559) these two sentences were combined: so that our present form contains the most ancient and simple words of delivery; adding the prayer formed with them in Gregory’s time, and continued in the missals; and also the favourite words of the staunchest Reformers, implying that each individual is to *take*, and eat and drink, with an application of the merits of Christ’s death *to his own soul.*”²⁸

This, and nothing less than this, is involved in the language of our Book of Common Prayer. The active going forth of the individual soul, the conscious effort to ‘meet’ the Father on the part of the prodigal, the laying hold of and appropriating an individual share of the common gift, this (and not mere passive receptivity while undergoing some change supposed to be effected upon physical contact with consecrated matter placed by a priestly Mediator within the mouth or in the ‘hollow’ palm) is the meaning of the custom so long and legitimately received among us. Canon Norris (in his valuable ‘*Catechists Manual*,’ Longmans, p. 57) says: “For this same reason—to show that effort on our part is necessary—the Catechism inserts the word ‘*taken*’ before the word ‘*received*.²⁹ As the bread and wine are not received unless the hand be reached forth to take them, so what Christ offers is not received unless the hand of faith be reached forth to take it. This is the teaching of the 29th Article.” “The word ‘*taken*’ points by sacramental analogy specially to the office of faith as the soul’s *hand*, and the word ‘*received*’ to the office of faith as the soul’s *mouth.*”²⁹ “How shall I hold him who is absent? How shall I send my hand into heaven, that I may hold him who sits

²⁷ Hole’s Manual of the Book of Common Prayer, p. 152.

²⁸ Procter’s Hist. Common Prayer, p. 351.

²⁹ Dimock’s Papers on the Doctrine of the English Church, p. 732.

there? Send forth faith, and thou hast held him,” said St. Augustine.³⁰ “By the *hand* of faith we reach unto Him, and by the *mouth* of faith we receive His body,” says Bp. Jewel;³¹ and Abp. Whitgift defended our use of the words of distribution in the singular number by the consideration that “forasmuch as every one that receiveth this Sacrament hath to *apply unto himself* the benefits of Christ’s passion, therefore it is convenient to be said to everyone: “Take thou, eat thou.”³²

* * *

As to the supposed authority of Cyril of Jerusalem (who appears to be the real author of the new fashion, and who is charged with Semi-Arianism by the Biographer of St. Athanasius), apart from the fact that the writings attributed to him are in whole or in part pretty certainly not his at all, as Bp. Andrewes and Dean Goode have shown³³ we have to consider how far we are prepared to follow that divine, who *in the very same passage* from which the above practice is taken, also recommends the communicant to touch his eyes with the bread, and adds, “touch with thy hands the moisture remaining on thy lips and sanctify both thine eyes and thy forehead and the other organs of sense!” English churchmen kneel in prayer, and also at the reception, whereas Cyril did neither the one nor the other. What, then, is the value of an ‘authority’ who is to be followed only when his views and those of the reader happen to coincide? According to the principles of Canon law, Eastern councils are in no way binding upon Western Christians in matters of discipline: whereas English clergymen are bound by the decrees of *their own* “particular and National church” (Art. xxxiv). As to the supposed danger of ‘accident,’ may it not be reasonably

³⁰ In Joan, xi. Tract L. 4.

³¹ Works, p. 1119, ed. Parker Soc.

³² Works, iii.-97. “The Mystery of the Lamb,” said Justin Martyr (Trypho., cap. 40), “which God commanded to be sacrificed as the Passover, was a type of Christ; with whose blood they who believe in Him sprinkle their own houses, *that is themselves*, according to the proportion of faith in Him.”

³³ Nature of Christ’s presence, i.-482.

contended that the conveying bread to the mouth without the aid of the fingers is much more likely to contribute to such a result? No one would dream of preventing an ‘accident’ at his dinner table by taking all his solid food solely from the palm of one hand. The ‘palm’ is common to man with the brutes, whereas the thumb (forming with the fingers a forceps of marvellous flexibility and accuracy) is the unique distinction of Man “made in the image of God.” Cardinal Bona suggests that the practice of withdrawing the Sacrament from the hands of the laity “began in the West when wafer-bread, as it is called was introduced, owing to the greater danger *after that* of particles falling from the hand.”⁸⁴ Yet Ritualists now argue in favour of wafers precisely because of their supposed freedom from this ‘danger’! The superstitious dread which magical theories about the Sacrament induce is by far the most fruitful source of ‘danger’ in all these cases. Wine has been spilled through the impossibility of giving it to a person who will neither “take the cup of salvation” nor even lift up the head sufficiently to drink properly; bread has been lost and even knocked down through the exaggerated prostrations of hysterical devotees. But we are not now contending against the practices of others, but claiming the freedom of “ordered liberty” within the Established Church for individual lay communicants whom certain clergymen debar from Holy Communion because they continue to use their ‘hands’ in the manner which differentiates the human hand from that of anthropoid apes.

To such persons we would point out that according to the Prayer Book “every minister so repelling any shall be *obliged* to give an account of the same to the Ordinary within fourteen days after at the farthest. And the Ordinary *shall* proceed against the offending person according to the Canon.” By the common law of England every baptized confirmand is entitled, as of right, to receive the Sacrament unless

⁸⁴ Not. Euch. p. 725.

he be excommunicate, or is being thus “proceeded against.” It was held in *Jenkins v. Cook* (1 P.D. 80) that the Act 1 Ed. VI. c. 1 conferred also a statutory right. It enacts that the “minister shall not without a lawful cause deny the same to any person that will devoutly and humbly desire it; any law, statute, ordinance, or custom contrary thereunto in any wise notwithstanding.” Even before the Reformation⁸⁵ nonconformists were presented for “not taking their rights at Easter.” It is in the interests of Christian liberty that the encroachments of priestly tyranny should be resisted. When St. Paul circumcised Timothy “because of the Jews” (Acts xvi.-3), he was charitably waiving his Christian liberty to avoid giving offence. But when the very same rite was attempted to be forced upon all converts on the ground that “ye needs must,” the same Paul gave place by subjection, “No, not for an hour” (Gal. ii.-3, 13), but rebuked publicly even the Prince of the Apostles whose infallibility had been “carried away with their dissimulation.” Nay, St. Paul went further, and said that if on such grounds as these circumcision were even submitted to, “Christ shall profit you nothing.”

“Stand fast therefore in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free.”

⁸⁵ Abp. Warham’s Visitation, A.D. 1511, in *British Magazine*, Vol. xxxi.-173.





JUDGMENT

OF HIS GRACE THE LORD
ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

IN

READ v. THE BISHOP OF LINCOLN,

Delivered at Lambeth, May 11th, 1889,

ON THE

Jurisdiction of English Metropolitans
OVER THEIR
Suffragan Bishops.

WITH NOTES

BY THE EDITOR OF THE "*Church Intelligencer.*"

LONDON:

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JUDGMENT

OF HIS GRACE THE LORD

Archbishop of Canterbury

IN

READ v. THE BISHOP OF LINCOLN

(*re Jurisdiction*).

(Before His Grace the Abp. of CANTERBURY, with the VICAR-GENERAL (SIR JAMES PARKER DEANE, Q.C.), and the BISHOPS OF LONDON, WINCHESTER, OXFORD, ROCHESTER, and SALISBURY as Assessors.)



T a sitting of the Court, May 11th, the Archbishop of Canterbury said:—Before I proceed to deliver judgment on the protest, I desire to express my very great obligations to the learned and right reverend prelates who are with me for their goodness in hearing the arguments along with me, and giving me the benefit of their advice on various points. It will be remembered that the appointment of their Lordships as assessors was for the hearing of the case on its merits.

The appearance under protest gave rise to a question totally distinct (except on one reserved point) from those affecting the merits, and their Lordships could not be called upon to discharge the office of assessorship, properly speaking, in considering the validity of jurisdiction which potentially affects themselves and their acts. It will therefore be understood that the judgment which I shall presently deliver on that part of the protest which

concerns the jurisdiction only is not to be looked upon as other than my own judgment. The Archbishop then proceeded to deliver Judgment as follows :

THE JUDGMENT.

The Court has now to give its decision on the protest raised on behalf of the Lord Bishop of Lincoln against the jurisdiction of the Court in this matter. First, it will be necessary to consider the case stated in the protest; Secondly, the authorities and the arguments against and in support of the archiepiscopal jurisdiction; Thirdly, to state the conclusion arrived at, and declare the course to be taken upon the decision.

I. THE PROTEST.

The protest says :—

1. That "the citation issued does not cite the Lord Bishop of Lincoln to appear in any Court or in any proceedings whereof the laws, canons, and constitutions ecclesiastical of this Church and realm and of the Province of Canterbury take cognizance."
2. "That by the said laws, canons, and constitutions, the Lord Bishop of Lincoln is not bound and ought not to appear before or be tried by the Archbishop sitting alone, or to appear before or to be tried by the Vicar-General of the Archbishop; and that the fact that the Archbishop proposes to sit with assessors does not confer a jurisdiction which he would not otherwise have."
3. "That by the said laws, canons, and constitutions, the Lord Bishop of Lincoln as a Bishop of the Province of Canterbury ought not to be tried for the offences (if any) with which he is charged in these proceedings save by the Archbishop of Canterbury together with the other Bishops of the province, his compatriots, assembled either in the Convocation of the said province or otherwise."
4. "That the charges set forth in the citation are not such charges as by the said laws, canons, and constitutions, the said Lord Bishop of Lincoln is bound, or ought to be tried for before or by any Court of ecclesiastical jurisdiction."

The consideration of this fourth point was deferred, without prejudice to his lordship's position, until the case (in the event of the protest being overruled) should come to be heard on its merits.

By the first three articles of the protest, two questions are raised.

- (1) Has the Archbishop, either sitting alone or with assessors in the Archiepiscopal Court of his Province, jurisdiction?
2. Has

the Archbishop jurisdiction only when sitting together with the other Bishops of the Province assembled in Convocation "or otherwise"? The word "otherwise" is not explained. But the second question (2) would not require consideration if the first (1) were decided in the affirmative. If it were proved that the Archbishop has jurisdiction when sitting in Convocation, this would not in itself prove that he has jurisdiction only when so sitting. It is obvious that such jurisdiction might exist concurrently with a jurisdiction exercised by the Archbishop alone, or with assessors.

II. THE ARGUMENTS.

The arguments in support of the protest and the authorities cited have extended over a wide range. The records of early Canons of Councils. synods and councils have been much relied upon.

As documents ancient and solemnly accepted, these records deserve all the scholarship and attention with which they have been handled by the learned counsel. Not for this immediate purpose only, but for ourselves always and our beliefs, they have the highest value and weight. It is desirable, therefore, to ascertain, if possible, exactly what kind and amount of support the contention receives from their authority. General impressions are easily created even by raising a contention on such grounds, and then "conscientious" difficulties gather round those impressions. It is therefore quite worth while to examine in some detail the canons cited, but only for the purpose for which they are cited. The argument which was advanced is

Chalcedon. very clear and connected. The first canon of the

Council of Chalcedon received the canons of "all the holy synods" held before it. The English Church receives the Council of Chalcedon as one of the four general councils. All the canons, therefore, of this and of the earlier synods referred to have become and, if the law has not been altered, are still part of the law of the realm. It is agreed, at the same time, that if the directions contained in ancient canons are ever so clear and definite, they still cannot determine any question of canonical or other law in England unless they have been received and put in use. There is, however, no doubt that in matters of faith and doctrine the decrees of the first four general councils have been so received, as

declared in the statute law (25 Hen. VIII., c. 19, s. 7; 1 Eliz., c. 1, s. 36). Canons also therein made, when strictly applicable, and when not "contrariant to the law of the Church and realm," have authority.

We proceed then to consider how far this authority extends in the present case. Printed extracts in support of the view that the canons determine the method of procedure in trial of Bishops were put in by the learned counsel for the Bishop of Lincoln. Among these are two of the canons called Apostolic, and other canons of the Councils of Constantinople, Antioch, and Chalcedon. We will take them in order, and consider both their contents and their

"Apostolic." reception. The canons called Apostolic probably belong, in the opinion of the most learned critics, for the most part to a period in which the Crown or Government had entered into no relations with the Church. For this reason, as well as on account of other social changes, many of the most important of these canons nowhere now survive in use, and could nowhere be acted upon in the Catholic Church as it is. Of Canon 27 (otherwise 33 or 35), the part which has seemed to touch this question is (as printed by the learned counsel) — "The Bishops of every province ought to own him who is chief among them, and esteem him as their head, and to do nothing extraordinary (*τερττόν*) without his consent; but every one those things only which concern his own parish (*παροικία*) and the country subject to it. Nor let him [that is chief Bishop] do anything [extraordinary] without the consent of all.—[Johnson II., 19.]" But (not to discuss the exactness of this translation) if anywhere the chief Bishop has a Court and jurisdiction, that which he does regularly within this, in the exercise of that jurisdiction, is not "extraordinary." The canon assumes that he has some authority more than diocesan; and to allege the canon generally against a jurisdiction not otherwise proved to be outside this, is to beg the question. Again, Canon 66 (otherwise 73 or 74) directs that the Bishops shall summon before themselves any credibly accused Bishop, and try to secure his appearing, and shall sentence him. But even if this canon were held now to empower Bishops to cite one of their own number before them, it still could have no force to override a jurisdiction otherwise shown to reside in their Metropolitan. Next, as to the reception of these canons in our Church.

It was argued that the Apostolic canons were held to be included among those adopted by the first canon of the General Council of Chalcedon, and therefore received by the Church of England, and so part of our own law. It is, however, matter of history (I refer to Hefele, "Hist. of Councils," App. vol. I.) that the Apostolic canons were adopted by the Synod in Trullo, A.D. 692, under the Patriarch John Scholasticus, into the code of the Greek Church. That would not have been necessary if they had been held to have been already adopted by the Council of Chalcedon in A.D. 451. After the Council in Trullo they remained binding on the Greek Church only, until, after having been added to the list of apocryphal books condemned by Papal authority in the sixth century (inserted probably by Hormisdas in the Gelasian Decree, ("Labbe," T. v. c. 390), they regained credit, and the first fifty of them were in the eleventh century added to the orthodox rules (*regulis orthodoxis*) of the Roman Church. ("Hefele," App. vol. I.) It is therefore difficult to see how these two canons, unless they have had some definite reception here, which is not shown, are not still formally part of "that foreign canon law" as to which Sir W. Phillimore rightly, "as an English lawyer, denied that it could be put into effect." They do not, as we have seen, apply to this case even as to their contents. And if they did, still (precious as they are as illustrations of early Christian practice) they are not

part of the discipline of the English Church. We

^{6th of Constanti-}
nople.

come next to the sixth canon of Constantinople.

The reception of this canon is even more questionable. Critics agree that it was not passed at all in the Second General Council—the great Council of Constantinople of the year 381—but at the synod which was held there a year later. Four canons only were passed at the council, ("Hefele," B. vii., sec. 98, "Beveridge," "Ballerini," &c., ap. Hef.) The so-called fifth and sixth were not read apparently at Chalcedon. They are not alluded to by the Greek historians of the council, and were not included in any of the four early Latin versions of its canons; and as late as the year 865 Pope Nicolas the Great writes of this sixth canon to the Emperor Michael at Constantinople, as being "not found among us (in the West), though asserted to be kept among you (in the East)." ("Hefele," l. c. and sub can. 6; "Jaffé Regesta PP.R.," sub anno.; "Nic. I. Ep. 8 ad Michaelem Imp.

'Proposueram, &c.'—"Labbe," Venet. 1729, v. 9, c. 1321 E.) It was not passed, then, in the Second General Council; there is no evidence that it was sanctioned in the third; and it was not in the code at Rome, nearly two centuries after it has been argued that it was received at Hatfield, and became binding to this day as the law of the English Church. But what is its purport? It excludes heretics, schismatics, and excommunicate persons from bringing ecclesiastical suits against Bishops. It excludes ecclesiastical suits against Bishops from being instituted in the Temporal Courts; and from being instituted in general councils (or great synods), except on appeal from the provincial synods, which ought to receive and hear such causes. If, then, this canon had been received in England it might probably have been the earliest authority for such jurisdiction in the provincial synod as may possibly exist in it from some source; although that reception could not have excluded concurrent developments which a more organized period was sure to produce in the modes of jurisdiction. But even that probability is extinguished by the evidence that it was not

known in the West until long after the Council of Antioch.

Hatfield. We come, thirdly, to the canons adduced from the synod of Antioch, which, although it was in reality only an Oriental synod, without any representation of the Western Church, has acquired large authority, apparently, as Hefele thinks, through the goodness of its enactments. Of the ninth canon we need not speak; its point has been touched under the Apostolic Canon 27 (33 or 35), of which it is an expansion—unless that is an abridgment of this Canons 12 (not '11'), 14, 15, deal with cases of Bishops who have been tried or deposed by synods. They do not order that Bishops should be tried *only* by synods, but they speak of this as the obvious mode of procedure at that time—which of course it was. But the 13th canon was quoted by Sir W. Phillimore as if it did order that mode distinctly. "All is null," he read from Johnson, "that is done by bishops coming without invitation" (*i.e.*, intruding foreign bishops), "and they are to be deposed by a sacred synod." The original will bear no such interpretation. It is "*καθηρημένον έιτεῦθεν ἥδη ὑπὸ τῆς ἀγίας συνόδου.*" That describes what nearly answers to the phrase "*ipso facto* excommunicated, and not restored until," &c., in our own canons of 1604; and "the Holy Synod," is that then

sitting (compare in Canon 14, “ἐδοξε τῷ ἀγίᾳ συνόδῳ”). So the latest historian of the councils takes it (Hefele). So the early Latin translators: Dionysius Exiguus, “Ex hoc jam damnatus a sancto concilio” (“Labbe,” t. ii., c. 601, Ven.), and Isidorus Mercator, “tanquam depositus a sancta synodo et propter hujusmodi præsumptionem jam prædamnatus” (“Labbe,” T. ii., c. 609). All men were to regard the intruding bishop as *ipso facto* deposed by his own act. This was the only sense in which the canon could have been accepted or known in the West, and there is no direction at all for the trial of a bishop by a synod. On the contrary, the 11th canon (which was *not* quoted) gives a distinct indication, at least in certain cases, of another mode of trial. It provides for a bishop, if necessity arose, transferring his cause directly to the judgment of the Crown (the Emperor)—not limiting the kind of cause to civil causes—by permission, and with commendatory letters

from his Metropolitan, or comp provincials. Lastly, we
Chalcedon. come to the General Council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451.

I do not understand how the ninth canon can be alleged in support of the contention raised.* It is a purely clerical canon, concerned only with disputes and complaints arising among clergy. It places the *civil affairs of the clergy*, as well as ecclesiastical matters, under the control of the bishops. The highest judicial authority therein named for the greatest causes is the Exarch of the “diocese,” as Superior Metropolitan, or the “Throne” (Patriarch) of Constantinople. (“Hefele,” B. xi., § 200, pp. 107-8, Goschler.) It seems needless to say that such a canon has never been received here. But, indeed, all the canons of Chalcedon, including the first, were applicable only to the Greek churches. The Western representatives had departed from the council as soon as questions of faith were over, and long before the canons of discipline were passed. These last were all proposed and passed together in the 15th session, and it is held that only the first six sessions, those which dealt with matters of faith, had an OEcumenical character. To sum up

Summary of the result of this closer examination of the ancient
Ancient Canons. canons alleged in support of the protest, it amounts

* Archdeacon Sinclair, in his Charge of 1852, p. 210, cites De Marca as saying, “Concilia provincialia celebrari desierant tempore concilii Chalcedonensis. Idem de sua ætate testantur Justinianus Zonaras, Balsamo, et Matthæus Blastares.”—[Ed. C. I.]

to this: The trial of bishops by synods is not enacted in them, though this is implied in the English version which was cited of one of the canons of Antioch. Such trial is treated as a usual and obvious function of synods. But deposition in other form, and trial in other form, and before the Metropolitan or the Patriarch, is already recognized. The conclusion which the court must draw is that it cannot satisfy itself from the evidence alleged that the authority of early Church councils establishes that the trial of a bishop ought to rest with a synod of bishops only. It is not necessary to repeat what has been observed as to the absence or slightness of the evidence for the reception in the Western Church of the particular canons alleged. The learned counsel argued that all were covered by the first canon of Chalcedon, and although that might be true for the Greek church, yet the *disciplinary* canons of that council have never been conceived to have *Ecumenical* authority. I have thought it important to enter minutely into this part of the argument because, when it has been elaborately maintained that the primitive councils alleged command a mode of trial inconsistent with that in use and now proceeding, even if the jurisdiction of the Court be established, a certain prejudice is evoked, which, under present circumstances, it is right to dispel. The Court itself, owing to the character of the protest, has been placed on its defence, as it were, in a singular manner, which would not have been the case had these pleadings been advanced

elsewhere. It will be understood that nothing here said impugns the authority of the first four General Councils—"the first perfection," as Hooker calls them, 'of so gracious a thing.' But their work was twofold, and it is necessary to observe the distinction between the two parts. Their symbols or creeds, their articles of faith, and definitions of doctrine are our rule, as a faithful expression of the sense of Holy Scripture on the great verities. Thus, in the case referred to by Sir Walter Phillimore of "Kemp *v.* Wickes and others," the authority assigned to the four councils seems limited to matters of faith and doctrine. But the canons of order and discipline passed in those same councils, and at less important synods as to matters of ecclesiastical procedure and legal practice are on another footing. The creeds and sacred definitions deal with things eternal. The canons and the discipline deal with

Distinction between doctrine and discipline.

things of spiritual concernment, but in temporal regions and for temporary uses. The canons themselves take into account the conditions of their own times and countries. So must the ecclesiastical procedure of every age and nation. The procedure and practice of Courts must of necessity vary with the constitution of a country, and the institutions, organizations, and usages of communities, both ecclesiastical and civil. These have been in perpetual movement and life, and those canons as they stand do not now answer to the actual practice of any Christian Church. That is no disparagement of their excellence. They do not claim to bind a scheme of judicature on the Church at large or the Church of ages. They will not bear the strain which this contention puts on them. But whatever system of procedure appears in those canons, it has been argued that the canons form part of the law of the land, inasmuch as they have been accepted in terms by synods

Hatfield. of the English Church. Reference was made to the Council of Hatfield, the Synods of the Northern and Southern Provinces in 787, and to the Canons of Ælfric ("Haddan and Stubbs," iii., pp. 141, 448, 450).

1. The Council of Hatfield, A.D. 680. The conclusions of the Council of Hatfield (whatever be its authority) had reference, so far as we can ascertain, to nothing but matters of faith and doctrine, unless there was some rearrangement of English dioceses. It was called by the Archbishop "in order" (as Dr. Bright accurately says, "Early Eng. Ch. Hist.," p. 317) "to certify the Pope as to the orthodoxy of the Church under his rule." Along with other dogmatic declarations it "enforced," he says, "the theology of the five *Œcumical Councils* which had then been holden." Its members describe themselves as "We who, with Theodore, have expounded the Catholic faith" ("Haddan and Stubbs," vol. iii., p. 141 ff.). Phrases describing as the one object of their assembly the affirmation of "the right and orthodox faith," "the divinely inspired doctrine," abound in their synodal letter and in Bede's narrative. It is said that Agatho had proposed that it should also examine "de ecclesiasticis statutis" p. 133, but there is not one word as to the reception of any disciplinary canons, or discipline at all; and this is the more remarkable if there were any theories as to the trial of Bishops, because a commissary from the Pope attended the council, and at this very

moment one of themselves, the great Wilfrid, was at Rome complaining that he had been improperly deprived.

The learned counsel next cited the Synods of the Finchale and Chelsea.

Double Synod of Finchale and Chelsea, held in 787 A.D. under the Papal legates ("Haddan and Stubbs," vol. iii., p. 447). These deal with church order very closely—regulating monasteries, judicial proceedings, marriage, churches, services, &c. They order that any Bishop in any way concerned in the death of a King shall be deposed and degraded. But they do not touch the *process*. They receive the "synodal edicts of the six universal councils (the sixth having now been held), *together with the decrees of the Roman pontiffs.*" We have already examined the original bearing upon the present question of the canons of the Four Councils which we receive; and the two synods neither add new force to them, nor interpret them as interfering with that spiritual jurisdiction already exercised in England. It has been already observed that some of those canons were at this date not received in the West.

The other quoted example of synods of the So-called "Canons" of *Ælfric.* English Church "having so accepted in terms"

those canons, that they now 'form part of the law of the land,' was the canons of *Ælfric*, A.D. 970 (Wilkins' *Conc.*, vol. i., p. 250. Johnson's "English Canons," part i., p. 382). I suppose the contention was serious. But in fact the Canons of *Ælfric* represent no synod or legislative authority. They are a Bishop's charge. A charge written for the use of the Bishop of Dorchester, by *Ælfric*, his "humilis frater." And there is no more to say about them.

There is, therefore, no evidence that the early Alleged "trials" of Bishops. English synods either formally received or enjoined any special form of procedure in the trial of Bishops.

If we examine the early English illustrative instances they bear not only the same negative witness as the documents, but witness which contradicts the contention. The first alleged was that of Winfred.

Winfred of Lichfield. The "Anglo-Saxon Chronicle" was quoted to prove that he was deprived by a synod, contrary to the nearly contemporary statement of Bede (Bede was twenty years old when Theodore died), that he "was

deprived by the Archbishop Theodore" ("Bede, H. E.," I. iv. c. 6). If the passage had been genuine the chronicle itself belongs to two centuries after the event. But the passage is no part of the original Chronicle. The translation may take no notice of the fact, but the critical edition of the original shows the passage to be a late interpolation—mixed with a spurious charter and probably of the twelfth century (Rolls' edition, vol. i., p. 53; vol. ii., p. 29).

In the second instance, that of Wilfrid of York, Wilfrid.

we have, against all conjectures about synodical action, Wilfrid's own written petition to the Pope, given in his own words by his friend and biographer. Wilfrid says that he had been deprived (*privatum*) by Theodore (of whom he speaks with great veneration) "*absque consensu cuiuslibet episcopi.*" It was urged that Wilfrid was "given his place in a synod assembled in Rome," and that, "before he had been ultimately restored he was (thus) recognized by the Pope as a lawful Bishop," that is, that Theodore's deprivation of him was not recognized. But the facts are these. Besides the synod in which his appeal was heard, there were two synods at Rome while Wilfrid was there ("Haddan and Stubbs," iii., pp. 131, 136); the one in which Wilfrid sate as a Bishop was *after* his restoration; in the synod which was held while he was still under the archiepiscopal sentence he was not present, although its special business was the state of the Church of England, without reference to his own difficulties. Yet more, the Bishop of Toul, who was Wilfrid's travelling companion to Rome, did sit in that synod. So far, therefore, the action of the Pope involves a recognition of Theodore's jurisdiction. Lastly, in the sentence of restoration not a doubt is thrown on Theodore's jurisdiction. Wilfrid had asked for a decision as to whether he was "*privatus*" (p. 138). The sentence was, "*Episcopatum, quem nuper habuit, recipiat.*" But the partitioning of Wilfrid's diocese into three, which Theodore had carried in council with the King, was affirmed, though the persons appointed to them were to be changed. As the climax of the conduct for which Wilfrid was deprived was his threatening to appeal to Rome, he receives from the Pope much commendation for his dutifulness, but he is replaced only in the diminished see.

The legendary story of Wulfstan, who was not deprived, and was not tried in any way which could

be called synodical, seems to have no bearing on the question except as showing by what authority Anglo-Saxon and Norman bishops believed that they held their sees (Freeman's "Norman Conquest," vol. iv., p. 379). The court has considered also the other instances up to the end of the 12th century, but they only show what is unquestioned, and continues to appear, that there was more than one way in which episcopal causes were heard.

With respect to the complaint against Becket for Becket.

suspending the Bishop of Salisbury, it should be observed that it is not rested upon the use or abuse of legatine power, since the complaint is of his acting "*absque (episcoporum) consilio*," or, as they state it themselves, "*priusquam causa provincialium aut aliquorum etiam fuisse arbitrio comprobata*." It is exactly the same ground as Wilfrid alleged against Theodore, and it has not even been argued that the objection was entertained ("Materials for Hist. of Becket," vol. v., pp. 406, 421, put in by Sir W. Phillimore).

After reviewing the earliest evidence, the canons, Summary as to Synods. their reception elsewhere, their reception in England,

the instances of jurisdiction, the court fails to satisfy itself that up to that date there was an exclusive jurisdiction over these cases in a synod of bishops. Before we leave this division of the subject, the three passages should be noticed which were cited to prove that the Antient Canons have Parliamentary authority as

"Parliamentary" Authority of Canon Law. law in England. The first (25 Hen. VIII., c. 19, s. 7) simply continues the authority, whatever it was, which the canons *already* possessed. The second (1 Eliz. c. 1, s. 36) relate to the Four Councils only as ruling what was heresy, when they rested on Scripture. Also it has long disappeared from our Statute-book.* The third was found in an Exhortation in the Ordinal, where there is a reference to "antient Canons," which echo the Scripture precept, "not to be hasty in laying on of hands." It was said that the reference is to the second and eighth Apostolic Canons. I do not see the resemblance; but

* The section was repealed in 1640, and has "disappeared," but not the Act (1 Eliz. c. 1.). As Bp. Fitzgerald observed, the words of that section were merely "negative. They do not require that everything which fulfils these conditions should be reputed heresy: but that nothing which failed to fulfil them should be so reputed." —[Ed. C. I.]

the allusion is undoubtedly to the Fourth Council of Carthage, which is actually referred to by name in one of the old Latin Pontificals in the corresponding exhortation ("Martene, *Ant. Ecc. Rit.*," vol. ii., p. 386). It will scarcely be argued that the canon of the Fourth Council of Carthage became English law through that quotation; but if it would not, neither would the others. This is all the Parliamentary authority advanced. But it was argued that

Usage. English usage shows that at a later time, "The true

mode of judging a bishop is not by the archbishop alone, but by Convocation, Council, or Synod, whatever phrase you choose to employ."⁵ It had before been put to the court (and no exception is taken to the statement), that Convocation is a provincial synod or council, and as such has certain judicial functions. Therefore we proceed at once to the consideration of the cases which have been cited as distinct incontrovertible examples of trials of bishops by Convocation.

TRIALS IN CONVOCATION.

The first case, urged as a forcible proof that the jurisdiction of the Archbishop over Bishops must be exercised in Convocation is that of the Coadjutor of Hereford in 1393. He was summoned to trial by the Archbishop with high

Coadjutor of
Hereford. assertion (it is said) of his judicial authority, but summoned before Convocation and tried there. It is, however, a case of no importance. The Coadjutor of Hereford was not a Bishop; and he was a member of Convocation. He was cited to appear before the Archbishop at the next Convocation, which he was bound to attend. It is not pretended that the Archbishop might not have corrected him by his visitatorial power and in other ways; and it is not to be imagined that a Court such as the present would be convened to decide a case of negligence in a presbyter who was commissary to his sick Bishop. Many cases found their way, as this did, to Convocation to meet the convenience, or feeling of the Bishop. Gibson ("Synodus Anglic." ch. xiv., p. 169) writes thus:—"If a Bishop in his diocesan Court upon examination did not see cause to deliver over the party accused to the secular power, either the degree or evidence of the crime falling short. . . . the person was frequently brought before Convocation." The reluctance of the Bishops to hand over the person

to the secular arm, and the odium aroused when they did so, are visible through the whole 14th century. Convocation did no more in the way of inflicting penalties than the Bishop himself could have done if he had chosen. The "Calendar of Authenticated Trials for Heresy prior to the year 1533" ("2d Appendix Ecc. Courts Comm. Report") shows how many cases of this class, in which the process was initiated in Courts of Bishops and of the Archbishop, came thus before Convocation. The Coadjutor's case is one of discipline taking the same course. It has no relation to trials of Bishops.

Bp. Cheney. The second case is that of Bp. Cheney in 1571.

But the case of Bp. Cheney is no trial by synod. It is a mere case of wilful contumacy in and against Convocation. At the opening of every Convocation it is declared that all who are absent without necessary and approved reason will be visited as contumacious with the canonical penalty; "*intendimus. . . . contumacias eorum qui absentes fuerint canonice punire.*" The canonical penalty is the "major excommunication" (Gibson's "Synodus Anglicana," pp. 27, 26): and there is an instance of many members being suspended for such contumacy by Archbishop Whitgift, "*a celebratione divinorum et omnimodo exercitio ecclesiasticae jurisdictionis*" in 1586 (Gibson's "Appendix," p. 163). Bp. Cheney avoided signing the Thirty-nine Articles for nine years, from 1562 to 1571 (being "popishly affected" *); and wilfully absenting himself from the Convocation which was to sign them (before publication) in the latter year, was excommunicated for contumacy and contempt† according to the forms of Convocation (see Strype's "Parker," vol. i. p. 51 ff. and Appendix). The suspension of Bishop Goodman in 1640 is equally Bp. Goodman. destitute of any appearance of a trial by synod. It was an act, and an arbitrary and oppressive act, of the President

* Campian, the Jesuit, praised Cheney as being "more tolerable than the rest of the heretics, and professing the true presence of Christ on the altar." (*Campian's Works*, p. 365.) In 1575 Abp. Grindal threatened Cheney with inhibition for ordaining without letters dimissory (*Grindal's Register*, F. 144.B.) —[Ed. C. I.]

† Bp. Geste writing about him to Lord Burleigh in May, 1571, said, "My Lord of Gloster is pronounced excommunicate by my Lord of Canterbury, and shall be cited to answer before him and other bishops to certain errors which he is accused to hold."—S. P. Dom. Eliz. Vol. 78, No. 37.—[Ed. C. I.]

and Houses of Convocation. The account is minutely given in the Acts of Convocation for that year. (See "Gibson's App.," pp. 51 ff.) The signing of the draft canons of 1640 having been fixed for May 29th, Bishop Goodman alone of the two Houses refused to sign. Three canonical monitions to him to sign were compressed into the time occupied by the rest in signing. He still refused. The Archbishop then not only pronounced (*decrev.t*) that he should be deprived, but ordered his Official Principal to draft the sentence of deprivation. He then took the sense of the House, which, as well as his own voice, was necessary to the validity of the act. In Convocation of course all Bishops are "*assistentes*," and all have votes. The majority, which was all that was required, was seen to be for deprivation; and Goodman signed. The Archbishop then required him to declare whether he signed "*voluntarily, ex animo, without equivocation, evasion, or mental reservation.*" Goodman replied that "he had signed," and would say no more. Nevertheless, both Houses pursued the case, and both resolved that now he should be suspended from office and benefice for the "scandal" he had caused. Further, the Lower House petitioned the Archbishop that he should be called upon to take a new oath required by the new canon just signed, which had not yet received the Royal assent, and to answer the question which had been put to him. He was ordered not to leave London (Westminster?) until he had taken the oath, and the Archbishop then suspended him (*cum consensu totius Synodi . . . suspendendum fore decrevit*). This all took place in one day, and in one sitting.

Thus the two instances supposed to establish the trial of Bishops before Convocation are, in fact:—(1) One of them, a mere putting in execution the canonical penalty for the enforcement of attendance; (2) the other, in form simply an Act of Convocation.

But it was argued that the voting of the Bishops in Bishop Cheney's and Bishop Goodman's cases showed that they were judicial proceedings. But this is an error; a majority would be necessary in *any* "Act" of Convocation. The Royal assent to any "Act" requires the "greater number of the Bishops whereof the President to be one." But "in trials before Convocation the members do not vote" (evidence of Canon Stubbs (Bp. of Oxford), in Ecclesiastical Courts Commission Report, Q. 1155). The same great historical authority writes (App. I. to Report already referred to, p. 45).

"Before the Reformation the Provincial Convocation may be fairly regarded as a court attendant on and assessing to the Archbishop, discussing cases of litigation or correction which were brought before him therein or were laid by him before his clergy. But we are inclined to believe that so far as jurisdiction was concerned, the authority resided in the Metropolitan and not in the Synod."

This passage perhaps may seem to illustrate how the function of Convocation as Assessors to the Archbishop in the exercise of his jurisdiction may be discharged by certain members of the body.

Further, in claiming Convocation (regarded as the Lower House as "Judges." Provincial Synod) as the proper Court for the trial of a Bishop it was not explained how the necessity

for the concurrence of the majority of the Lower House, which is required for the validity of the Acts of Convocation, is consistent with the supposed requirements of antient councils that a Bishop should be tried by compatriots only. However, it is not necessary at present to go further into the question. It

^{High Commission.} may also be observed that from the year 1551 to 1562 no authority was likely to be producible bearing either way upon the right of the Archbishop, whether in his own Court, or in Synod, or Convocation, to try a suffragan, for as long as the Court of High Commission lasted, all important offenders in causes touching doctrine or ritual were brought before it, as well as persons, whether laity or clergy, accused of immorality or misconduct, recusancy or nonconformity (Hist. App. (I) p. 50).

Lastly, while in the beginning of the 17th century ^{Whiston's case.} the opinion of the Judges in Whiston's case, given with the reservation that upon argument they might alter their view, is in support of some judicial power in Convocation, it remains uncertain whether they intended ("Brodrick and Freemantle," pp. 325, 326) that it could be exercised against persons or only against doctrines as in books; and it is in no way adverse to a jurisdiction residing elsewhere, as in the Metropolitan.

The Court therefore holds that while Convocation ^{Jurisdiction resides in Metropolitan.} is a Court of which the President *sedet judicialiter*

with the Bishops *assistantes*, and while there may be causes, processes, or controversies which would be necessarily and usefully heard and determined there (proper conditions being fulfilled), it has not been established that it is the only proper

Court for the trial of a Bishop, and *no instance of such a trial has been adduced.* It now remains to consider the arguments on the jurisdiction of the Metropolitan. The antient canons themselves, within even the 70 years from Constantinople to Chalcedon, show the tendency towards that centralization which was impossible before the Church emerged from isolation and oppression, and from the first traces of this there appears, all through, a jurisdiction vesting in and exercised by the Metropolitan, sometimes *with*, sometimes only *in* a Synod, and sometimes separately. Thus we observed that as early as A.D. 451 the highest trials between Bishops are to be taken before either the Exarch of the Diœcesis, or the Archbishop of Constantinople. And thus we find still earlier among a small number of Bishops who assembled in a counter-Synod at Ephesus in A.D. 441 some Bishops who "many years before had been deposed for grave causes by their own Metropolitans—*πρὸ πολλῶν ἐτῶν ἐπὶ δειναῖς αἰτίαις καθηρημένοι ἀπὸ τῶν ιδίων μητροπολιτῶν.*" ("Epist, Synod Conc. Eph. ad Cœlestinum," Labbe, Paris, v. iii., p. 364). In England some of the early Synods which tried Bishops were not Synods of Bishops or clergy *exclusively*, and up to the end of the twelfth century sentences pronounced by the Archbishop alone, in the exercise of this jurisdiction, are sometime appealed or protested against to King or to Pope, but never set aside (if set aside at all) on the ground that he had no such jurisdiction. It is scarcely necessary to enter upon the question of the legatine jurisdiction, since no cases are alleged as examples of its being employed in trials of this kind. But as it has been suggested that the Archbishop might have had powers as 'Legatus natus' which he had not as Metropolitan, I may refer to the opinion of one of the most competent authorities of our own or other times. The acceptance of the legatine commission by the Archbishops

"is of less constitutional importance than might at first sight seem probable." . . . (Its) "effect was not the creation of new legatine Courts, but the clothing the ordinary Courts with some shadow of legatine authority." "England resisted the intrusion of foreign legates, sent from time to time to . . . supersede the action of the Metropolitans. . . . Not only the Kings, but Archbishops like Anselm, remonstrated against the aggression. According to Anselm, the Archbishops of Canterbury, by the law and custom of

the Church, possessed all the rights and powers that were by the delegation of the Pope's powers bestowed upon the legates—a statement which, interpreted by history, means that they were customarily free and independent of foreign interference in the administration of their province. But the practical decision of the investiture controversy . . . seems to have impressed the English Bishops with the belief that it was better to seek for themselves the office of legate than to leave the Church open to arbitrary and mischievous interference from without." (Bp. of Oxford, Hist. App. (1) to Report of Commission on Ecclesiastical Courts, 1883, p. 27).

Against the continuous positive evidence of jurisdiction in the Archbishop, the letters and extracts put in "On the Powers of the Archbishop" offer at the best, and merely by implication, negative evidence.

The authorities from the Year-books do not seem to establish the point for which they are cited. The petition to Edward III. and the reply refer entirely to criminal offences, and are now contrary to the laws of the realm. The case of Bishop Pecocke, A.D. 1457, requires to be considered by itself. It offers an example of the difficulties sometimes attending even written contemporary notices by competent persons. These notices, with such other documents as exist, and some later accounts have been examined by many scholars. Still it remains uncertain whether Pecocke was deprived, or, after appealing to the Pope, resigned on promise of a pension from the King.* Further, there is a double mode of procedure. After withdrawing from the King's Council at Westminster under pressure (which seems something like the waiving of privilege in Watson's case), Pecocke appeared at Lambeth, where the Archbishop sate with three Bishops described as assessors—Waynflete, Bishop of Winchester; Chedworth, Bishop of Lincoln; and Lowe, Bishop of Rochester; received the books which Pecocke submitted, and delivered them to twenty-four examiners; received their report; condemned six articles which were said to be extracted from the books; caused the condemnation of these to be published at Paul's Cross, and subsequently received Pecocke's formal retraction. All this, which is not a mere reporting on the subject but is judicial, is combined with other

Bp. Pecocke.

* The evidence seems to shew that Pecocke was (1) deprived by the Archbishop, (2) reinstated by a Bull from the Pope, (3) induced to resign by threats of Royal influence being employed with his Holiness.—[ED. C. I.]

Pecocke is said by Whethamstede, "citari coram Archiepiscopo;" and there "præsente tam Domino Rege quam multis proceribus," proceedings in the King's Council at Westminster, where still the Archbishop gave him his choice between abjuration and death. Whethamstede's observation is that "reformavit (eum) Archipræsularis auctoritas." This combination leaves the action of the

Trials with Assessors. jurisdictions which were employed to secure the suppression of Pecocke ambiguous. It should be

further observed that, this trial taking place in A.D.

1457, the Archbishops of Canterbury had held five trials for heresy since the year 1410, sitting with Episcopal assessors. In two cases there were also assessors who were not Bishops ("Calendar of Trials for Heresy," *ut sup.*). And though in the instruments belonging to the "Process" (Gascoigne) by which Pecocke was tried, the Archbishop has the usual style of "Legatus," there is no token that anything was done by virtue of legatine power. Neither is there any allusion throughout the records to Convocation.

Silence of Abp. Parker. Mr. Jeune has urged in evidence of the plea of the non-existence of the jurisdiction under consideration that Abp. Parker takes no notice of it in the account which he gives of the privileges and prerogative of the See of Canterbury in his "De Antiquitate Ecclesiæ Britannicæ" (p. 37, ed. Drake), whilst he gives a minute description of the Courts of Arches, Audience, and Prerogative in testamentary, matrimonial, and other causes, as well as of the Peculiar (p. 41) jurisdiction of the See. But here, in fact, lies the explanation. He gives an exact statement of the scope and practice, the officers, and the advocates of courts which were in daily request—"tam late patentis jurisdictionis," as he writes. There was no occasion for him to go into details upon a jurisdiction which, however real and necessary, had not been exercised for more than a century. But he does indicate clearly that there was a wider range of jurisdiction than he actually describes. He not only says that it was the business of the Archbishop "provincialia cuncta negotia arbitrio suo moderari et temperare" (p. 43); he goes much farther, *and too far*. He writes (p. 37), "Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis authoritas non certis atque definitis archiepiscopalibus aut metropoliticæ jurisdictionis cancellis concluditur, sed ordinaria, libera, pæneque arbitraria per suam provinciam excurrit et diffunditur."

It is impossible to conclude that, when such is his language, Parker excluded suffragan juris-

diction by mere silence when giving the particulars of his every-day courts, while he was at the same time revising the "Reformatio Legum." It is unreasonable to suppose that jurisdiction in the case of an accused suffragan was excluded from terms so large; inasmuch as otherwise, large as they are, the most important case of all would be unprovided for, since Convocation had never dealt with

or been invoked in such a case. But the "Reformatio Legum" shows that where it was necessary to codify, Parker and his colleagues expressed themselves in plain terms. That code begun in 1549 was "carefully framed by Archbishop Cranmer" (Strype's Parker, ii. 62) and the committee which consisted of thirty-two most eminent Bishops, divines, civilians, and common lawyers. After abundant labour spent on it, "the whole code as revised and approved by Archbishop Parker," who had been a member of the committee from first to last, "was made public with the Archbishop's consent in (1571) the same year in which the Thirty-nine Articles were signed by Convocation and ratified by Parliament" (Cardwell, pref. to "R.L.," p. xi.). It is hardly necessary to remark that it is cited here simply in evidence, not as constitutional authority. Under title "De Ecclesia," &c., c. 16, after provision for appeals to the Archbishop and for his adjudicating on questions between his compatriots—"Judex et finitor inter eos esto archiepiscopus"—the article proceeds thus:—"Further he shall hear and judge accusations against the Bishops of his own province." "Ad hæc audiet et judicabit accusationes contra episcopos suæ provinciæ." A more definite direction cannot be conceived, nor a clearer testimony to the settled opinion of Parker at the very time when it is urged that the "De Antiquitate" showed he never thought of such a jurisdiction. The "Reformatio Legum" was published complete in 1571, and the "De Antiquitate" in 1572. I should add that in title "De Deprivatione," c. 4 ("Cardwell," p. 166), it is ordered that, if a Bishop is in peril of being deprived for any crime, the Archbishop with two Bishops named by the Crown are to take up the cognizance of the affair. But before we part from the evidence which Parker thus bears to the range and application of the jurisdiction it is desirable to notice how in his magnifying of the office one point which he wishes to make clear is that along with it the Metropolitical See had received the fullest possible rights of dispensation ("De Ant.," p. 37). The wording of the passage "totum illud legum rigorem mitigandi jus, quod

"dispensare dicitur" seems to show that, in Parker's view, the duty of tolerance was the complement of power. A letter from Parker to Sir William Cecil of April 28, 1566 ("Correspond. Parker," L. ccxv. Par. Soc., p. 280), was alleged as showing the Archbishop's own sense that he had no jurisdiction as to suffragans. But read in its connection with the history, that letter is not concerned with jurisdiction,* but with the impossibility of enforcing obedience so long as the Queen was unwilling to give the help of her Council.

Such being the jurisdiction, there is therefore no difficulty as to the canons of 1604. The ground taken by Sir W. Phillimore was, that affirming recent canons made from 1580 onwards, by which the Archbishop, first alone and then with an assessor, formed a tribunal, they *created a new Court* expressly for the suspension of Bishops. The argument was that this proves that previously the Archbishop's was not a Court capable of such act of suspension. But it was not the Court that was new, but the penalty. Previously it was part of the common law of the Church that a man should not be ordained without a title, unless the Bishop was prepared to maintain him; nor without examination of his qualifications and character (see Phillimore, "Eccl. Law," p. 120). But there had been no penalty under previous enactments, and the scandals are well known which were brought about through neglect of the rule. Accordingly the 33rd and 35th canons of 1604 fix penalties, as the enactments of 1580, 1585, 1597 had done (though shortening the term in one case) in the form of suspension by the Archbishop from conferring holy orders. They give to the Archbishop (as the Court has to be named), according to apparently unbroken precedent, the benefit of assessorship, but only one assessor, since cases so simply proved required no more. In the 36th canon, where the question was mere matter of fact as to whether the candidate had subscribed the Three Articles, it is simply stated that the Bishop who had not required him to do so shall be suspended, without even naming the authority by whom. We must here observe that if Convocation, or the Archbishop in Convocation, had really been the proper and usual Court for the suspension of a Bishop, this could not have failed to be asserted in canons made by

* [Nor did it relate to proceedings against Suffragan Bishops, but to the enforcement upon the "inferior" clergy by the "Spiritual" courts of the Royal Advertisements of 1566. See "Grindal's Remains," p. 289, and Parker Corr., pp. 276, 277.—ED. C. I.]

the Convocation itself. It is not necessary to examine the general language cited from authors, or from practice books, although they do not all point one way, because no opinions of the kind can affect the grounds which are before us as fully or more fully than before the writers.

De Dominis. The great specific learning and ecclesiastical science of Antonio de Dominis, Archbishop of Spalatro, and Dean of Windsor, even if of his numerous proofs all may not be equally valid, cannot be lightly set aside. His conclusion, after elaborate research and argument, is that the Metropolitan “ordinariam jam habere in episcopos suæ provinciæ potestatem,” or otherwise that he is “ordinarius admonitor corrector et judex adversus suorum suffraganeorum vel negligentiam vel excessum.”

The “ordinary power,” which was supposed to have been diminished by an Act of Charles I., was restored by the Act of 13 Charles II., 12.

Sheldon. When Archbishop Sheldon's letter in 1676 is quoted with a view to show that in his judgment this particular judicial power did not reside in the Archbishop because he makes no mention of it, it can scarcely have been observed that neither does he mention the Court of his Vicar-General, nor the Court of Arches, nor the Court of Audience, nor yet that judicial power which it is argued that the Archbishop had in synod, Convocation, or other. If Archbishop Sheldon's silence as to the judicial power now under discussion means that it did not exist, then neither did any of the others exist, not even the power in Convocation which is contended for in the protest. Why he omits the formal mention by name of these judicial functions I do not know (perhaps because of the detail necessary to discriminate them), but it is observable that he does say very distinctly that the Archbishop “episcoporum in regime episcopali errata et negligentias corrigit.” This cannot have been done without some kind of Court, not *proprio motu*, or arbitrarily. And Sheldon is not speaking of the visitatorial power throughout the province. He deals with that some lines lower down.

Bp. Wood's case. The case of Bishop Wood of Lichfield (1684) tells but little. It was an arrangement. Two suits about dilapidations (in one of which he was plaintiff, in the other the Archbishop's office was promoted against him), and a third,

brought against him for non-residence, were, by consent, referred to the arbitration of two Bishops. The arbitration was allowed, and the award confirmed by the Court of Arches, and the sentence, part of which was suspension, was formally pronounced by the Archbishop in Lambeth Chapel, a Bishop of the Province and another Bishop (*not the arbitrators*) being present.

In two other cases the learned counsel argued that the resort to special commissions by Royal authority showed that trial before the Archbishop was not recognized as a possible course—the cases of Bishop Compton and of Bishop Hacket.

Bps. Compton and Hacket. With regard to Bishop Compton's case (1686) it is obvious that James II., intending him to be not only tried but condemned, had no other resource than an ecclesiastical commission. It was hopeless to expect that Archbishop Sancroft would himself execute the King's purpose. There was this further gain in a commission—that, in the absence of the Archbishop, it would be presided over (as was the case) by Lord Chancellor Jeffries. In the case of Bishop Hacket, of Down and Connor (1693) we need not resort to the fact that the Bill of Rights did not then run in Ireland in order to explain why it was heard by a commission from the Crown, and not by the Archbishop. The Archbishop, Primate Boyle of Armagh, was incapacitated from the performance of public functions. He had taken no part for ten years past even in consecrating bishops for his own province, though six consecrations took place between 1683, when he officiated for the last time (see "Records of Consecration of Irish Bishops," supplement to *Irish Ecclesiastical Gazette*, 1866), and 1702, when he died, at the age of 93, "his memory gone, deaf, and almost blind, a mere wreck of the past" (Abbey, "Eng. Church," vol. ii., p. 315).

Up to this point, then, no precedent has been found to show that, either by canon, statute, or usage, Convocation or any synod in the realm has exclusive jurisdiction ousting the jurisdiction of the Archbishop to try a Bishop of his province. On the other hand, frequent indications and mention, and examples, both indirect and direct, of the exercise from time to time of the Archbishop's jurisdiction are found continuously from the earliest times.

Lucy v. Watson. And when the issue definitely appeared in the case "Lucy v. Bishop of St. David's," the validity of the

jurisdiction was distinctly affirmed, and has been accepted ever since. The suit was promoted *ex officio* before the Archbishop, who held his Court in Lambeth Palace, with his Vicar-General, assisted on each occasion by several of the five Bishops who were his assessors. Upon proof being offered, and several witnesses examined on each side, the Bishop tendered a protest on the suggestion that matters contained in the articles were of temporal character. The Archbishop overruled the protest. The Bishop appealed to the Court of Delegates. The appeal when it came on was heard by five peers, five bishops, five common law Judges, the Judge of the Admiralty Court, and four other doctors. They dismissed the appeal. But pending the appeal the Bishop moved for a prohibition, and Sir B. Shower argued for it,

"That it does not appear that the Bishop of St. David's was cited to appear in any Court whereof the law takes notice, for the citation is that he should appear before the Archbishop of Canterbury, or his Vicar-General, in the hall of Lambeth-house, which is not any Court whereof the law takes notice. For the Archbishop has the same power over his suffragan Bishops as every Bishop has over the clergy of his diocese, but no Bishop can cite the clergy before himself, but in his Court, and therefore the citation ought to have been in the Arches, or in some other court of the Archbishop." (1 Raym., 447.)

The argument may in form not be the same, but in substance is identical with the first ground of protest on behalf of the Lord Bishop of Lincoln. No doubt other grounds were shown in the St. David's case, but the prohibition was denied on all, except one article as to the abuse of a charity. The whole Court held that "the citation was good," and "that as to that which relates to the office of a Bishop, the spiritual Court may proceed against him to deprive him." Against sentence of deprivation the Bishop appealed a second time to King's Bench for a prohibition; to the Lords for leave to resume his privilege; and a second time to the Delegates. The King's Bench, in refusing the prohibition, declared itself with reference to the case "fully satisfied that the Archbishop had jurisdiction," that "by the common law he hath Metropolitical jurisdiction," and hath "power to deprive." The Bishop brought a writ of error before the House of Lords on the refusal of the prohibition by King's Bench. It was not received. In the House of Lords, counsel for both sides and the Attorney-General

for the Crown were ordered to be heard before the Judges. The question of jurisdiction was fully argued, and the ten Judges were unanimous for it. The Lords did not pronounce on that specific point, but refused leave to resume privilege. The Delegates (an equally strong Court as before, indeed, almost the same) were unanimously of opinion (Rothery) that the Archbishop had jurisdiction, confirmed the decree of the Archbishop, and remitted the cause to him. After that Bishop Watson retained lands of the See, and the Palace. Two informations of intrusion were exhibited before the Court of Exchequer, which turned on the lawfulness of deprivation. Judgment was given against him on both. On the former he appealed to the Exchequer Chamber, and judgment was confirmed; on the second to the House of Lords, but did not proceed with his writ of error. Thus by the Delegates twice, in the King's Bench twice, in the Court of Exchequer twice, by the Exchequer Chamber, and by the House of Lords twice, judgments were given which in some instances directly, and in others by necessary implication, bore witness to the Metropolitan jurisdiction now questioned. A consensus of jurisdictions affirmed and reaffirmed it. The case of "Lucy and the Bp. of St. David's" is referred to in Ayliffe's "Parergon," p. 92; Rogers's "Eccl. Law," p. 107; Stephens's "Law of the Clergy," 907; Phillimore, "Eccl. Law," 1135, 1339; Cripps's "Law of the Church," 97; and by Lord Denman in the Dean of York's case, 2 Q. B. R. No doubt is thrown on the decisions by any of these authorities.

Two new objections are, however, now raised to the authority of the St. David's case as a precedent. The one is personal to Lord Chief Justice Holt, and need not be considered. The other is that the absolute appearance to the citation in the first instance was a bar to the Bishop's raising the question of jurisdiction subsequently. The Bishop of St. David's and his advisers were not likely to miss this point if it could have been taken before the Archbishop with any reasonable hope of success. Sir B. Shower would not have argued the question of jurisdiction if he had thought that the Bishop's absolute appearance in the Ecclesiastical Court made such contention useless in moving for the prohibition. Mr. Lucy's counsel would simply have answered Sir B. Shower that the objection was taken too late. The distinction stated by Dr. Tristram is on principle sound. Where the matter is one of form, appearance will waive the objection; but where the matter is one of substance, such as jurisdiction in criminal suits, the objection may be taken at any time. "Prohibition may be granted at any time to restrain a Court to intermeddle with, or execute, a thing which by law they ought not to hold plea of. . . And the King's Court. . . may lawfully prohibit. . . as well after judgment and execution as before." (Answer of the Judges, "Articuli Cleri.

Coke 2d Instit., p. 602.) "Where it appears that the matter was not within the jurisdiction of the spiritual court, a prohibition lies after sentence, or before." Comyns's "Dig. Tit. Prohibition," D. And, same Title, F, "where the Court has no jurisdiction a prohibition may be granted upon the request of a stranger, as well as the defendant himself." Compare "Taylor v. Morley" (1 "Curteis," p. 481); "Roberts v. Hamby" (3 "Meeson and Welsby," p. 130). Further, the St. David's case is an authority for holding that the Archbishop's right to cite a suffragan of the province is not interfered with by the "Statute of Citations," 23 Hen. VIII., c. 9. And therefore it is convenient here to remark on what was said (on one of these later cases) touching that statute. That Act was for the protection of persons resident within and subject to the jurisdiction of the Ordinary. And while it provided that persons should not be liable to be cited out of the diocese in which they reside, it makes exceptions in the case where the offence is committed "by the Bishop . . . or other person having spiritual jurisdiction . . . or by any other person within the diocese or other jurisdiction whereunto he shall be cited." The Bishop may be cited out of his diocese. Accordingly, among all the objections raised in the St. David's case, the Statute of Citations was not alleged.

Bp. Jones's Case. In the contemporary case of Bishop Jones of St. Asaph the steps were these. A complaint from the clergy of the diocese; a metropolitical visitation by commissioners to collect evidence; "a process against the Bishop to appear and answer certain articles"; allegations by the Bishop in vindication; a formal hearing appointed by the Archbishop, June 5th, 1700; suspension decreed, June, 1701, "for six months *et ultra donec idonee* (sic) *satisficerit in premissis, et aliter a nobis vel successoribus nostris ordinatum fuerit.*" His "purgation" was not satisfactory, and the sentence was continued for six months more.* No objection was taken at law to the jurisdiction or its exercise. (See "Narrative, &c., Lambeth Library," 113 K. 17.) Several other recent cases were cited in the argument

* This fact deserves to be noted for many reasons. It illustrates the meaning of making "satisfaction" to the Court; for in Bp. Jones' case his sentence of suspension was for six months (from June 18th, 1701) "and further till the Lord Bishop shall have suitably made satisfaction in the premisses, and otherwise been ordered by us or our successors." At the end of the six months, Bp. Jones appeared with six compurgators, but tendered an unsatisfactory apology, so that the sentence was continued till May 5th, 1702, the profits being further sequestered. The "satisfaction" exacted by the Court was the following Confession in writing read and subscribed by Jones:—"I, Edmund, Bp. of St. Asaph, do here in the presence of Almighty God in this Court, and before the Most Reverend His Grace the Lord Abp. of Canterbury, my Metropolitan and judge, humbly confess" . . . [viz. the offences charged]. "And whereas my absolution from the sentence of suspension hath been retarded, by reason that I the said

besides "Lucy and St. David's," for instance, the Dean of York's case (in which, as it happened, prohibition was granted *after sentence*), 2 Q. B. R.; "Long v. Bp. of Cape Town" (1 "Moore" P.C.C., N.S., p. 46); "In re Bp. of Natal" (3 "Moore" P.C.C., N.S., p. 115); "Regina v. Abp. of Canterbury" (11 Q. B. R.); Sharpe's case (11 "State Trials"); "Porter v. Rochester" (XIII. "Coke"). In the Natal case it was laid down Bp. Colenso. that no coercive legal jurisdiction in cases of heresy was transferred to the Metropolitan of Cape Town over his suffragan bishops either by law or consensually. But neither this nor any of these cases, in the opinion of the Court, show that the Archbishop of Canterbury has not the jurisdiction as settled in the St. David's Bp. of Clogher. case. Further, recent authority has confirmed the law as cleared and defined in that case. By the advice of the law officers of the Crown, Sir Christopher Robinson, Sir Robert Gifford (afterwards Lord Gifford), and Sir John Copley

Bp. of St. Asaph had declared that I had acted in my diocese pursuant to my example, or by the directions of my predecessor, or to that effect" Jones therefore apologises unreservedly, and prays absolution. "Short Narrative of the Proceedings against the Bp. of St. Asaph." (Brit. Museum. 517. g. 39. & Lambeth 104. D. 14.) In the absolution itself, dated May 16th, 1702, under "the seal of our Vicar-General," it was recited that Jones had "made suitable satisfaction to Us, as from the Acts had and done in this business in that behalf is more fully manifest and apparent."—*Tenison's Register*, p. 175.

It was suggested by Counsel for the Bp. of Lincoln that the light sentence on "confession" of Bp. Jones, who was an Anti-Jacobite (a confession, be it observed, made only *after* the expiration of his original term of sentence), might have induced Bp. Watson in 1699 to waive his right to object to the Abp.'s jurisdiction. But seeing that the articles against Jones were not exhibited till June 14th, 1698, while Watson's citation issued on Aug. 23rd, 1695, this contention was scarcely plausible. It may be added that Hough Bp. of Coventry, and Compton Bp. of London, sat with the Abp. as his assessors in Jones' case, but are not regarded in the proceedings as "judges."

The above *judicial* confession of Bp. Jones throws light upon the meaning of the similar confession made by Bp. Pecocke, which may be read in Foxe (A. and M. iii-733), and was thus described, at the time, in the Report of the Royal Commissioners to the King.

"Over this, for as much as hit is now openly and notoriously knownen, as wel by the *judicial* and irrevocable confession of ye saide Reynolde Pecok by him *made in judgment*, and also by his solemn revocation late done in the sight of the people at Paul's cross at London, as by the *decree, and sentence declaratoir* late given at Lambeth by the Rt. Rev. Father in God the Abp. of Canterbury," &c.—[Wharton MS., Lambeth Library, No. 577, p. 28.]

According to another Lambeth MS. (No. 594, p. 22) Pecocke in his recantation at St. Paul's Cross, publicly referred to this, saying, "I have before this time, before the Most Reverend Father in God, my Lord of Canterbury, in due and lawful form *judicially abjured*." The Bishops who sat on that occasion with Abp. Bourchier were not the same "assessors" who presided on November 11th, 1457, at Lambeth.

Pecocke (like other Bishops) is customarily described in the contemporary official documents as "*Minister of the See*" of Chichester.—[Ed. C. I.]

(afterwards Lord Lyndhurst), that case was acted upon, and proceedings instituted before the Metropolitan against the Bishop of Clogher in 1822. (Phillimore, "Eccl. Law," p. 92.) The court does not enter upon the question of the Vicar-General of the Province of Canterbury correctly acting as Judge instead of the Archbishop of Canterbury because it does not practically affect the present case. The court has now examined in detail the facts and reasonings which have been submitted to it as ecclesiastical grounds against the validity of its jurisdiction. It desires to express its obligations to the learned counsel on both sides for the learning and lucidity with which they have illustrated the subject and fortified their several contentions.

Result of Inquiry. The court finds that from the most ancient times of the Church the Archiepiscopal jurisdiction in the case of suffragans has existed; that in the Church of England it has been from time to time continuously exercised in various forms; that nothing has occurred in the Church to modify that jurisdiction; and that, even if such jurisdiction could be used in Convocation for the trial of a bishop, consistently with the ancient principle that in a synod bishops only could hear such a cause, it nevertheless remains clear that the Metropolitan has regularly exercised that jurisdiction both alone and with assessors. The cases came all under one jurisdiction, but in many forms:—In Synods, episcopal, clerical, or mixed; in Council; in the Upper House of Convocation; with both Houses; in the Court of Arches; in the Court of Audience (some hold); through the Vicar-General; through arbitrators; with one assessor, with three or four or five assessors, alone *absque consensu cuiuslibet Episcopi*, but always, except for some impediment, Personally—*ob reverentiam Officii* and *ob reverentiam Fratris*. Nor is it strange that while the jurisdiction is one, forms should be many and cases few. The question now before us is touching the action of the Archbishop, sitting together with comprovincial assessors. There is no form of the exercise of the jurisdiction in this country which has been more examined into and is better attested and confirmed.

III. CONCLUSION.

The Court, therefore, although by an entirely different line of inquiry, has arrived at the same conclusion which was arrived at on purely legal principles by the unanimous Judgment of the Lord High Chancellor with four Judges and five Bishops who constituted the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council to advise Her Majesty in August, 1888.

The Court decides that it has jurisdiction in this case, and therefore overrules the protest.

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MR. JAMES PARKER'S ATTACK

UPON THE

Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.



VER since the Ridsdale Judgment endorsed the decision in *Hebbert v. Purchas*, viz., that the Advertisements of Q. Elizabeth (issued in 1566) were a legal "taking order" under the proviso of the Act of Uniformity (1 Eliz. c. 2), attempts to disparage that ruling have been made by Dr. Littledale and by Mr. Jas. Parker. So many of the clergy, including some bishops, have been deceived by their unjust aspersions, that it has been found necessary to expose from time to time the methods by which it is sought to "put darkness for light, and bitter for sweet." Dr. Littledale's fallacies were accordingly exhibited in "The Advertisements of Queen Elizabeth,"* and Mr. James Parker's in the CHURCH INTELLIGENCER, Vols. iii.-102, 114, 128; v.-12; vi.-78.

But Mr. Jas. Parker has now launched a fresh discovery of his, viz., that the Signatories to the Advertisements were not "Commissioners under the Great Seal for causes ecclesiastical." In the *Guardian* of July 17th he puts the matter thus:

"All the contemporary printed copies (and it may be added all reprints afterwards), have the signatures very clearly thus:—

'Agreed upon and subscribed by—

‘MATTHÆUS CANTUARIENSIS,
‘EDMUNDUS LONDINIENSIS,
‘RICHARDUS ELIENSIS,
‘EDMUNDUS ROFFENSIS,
‘ROBERTUS WINTONIENSIS,
‘NICOLAUS LINCOLNIENSIS,

} Commissioners
in Causes
Ecclesiastical
with others.'

¹ Published by J. F. Shaw. Price One Penny.

Now the warrant for appointing the Commission for Causes Ecclesiastical under the Great Seal can easily be referred to (by those who have not an opportunity of seeing the original in the Record-office), in Cardwell's *Documentary Annals* (ed. 1839, p. 223; ed. 1844, p. 255), and it will be seen that Matthew Parker and Edmund Grindal, of London, were appointed; but neither Richard Cox, of Ely, Edmund Guest, of Rochester, Robert Horne, of Winchester, nor Nicholas Bullingham, of Lincoln, were appointed on that Commission in 1559, nor is there the slightest evidence, or trace of evidence, of all or any one of these four having been appointed afterwards. . . . The taking of order by Commissioners must be, to be valid, by Commissioners appointed under the Great Seal. The authors of the Judgment could not write 'also with the advice of the Commissioners appointed under the Great Seal of England for causes ecclesiastical,' because they knew that four out of the six Commissioners in question were not so. They were obliged to leave the words out. In any ordinary controversy were such a process resorted to one writer would accuse the other of garbling. I do not know what term to apply when I see it done in a report of a Judicial Committee of the Privy Council."

Mr. Parker emphasises the seriousness of his charge, on this wise :

"But attentive readers will observe that the five Bishops of his province are bracketed with the Archbishop. The bracket exists in all the known copies, and the Archbishop is always included with the others."

What stronger accusation of stupidity, bad faith, and dishonesty on the part of the Privy Council could be alleged than in this formal indictment? Those who are interested (and who is not?) in the reputation of our great English Judges will be relieved at finding that it is only Mr. Jas. Parker who has "garbled" (to use his own elegant phrase) the evidence upon which their judgment is asked.

In the first place, he has chosen to give the signatures as printed by Cardwell, who (like Wilkins) professes to take the text of Hearne for his guide. But neither Hearne in 1717, nor any one of the original editions, gives the signatures as printed by Cardwell in his *Documentary Annals*. Mr. Jas. Parker has examined seven copies (belonging to at least five separate editions) now existing in the British Museum, for he has published an account of them in his "Letter to Lord Selborne," p. 66. There is also in the B. M. an eighth copy (besides two old reprints "5175. b" and "3406. d. 13") which Mr. Parker overlooked, viz. "T. ¹⁰¹³/₈." Not one of these gives the signatures as Mr. Jas. Parker prints them. Why then does

Mr. Jas. Parker prefer an inaccurate reprint of 1839 to the original editions with which he is familiar? Even Sparrow's reprint in 1661 avoided this blunder upon which Mr. Jas. Parker bases his outrageous charge against the Privy Council.

In the un-“garbled” copies the signatures are printed thus:

“Agreed upon and subscribed by

<i>Matthæus Cantuariensis,</i>	{	Commissioners in Causes
<i>Edmondus Londoniensis,</i>		Ecclesiastical.

Richardus Eliensis,

Edmondus Roffensis.

Robertus Wintoniensis.

Nicolaus Lincolnensis.

With others.”

Here it will be seen that only the first *four* bishops are formally designated “Commissioners in causes ecclesiastical.” The following Royal Commission by Letters Patent which is printed now for the first time, was several years prior in date to the issue of the Advertisements of 1566, and in it the names of all the four are duly found in spite of Mr. Jas. Parker's confident assurance that there is not a “trace of evidence” of ‘*any one* of these four having been appointed afterwards.’ Yet that “evidence” was directly under Mr. Parker's nose, being regularly enrolled and indexed at the Record Office. Nobody before Mr. Jas. Parker ever hinted a doubt that the Signatories were Commissioners. The Queen in her letter of January 25, 1565, to the Archbishop, had required him “being the Metropolitan” to “confer with the bishops your brethren *namely such as be in Commission for causes ecclesiastical*” [Parker Corr. p. 225]: and the draft articles were described accordingly as “subscribed by the bishops conferers” [P. Corr. 234]. The Archbishop mentions his “sitting in Commission with Doctor Lewes, Mr. Osborne, and Dr. Drurie” [P. Corr. p. 277], during the very first week of the enforcement of the new Orders, when as he told Cecil—“my Lord of London [Grindal] and I dismissed them with our Advertisements.” Though not one of these three Commissioners was named in the Commission of 1559, every one of them is found in the subsequent Commission of 1562 printed below. Grindal, whom even Mr. Parker *admits* to have been a Commissioner, expressly described the Advertisements as “made by some of the Queen's Commissioners,”

[Strype's Life of Parker, i-319.] And Abp. Parker writing about them to the Prime Minister in 1573, said, "Order hath been taken publicly this seven years by Commissioners, according to the Statute." [P. Corr. p. 450.]

One of the earliest Puritan attacks upon the Advertisements of Elizabeth was "An Abstract of certain Acts of Parliament" published in 1583, which at p. 210 called them "Advertisements published in the 7th year of her Grace's reign, and subscribed with the hands of one archbishop and five bishops, her Highness' Eccl. Commissioners." To this attack "An Answer" was published in 1584 by Richard Cosin who had been successively Chancellor of Worcester, Vicar General, and Dean of the Arches, and whom Fuller designates "one of the greatest civilians which our age or nation hath produced." At p. 2 of the preface to this work Cosin complains of the Puritans for "objecting breach of law also unto those grave fathers, whom her Majesty hath put in authority, for reducing others to conformitie of her laws ecclesiastical," and he repeatedly (pp. 67, 74, 115, 130) recognises the Advertisements as having Her Majesty's authority. Sparke, who was ordained in 1573, published in 1607 his "Brotherly persuasion to unitie" dedicated to King James, in which he said (p. 21) "Her Majesty by virtue of the said statute, with the consent of the archbishop and High Commissioners" issued the Advts. Heylin in 1661 said "the Queen thought fit to make a further signification of her royal pleasure . . legally declared by her Commissioners for causes ecclesiastical, according to the acts and statutes made in that behalf." [Hist. Ref. ii.-408.] Bennet, in 1708, in his "Paraphrase" (p. 5) said "She did then, with the advice of her ecclesiastical Commissioners, particularly the then Metropolitan, Dr. Matthew Parker, publish certain Advertisements." Strype (upon whose authority Mr. Jas. Parker builds, when it suits his immediate purpose) testifies that in 1561 Abp. Parker "had an *assessus* of other bishops with him at Lambeth, for his assistance, by special Commission from the Queen, as it seems, according to a late Act of Parliament"; and again "the Abp. of Canterbury, with Thomas Abp. of York, the Bishops of London and *Ely*, and some others of the *Eccl. Commission* were now sitting at Lambeth," [Strype's Parker, pp. 181, 194.]

According to Wilkins (iv.-246), the Bishops of *Ely*, *Lincoln* and *Winchester* were addressed by Sampson and Humphrey as being on the Ecclesiastical Commission which enforced the Advertisements. Wilkins copies this from Strype, and we know that the Bp. of Winchester (Horn) was on the High Commission in 1571, 1572, and 1573, as were Bps. Cox and Bullingham in 1571. [Parker Corr. 72, 370, 382, 383, 433. cf. S. P. Dom. Eliz. 1565, No. 64, p. 253.] We know also that fresh names were added from time to time to the original Commissioners, so that the mere fact of the disappearance, or non-discovery of any intermediate commissions is no proof that men whose names were published in 1566 as "Commissioners in causes Ecclesiastical" were not such, although their names did not occur in the older Commission of 1559. Yet that is the pretext put forward in the *Guardian* for accusing Lord Selborne and the rest of Her Majesty's Judges of what "in any ordinary controversy" Mr. Jas. Parker would describe as "garbling." It must not, however, be assumed that when the Advertisements were actually published in 1566, Bishops Horn and Bolingham had not been added to the High Commission Court; though on that point we have no evidence one way or other. It is enough that, as the following document proves, the four men whose names are bracketed, possessed that qualification at the time when as a Quorum of the Royal Commissioners they signed the Advertisements of Q. Elizabeth.

The numbering of the sections, it should be mentioned, does not exist in the original, but is added merely to facilitate comparison with the Commission of 1559, as printed by Cardwell.

* * *

The Queen's warrant for the Court of High Commission in causes Ecclesiastical.

PATENT ROLL. 4 ELIZ. PART 3.

Elizabeth &c. To our trustie and Welbeloued the moste Comiss
Reuent ffather in god Mathewe Archebusshop of Caunterbury Matheo
Primate and Metropolitane of all England the Reuent ffather in Cantuar
god Edmund Busshop of London Richarde Busshop of Elie Archiepo
Edmunde Busshop of Rochester And to our right trustie and t al ad
Welbeloued Counsellors ffrauncys Knolles our Vicechamblayne puniand
Ambrose Cave Chauncello^r of our Duchy Will^am Petre Chauncello^r [sic]
of thorder of tho Gartier knight^e And to our trusty and Wel- hmoi

psonas beloued Antony Coke and Thomas Smith knight^e Walter Haddon qui sunt and Thomas Sackford Masters of the requeste Will^{am} Chester repug- and Will^{am} Garret knight^e Rando^t Cholmeley and John Sowth- nan^t cote Serieant^e at the Lawe Alexander Nowell Deane of Powles diuin^g Gabriel Goodman Deane of Westm^g Gil^bt Gerrarde Esquier our s^{uic} Attorney Genllal Ro^bte Nowell Attorney of our Courte of Wardes and lyve^{fies} Richard Ousley Clerke of our Duchy Peter Osbourne one of the Remembrance of our Exchequier Dauyd Lewes Judge of our Highe Courte of the Admyraltie Ro^bte Weston Deane of the Arches Thomas Huyck Chauncello^r to the Bysshop of London Masters of our Courte of Chauncy Thomas Yale Chauncello^r to the Archebusshop of Caunterbury Will^{am} Drury Cōmissary of the ffaculties Doctors of the Lawe and Thomas Wattes¹ Arche-deacon of Middelsex,^{1a} greeting.

- Whereas in our Parliament holden at Westm^g the xxvth day of January in the firste yere of our reigne and there contynued and kepte vntill the viij^{te} daie of Maye then next followinge amongst other thinge there was two Acte and Statutes made and establisshed the one entituled An Acte for the vnyformytie of cōmon prayer and s^{uice} of the Churche and administacon of the Sacramente and the other entituled An Acte restoringe to the Crowne the Auncyent iurisdicⁿon ou thestate ecclasticall and spuall and abolyysshinge all forrayne power repugnante to the same, as by the same seuall acte more at lardge dothe appeare And whereas dyuse sedicious and slanderous psonnes do not cease daylie to invente and set forthe false rumors tales and sedicious slauders not only againste vs and the said good lawes and Statute but also haue set forthe dyuse sedicious booke^s within this our Realme of England meanyng thereby to move and pcure stryfe dyvision and discencion amongst our lovinge and obedient
- (ii.) Subiect^e muc^e to the disquyeting of vs and our people Wherefore We earnestly myndyng to haue the same seuall acte before menconed to be duly put in execuⁿon and such psons as shall hereafter offend^e in any thinge cont^{ry} to the teno^r and effecte of the said seuall statute to be condignely punysshed and havinge espall truste and confidence in your Wismomes and discreccⁿons haue auctorised assigned and appoynted you to be

¹ Watts and Goodman are named by Puritan writers as "Commissioners" who sat to enforce the Advertisements.—See Grindal's Remains, p. 201. Zurich Letters ii.-148. Onslow, Osborne, Gerrard, Yale, Lewis, and Drury are all named as Commissioners in contemporary letters. (Parker's Corr. pp. 300, 302, 345, 383; Grindal's Remains, p. 294.)

^{1a} Out of 27 Commissioners only 7 were "spiritual" persons, the rest being Privy Councillors, Common Lawyers, and Civilians in about equal proportions. Mr. Gladstone says the High Commission Court was "praise-worthy and successful" in placing "these affairs under the control of qualified persons in conformity with the great Preamble of 24 H. 8, c. 12." (*Nineteenth Century*, 1888, p. 774.) No civilian was of the quorum.

our Cōmission^s and by these p̄sent^e do give full power and auctorytie vnto you or three of you² Whereof you the said Archebusshop of Caunterbury or you Busshoppes of London Elie Rochester or you the said Thomas Smyth Walter Haddon Thomas Sackford or Gilbt Gerrarde to be one from tyme to tyme hereafter duringe our pleasure to enquyre aswell by the othes of twelve good and lawfull men as also by Wytnesses and all other Wayes and meanes ye can devise of all offences and misdemeanors done and cōmytted and hereafter to be cōmitted and done cont̄ry to the tenor^r and effecte of the said sevall Acte and Statute and eyther of theym And also of all and singuler heriticall opynyons sedycious bookeſ contempte conspiracieſ false rumors tales sedycyons mysbehavioures slanderous wordes and sayinge publiſhed invented or set forth or hereafter to be publiſhed invented or set forth by any pſon or pſonnes againſte vs or cont̄ry or againſte any the lawes or statutē of this our Realme or againſte the quiet gounaunce and rule of our people and Subiecte in any Countie Cyttie Borough or other place or place within this our Realme of England and of all and euy the coadiutors Counsellors coumforters pcurers and Abbettours of euy such offence And further We do geve full (iv.) power and auctorytie vnto you or three of you Whereof you the said Archebusshopp of Caunterbury or you Busshoppes of London Elie Rochester or you the said Thomas Smyth Walter Haddon Thomas Sackford or Gilbt Gerrard to be one from tyme to tyme duringe our pleasure aswell to heare and detmyn all the pmisses as also to enquyre heare and detmyn all and singuler enormties disturbanceſ and misbehaviourſ done and cōmytted in any Churche Chappell or againſte any dyvine s²uice or the Minister or Ministers of the same³ or cont̄ry to the Lawes and Statute of this Realme And also to enquyre of and searche out and to order correcte and reforme all ſuche pſonnes as hereafter ſhall or will obſtinately abſent theym ſelves from the Churche and ſuche dyvine s²uice as by the lawes and statute of this Realme is appoynted to be had and uſed And also We do geve and (v.) graunte full power and auctorytie vnto you or three of you whereof you the said Archebusshopp of Caunterbury or you Busshoppes of London Elie Rochester or you the said Thomas Smyth Walter Haddon Thomas Sackford or Gilbt Gerrarde to

² It will be noticed that the names of the Bishops bracketed at the foot of the Advertisements are included in the *Quorum*; Bps. Horn and Bullingham may have been added "with others" to the Commission without being made of the Quorum. Compare Parker's Corr. p. 370 with p. 383, and 301n, 386.

³ The phrase "minister of Divine service" is evidently equivalent to *executor officii*, and, as will be seen below (sec. xiii), the word Minister included "Archbishops and Bishops."

- be one from tyme to tyme and at all tymes duringe our pleasure
 to visite reforme redresse order correct and amende in all place
 within this our Realme of England all suche errors heresies
 scysmes abuses offenses contempte and enormyties spūall or
 ecclasticall whatsoeu^r which by any⁴ spūall or ecclasticall power
 auctoritye or iurisdicⁿon can or may lawfully be reformed
 ordered redressed corrected restrayned or amended^{4a} by censures
 ecclasticall depriuaⁿon or otherwise to the pleasure of almighty
 god thencrease of v̄tues and the pseruaⁿon of the peace
 and vnytie of this our Realme and accordinge to the aucto^rytie
 and power lymitted geven and appoynted by any
 (vi.) lawes ordenaⁿce or statut^e of this our Realme And also that
 you or three of you Wherof you the Archebusshopp of Caunter-
 bury or you Busshoppes of London Elie Rochester or you the
 said Thomas Smith Walter Haddon Thomas Sackford or Gilbte
 Gerrarde to be one shall lykewise haue full power and auctoritye
 from tyme to tyme to enquyre of and searche out all Masterles⁵
 Men querelers vagrawnte and suspecte psonnes Within our
 Cytie of London and ten Myles Compasse aboute the same
 Cyttie and of all assault^e affrayes done and comytted Within
 (vii.) the said Cittie and Compasse aforesaid And also we geve full
 power and auctoritye vnto you or three of you as before
 sūmarylie to heare and fynally to detmyne accordinge to your
 discrecⁿons and by the Lawes of this Realme all causes and
 compleynt^e of all them which in respect of Religion or for
 lawfull Matrimony contac^ted allowed by the same were in-
 iuriously depryved defrauded or spoyled of theire lande goode
 possessions right^e dueties lyvinge office spūall or temporall and
 theym so deprived as before to restore into theire said lyvinge
 And to put them in possession amo[vi]nge the vsurpers in con-
 venient spedē as it shall seeme to youre discrecⁿons good by
 (viii.) youre tres myssye or otherwise all frust^atory appellaⁿons
 clerely reiecte And further We do geve full power and
 auctoritye vnto you or three of you Wherof you the said
 Archebusshopp of Caunterbury you Busshoppes of London Elie
 Rochester or you Thomas Smyth Walter Haddon Thomas
 Sackford or Gilbte Gerrarde to be one by v̄tue hereof to heare
 and detmyne all notoryous and manifest advowtries fornicacion^s

⁴ By "any"; not merely such as had formerly been dealt with by the Pope, but "all" of every kind were now "annexed and joined to the Crown" by 1 Eliz. c. 1.

^{4a} These words "by censures ecclesiastical, deprivation, or otherwise," did not exist in the corresponding section of the Commission of 1559. They explain why Cecil struck out of the draft "Ordinances" of 1565 the penalty of "sequestration, not deprivation," and why no specific penalty appears in the Advertisements of 1566.

⁵ This is the word which was omitted by Cardwell from his second-hand reprint of the Commission of 1 Eliz. (D. A. No. xlv.).

and ecclasticall crimes and offences Within this our Realme accordinge to youre Wisedomes conscience and discrecons Willing and Cōmaundingē you or three of you Whereof you the Archebusshop of Caunterbury or you Busshoppes of London Elie Rochester or you the said Thomas Smyth Walter Haddon Thomas Sackford or Gilbte Gerrarde to be one from tyme to tyme hereafter to vse and devise all suche politike Waies and meanes for the triall and searchinge out of all the pmisses as by you or three of you as aforesaid shalbe thought moste expedient and necessary and vpon due pfe had and the offence or (ix.) offence before sp̄ified or any of theym sufficiently pued againste any pson or psonnes by confession of the partie or by lawfull Witnesses or by any other due meane before you or three of you Whereof you the said Archebusshopp of Caunterbury or you Busshoppes of London Elie Rochester or you the said Thomas Smith Walter Haddon Thomas Sackford or Gilbte Gerrarde to be one that then you or three of you as aforesaid shall hauē full power and auctorytie to order and awarde suche punyshement to euy offendour by fyne ymprisonment or otherwise by all or any of the Wayes aforesaid and to take such order for the redresse of the same as to your Wisedomes and discrecons or three of you Whereof you the said Archebusshōp of Caunterbury or you Busshoppes of London Elie Rochester or you the said Thomas Smyth Walter Haddon Thomas Sackford or Gilbte Gerrarde to be one shalbe thought mete and convenient And further We do geve full power and auctorytie vnto you or three of you as aforesaid to call before you or three of you as aforesaid from tyme to tyme all and euy offendour and offendoures and suche as by you or three of you as aforesaid shall seeme to be suspecte psonnes in any of the pmisses And also all such Witnesses as you or three of you as is aforesaid shall thinke mete to be called before you or three of you as aforesaid and theym and euy of theym to examen vpon theire corporall othes for the bett triall and openingy of the pmisses or any parte thereof And if you or three of you as aforesaid (x.) shall fynde any pson or psonnes obstinate or disobedient either in theire apparaunce⁶ before you or three of you as aforesaid at your callinge and cōmaundement or els in not accomplisshinge or not observinge youre orders Decrees and cōmaundements or any thinge touchinge the pmisses or any parte thereof that then you or three of you as is aforesaid shall hauē full power and auctorytie to cōmyt the same pson or psonnes so offendinge to warde there to remayne vntill he or they shalbe by you or (xi.) three of you as is aforesaid enlarged and delyued And further-

⁶ In the Commission of 1559 this word was "apparel" in the Patent Roll. 1 Eliz., part 9, No. 946. Its meaning is shown at p. 12, Vol. iv., of the CHURCH INTELLIGENCER. But it may have been merely a clerical error.

more We do geve vnto you or to three of you Whereof you the said Archebusshopp of Caunterbury or you Busshoppes of London Elie Rochester or you the said Thomas Smyth Walter Haddon Thomas Sackford or Gilbte Gerrarde to be one full power and auctorytie by these p̄sentē to take and receyve by youre discrecōns of euy offender or suspecte psonnes to be convented or brought before you a Recognisaunce or Recognisaunce obligaōn or Obligaōns to [our] vse in suchē some or somes of money as to you or three of you as aforesaid shall seme mete and convenient as well for theire psonall appearaunce before you or three of you as aforesaid as also for the pfourmance and accomplishment of your orders and decrees in case you or three of you as aforesaid

(xii.) shall see it convenient And further our Will and pleasure is that you shall appoynte our trusty and Welbeloued Subiecte Will^{am} Bedell to be our Register of all your actē decrees and pceaddingē by v̄tue of this Cōmission And in his absence and defaulte one other sufficient pson and that you or three of you or the pson whome three of you in manū aboue rēhearsed shall appoynte in that behalfe as aforesaid shall geve such allowance to the said Register for his paynes and his Clerkē to be levied of the fynes and other pfitts that shall aryse by force of this Cōmission and youre doyngē in the pmisses as to your discrecōns shall be thought

(xiii.) mete And further our Will and pleasure is that you or three of you as aforesaid by bill or bille signed with your handē shall and may assigne and appoynte aswell to the said pson for his paynes in receavinge^{ea} the said somes as also to youre messengers and attendaunte vpon you for theire tāuell paynes and charge to be susteyned for vs about the pmisses or any parte thereof suchē somes of money for theire rewardes as to you or three of you as is aforesaid shalbe thoughte expedient Willinge and comāundingē you or three of you as aforesaid after the tyme of this our Cōmission expired to ctyfie in to our Courte of Eschequier aswell the name of the said Receyvor as also a note of all suchē fynes as shalbe set or taxed before you to thentent that vpon the delminaōn of the Accompte of the said Receyvor We be answered of that that to vs shall iustlie appteyne Willinge and comāundingē also our Auditors and other Officers vpon the sight of the said Bill signed with the handē of you or three of you as is aforesaid to make vnto the said Receyvor due allowance accordinge to the said bille vpon his Accompte⁷ And whereas there were dyuse cathedrall and collegiate Churches Gramm Scoles and other ecclasticall incorporaōns erected founded and ordeyned by the late Kinge of ffamous memorie our deare ffather Kinge Henrie theighte and by our deare late brother

^{ea} Cardwell misprints this word "recovering."

⁷ The following clauses to the end of section xiii did not exist in the Commission of 1559.

Kinge Edwarde the Sixte and by our late Sister Quene Mary and by the late Lord Cardinall Poole the ordinaunce rules and statute whereof be eyther none at all or altogether ymparfecte or being made of such tyme as the Crowne and regiment of this Realme was subdued to the farayne auctorytie of Rome they be in some poynte cont̄ry dyuse and repugnante to the dignitie and Prerogatyve of our Crowne the lawes of this Realme and the p̄sent state⁸ of Religion within the same We therefore do geve full power [and] auctorytie to you or to six of you of whome We will the aforenamed Archebusshopp of Caunterbury the fore-said Busshoppes of London Elie or Rochester alwaies to be one to cause and comāunde in our name all and singuler the ordinaunce rules and Statute of all and euy the said cathedrall and collegiate Churches Gramm Scoles and other ecclasticall incorporaçons togather with their seūall tres patente and other Writinge touchinge and in any wise concnyng theire seūall erecçons and foundaçons to be brought and exhibited before you or six of you as is aforesaid Willing and comaundinge you or six of you as is aforesaid vpon the exhibitinge and vpon diligent and delibeate view searche and exālaçon of the said Statute rules ordenaunce tres patente and Wrytinge as is aforesaid not onlie to make spedie and vndelayed c̄tificat of the enormyties disorders defecte surplisage⁹ or wante of all and singuler the said Statute rules and ordenaunce but also with the same to adūtise vs of such good orders rules and statutē as you or six of you as is aforesaid shall thinke mete and convenient to be by vs made and set forthe for the bett̄ order and rule of the said seūall erecçons and foundaçons and the possessions and reuenues of the same and as may best tende to thonour of almighty god thincreasē of vtue and vnytie in the same place and the publike weale and tanquilitie of this our Realme to thende We may thereupon further pcede to the altinge makinge and establisshinge of the same and other statutē rules and ordenaunce accordinge to the late acte of parliament thereof made in the firste yere of our reigne And whereas also We are enformed that there remayneth as yet still within this our Realme dyuse p̄se and obstinate ps ons whiche do refuse to acknowledge confesse and set forth our supioritie Prerogatyve and pheminence within this our Realme and other our dmons and also to observe suche ceremonies righte and orders in dyuyne suice whiche hath ben establisshed and set forthe by the Lawes and Statute of this Realme and by our Iniuicçons We therefore do assigne depute and appoynte and do geve full power and

⁸ Observe, it was not merely the Royal Supremacy but "the present state of religion" to which the Pre-Reformation Statutes needed to be readjusted, being "diverse or repugnant." The quorum for this purpose was strictly clerical.

⁹ Excesses of ritual as well as defects were in this way to be got rid of as illegal "surplusage."

auctorytie and iurisdiccon to you or three of you whereof Tharchebusshopp of Caunterbury the said Busshoppes of London Elie or Rochester to be one to receave and take of all Archebusshoppes Busshoppes and other psonnes Officers or Ministers ecclasticall of what estate dignitie p̄feminence or degree soeu they be a cten corporall othe vpon the holy Evangeliste sp̄fied men̄coned and set forthe in the aforesaid Statute or acte of Parliamente entituled An Acte restoring to the Crowne the Auncyent iurisdiccon ou the state ecclasticall and sp̄uall and abolisshinge of all farayne power repugnante to the same the same othe to be taken and receyved before you or three of you whereof the said Archebusshopp or Busshoppes of London Elie or Rochester to be one of the said psonnes and euy of theym according to the tenour fourme and effecte of the same acte Willing and requyring you or three of you whereof the said Archebusshopp of Caunterbury Busshoppes of London Elie or Rochester to be one to take and receyue the same othes of all psonnes before rehearsed and euy of theym and to c̄tifie vs without delay into our Courte of Chauncy of the receyte of the same vnder your seales or the seales of three of you whereof the said Archebusshopp or Busshoppes of London Elie or Rochester to be one And if any Tharchebusshoppes Busshoppes and other psonnes Officers or Ministers ecclasticall afore rehearsed or any of theym shall pemptoryly and obstinately refuse to take and receyve the same othe then to c̄tifie the same recusacon or recusacons of theym or any of theym vnto vs into our Courte of Chauncy without delaye likewise vnder your seales or the seales of three of you whereof the said Archebusshopp of Caunterbury Busshoppes of London Elie or Rochester to be one Wherefore

- (xiv.) We Will and comaunde you our Comissions with diligence to execute the pmisses with effect Any of our Lawes Statute pclamacons or other graunte priuylege or ordenaunce which be or may seme contrary to the pmisses notwithstandinge And moreou We Will and comaunde all and singuler Justicē of peace Mayres Shreifē Baylieffē Constables and other our officers Ministers and faithfull subiectē to be aydinge helpinge and assisting you and at your comaundement in the due execucon hereof as they tender our pleasure and Will Answer to the contrary at theire vt̄most pille. And We Will and graunte that these our tres patentē shalbe a sufficient Warraunte and dischardge for you and euy of you againste vs our heires and successors and all and euy other pson and psonnes Whatsoeu they be of and for or concnyng the pmisses or any pcell thereof or for the execucon of this our Comission or any parte thereof In Witnes whereof &c. Witnes our Self at Westm the xxth day of July.
- (xv.) p ipam Reginam &c.
- (xvi.)

SHEPPARD v. BENNETT.

JUDGMENT

OF THE RIGHT HON. THE LORDS OF THE

JUDICIAL COMMITTEE

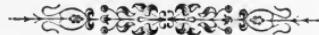
OF THE

PRIVY COUNCIL

ON APPEAL FROM

THE COURT OF ARCHES:

Delivered 8th June, 1872.



London :

CHURCH ASSOCIATION, 14, BUCKINGHAM STREET, STRAND.

J. F. SHAW & CO., 48, PATERNOSTER ROW.

J. KENSIT, 18, PATERNOSTER ROW.

No. CVIII.]

1889.

P R E F A C E.

The text of the Judgment has been literally followed throughout without addition or omissions: but footnotes have been added, and italic type used to draw attention to points of importance, and to throw light on the history of the suit.

J. T. T.

JUDGMENT

OF THE

Right Honourable the Lords of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council on the Appeal of Sheppard v. Bennett from the Court of Arches: delivered 8th June, 1872, by

His Grace the Archbishop of York.



Present at the hearing of the Appeal:—LORD CHANCELLOR (HATHERLEY), ARCHBISHOP OF YORK (DR. THOMSON), BISHOP OF LONDON (DR. JACKSON), MASTER OF THE ROLLS (LORD ROMILLY), SIR JAMES W. COLVILE, SIR JOSEPH NAPIER, BART., LORD JUSTICE JAMES, LORD JUSTICE MELLISH, MR. MOUNTAGUE BERNARD, SIR MONTAGUE SMITH.**



HIS is an Appeal from the final Sentence or Decree pronounced by the Dean of the Arches Court of Canterbury on the 23rd day of July, 1870, and also from two Interlocutory Orders made by the same Judge, in a cause of the office of the Judge promoted by Thomas Bayard Sheppard, the Appellant, against the Rev. William James Early Bennett, Vicar of the parish of Frome Selwood, in the Diocese of Bath and Wells, the Respondent, for having offended against the laws ecclesiastical by having, within two years from the date of the institution of the Cause, caused to be printed and published certain works in which he is alleged to have advisedly maintained or affirmed doctrines directly contrary or repugnant to the Articles and Formularies of the United Church of England and Ireland in relation to the

* For an account of the addition of these two names to the Court, only four days before the trial, see Mr. Miller's "Reply to Mr. Sydney Gedge," p. 27.

Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, such works being entitled respectively "Some results of the Tractarian Movement of 1833," forming one of the Essays contained in a volume entitled "The Church and the World," edited by the Rev. Orby Shipley, Clerk, printed and published in London in the year 1867: "A Plea for Toleration in the Church of England, in a Letter addressed to the Rev. E. B. Pusey, D.D., Regius Professor of Hebrew, and Canon of Christ Church, Oxford, 2nd edition," printed and published in London in the year 1867; and "A Plea for Toleration in the Church of England, in a Letter to the Rev. E. B. Pusey, D.D., Regius Professor of Hebrew, and Canon of Christ Church, Oxford, 3rd edition," printed and published in London in the year 1868.

History of the suit. The Cause was instituted in the Arches Court of Canterbury by virtue of Letters of Request of the late Lord Bishop of Bath and Wells, in accordance with the provisions of the Act 3rd and 4th of the Queen, cap. 86.*

The Respondent was duly cited on the 26th day of July, 1869; and the Citation, with Affidavit of Service, will be found in the Appendix at page 6.

No appearance was given to the Citation, and in default of appearance Articles were filed in accordance with the practice of the Court.

On the 30th of October, 1869, the Judge, having previously heard Counsel on behalf of the Appellant, directed the Articles to be reformed by omitting such parts thereof as charge the Respondent with contravening the 29th Article of Religion, entitled "Of the wicked which eat not the body of Christ in the use of the Lord's Supper."†

* The Dean of the Arches refused to receive these "letters of request" (2 Ad. and Eccl. p. 338), but on Appeal, the Judicial Committee in 1869 reversed this ruling. (2 P. C. 458.)

† On the ground that "the articles of charge did not set forth passages from Mr. Bennett's works containing doctrines on the subject of the reception by the wicked of the Lord's body and blood, contrary to the teaching of the Church of England in the 29th Article of Religion, but merely referred to a protest Mr. Bennett had signed with other clergymen as to the teaching of Archdeacon Denison in which reference was made to the real presence. It was necessary to bring the offence within the period of two years, as declared by the Church Discipline Act, and the protest was signed several years ago." (Monthly Intell. iv.-71.) The Bp. of

From such Decree or Order, a Petition of Appeal was presented, with the permission of the Judge, and the Appeal came before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council on the 26th day of March, 1870, when the Lords of the Committee, having heard Counsel on behalf of the Appellant, agreed to report to Her Majesty their opinion against the Appeal, and that the Decree or Order appealed from ought to be affirmed, and the cause remitted, with all its incidents, to the Judge of the Court from which the same was appealed.*

An Order in Council, confirming the report of the Judicial Committee, was afterwards made.†

The cause was accordingly remitted to the Arches Court of Canterbury, and on the 23rd day of June, 1870, in default of appearance on the part of the Respondent, the Judge of the Court, having heard Counsel on behalf of the Appellant, himself reformed the Articles, and admitted the same as so reformed, notwithstanding that the Counsel for the Promoter objected to the reformation of the Articles so made by the Judge as being at variance with, and exceeding the reformation directed by, the Order of the 30th of October, 1869.‡

On the 16th day of June, 1870, the Cause came on for hearing, and an application was then made by Counsel that the passages in the 5th, 6th, 7th, and 32nd Articles, which had been struck out by

London refused to grant a Commission of inquiry to enable the missing link to be afterwards supplied. (M. Intell. iii.-108.)

* Reported in Monthly Intell. iv.-69, and 39 L. J. Eccl. p. 1.

† On April 8th, 1870.

‡ The decision arrived at virtually turned upon this point, because the XXIXth Article was expressly devised to furnish the touchstone of eucharistic error. Yet on technical grounds the "reception by the wicked" was struck out from the articles of charge by Sir R. Phillimore, though at that very moment Mr. Bennett was selling at his "Church Depository" in the town of Frome, a work containing the following passage:—

"That the body and blood of Christ, thus really present, are therein and thereby given to and received by ALL, both in respect of those who eat and drink worthily, and *in respect of those who eat and drink unworthily.*" [!]

Moreover, under pretence of "reforming" the articles, Sir R. Phillimore availed himself of his position to strike out various passages in Articles 5, 6, 7, and 32, which bore upon the perfectly separate questions of the 'Real presence' and 'Adoration.'

the Judge in his reformation of the Articles, on the 3rd day of June, might be reinstated. The Judge, however, Exclusion of 29th Article of Religion. made no further Order thereon, and the hearing of the Cause was continued.

On the 23rd day of July, 1870, the Judge, by his Interlocutory Decree, having the force and effect of a definitive sentence in writing, pronounced that the Proctor for the Appellant had failed in sufficiently proving the Articles, and dismissed the Respondent from the suit.

The present Appeal is from so much of the Interlocutory Decree or Order of the 3rd day of June, 1870, as in effect directs the passages in the 5th, 6th, 7th, and 32nd Articles to be struck out; also from the Interlocutory Decree or Order of the 16th day of June, 1870; whereby, in effect, the Judge declined to allow such passages to be reinstated, and from the final Sentence or Decree of the 23rd day of July, 1870.

The Respondent has not appeared upon the hearing of the Appeal, and the Court has not had that assistance from the argument of Counsel in his behalf which is especially desirable in cases like the present, where the Committee are called upon to advise Her Majesty on matters of grave importance as a Tribunal of Ultimate Appeal.

The Counsel for the Appellant first opened the appeal from the Interlocutory Order of the Judge of the 3rd day of June, 1870, whereby he adhered to the reformation that he had made in the 5th, 6th, 7th, and 32nd Articles of Charge. With regard to the reformation of the Articles, the course originally taken seems to be sanctioned by usage; but it appears to their Lordships to be a course attended with considerable inconvenience, and one which might lead to great delay, if not to a miscarriage.

The original Order of the Arches Court directed the Articles of Charge to be reformed, by omitting all such parts thereof as charged the Respondent with contravening the 29th Article of Religion, and this Order was affirmed on Appeal, on the recommendation of this Committee.

The form of the Order leaves open to further determination by the Court what parts of the Articles of Charge, do, in effect, charge the Respondent with contravening the 29th Article of Religion, and thus opens the door to further discussion and (as in this case) to a

further appeal. In the meantime the Judge himself strikes out such parts of the Articles of Charge as he conceives to be within the previous Order of the Court, and then proceeds to hear the cause with the record so altered. If he should have erroneously struck out parts not affected by the Order, the attention of the accused, in his answer or evidence, will not have been called to the parts struck out, for he would be entitled to consider them as no longer forming part of the charge; but if the Promoter, on appeal, should succeed in restoring the passages in question, it would obviously become necessary to allow the Respondent an opportunity of meeting the restored charges.

In the present case their Lordships have thought it best to allow the Appellant to conduct his arguments as if the passages which he avers should not have been struck out still remained part of the record, and to found any argument upon such passages as he might be advised, provided the argument did not seek to establish a contravention by the Respondent of the 29th Article of Religion.

But their Lordships think it right to observe that it would be proper, in future, that before any Appeal be presented to Her Majesty in Council, in respect of an Order directing the reformation of Articles of Charge or other pleadings, the actual reformation which appears to the Judge to be required, should be made by him on the face of the Order, so that on Appeal the very passages omitted should be clearly brought under the judgment of this Committee, instead of an Order directing, by general reference, the nature of the alteration required.

On proceeding to the consideration of the Appeal from the final Decree of the Court of Arches, there is one point which was prominently brought forward in the opening of the case by the counsel for the Appellant, which it appears to their Lordships may be separately disposed of.

The Articles of Charge set forth several passages from the 2nd and 3rd editions of a work published by the Respondent, called "A Plea for Toleration in the Church of England, in a Letter to the Rev. E. B. Pusey." Now the 2nd edition of this work was published in 1867, and the 3rd edition in 1868. The 3rd edition contains important corrections of expressions in the 2nd edition, which expressions form part of the charge against the Respondent. The original expressions and their correction are fairly stated and

set forth by the Appellant in the 7th Article of Charge. (Appendix, page 18.) The learned Judge, in the Court below (Appendix, page 117), has stated that he has no doubt that the expressions originally used by the Respondent, viz. "the real actual and visible presence of the Lord upon the altars of our Churches," and again, "Who myself adore and teach the people to adore the consecrated elements, believing Christ to be in them—believing that under their veil is the sacred Body and Blood of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ,"—"contravened the plain and clear intent of the Formularies of the Church." And the learned Judge has also set forth the alterations of these statements made in the 3rd edition of the Respondent's work, and on the passages so altered has found that the Respondent has not been guilty of a contravention of the Articles as alleged by the promoter. Mr. Bennett's own words, in adopting the altered words, are as follows:—

"My meaning and that which passed through my mind in writing the original passages was precisely the same as that which is now conveyed in the words substituted, but as the original words were liable to a different construction from that in which I used them, I therefore most willingly in this edition adopt another formula to express my meaning." The learned Judge has (Appendix, page 117,) regretted that these alterations made by Mr. Bennett in his 3rd edition are unaccompanied by any expression of regret or self-reproach on the Respondent's part, for *the mischief which his crude and rash expressions have caused.* Their Lordships feel obliged to adopt the censure of the learned Judge on this point.

Upon this state of facts the learned Counsel urged that there had been no retraction of the original user, and that, in default of actual retraction, the learned Judge should have condemned the Respondent in respect of the words used by him in the 2nd edition of his work, though varied by the substituted words in the 3rd edition, and he cited several authorities for the purpose of supporting this argument.

But, without regarding the Respondent's language as a retraction, their Lordships think that it is competent for them to take into consideration any explanation that an accused person may give of the language used by him, and to determine whether such explanation is made *bona fide* and is entitled to credit. They attach great

importance to the fact that the third edition was published before suit, and they think that they may accept his later words as the more correct expression of the Respondent's meaning.

Principles of
Doctrinal
decisions in
Ecclesiastical
Courts.

In proceeding to consider the substance of the charges against the Respondent, their Lordships think it desirable to recall to mind the principles on which former decisions in similar cases have proceeded.

In the cases of Williams and Wilson (2 Moore's Reports, New Series, p. 423), their Lordships laid down as follows:—

"These prosecutions are in the nature of criminal proceedings, and it is necessary that there should be precision and distinctness in the accusation. The Articles of Charge must distinctly state the opinions which the Clerk has advisedly maintained, and set forth the passages in which those opinions are stated; and further the Articles must specify the doctrines of the Church which such opinions or teaching of the Clerk are alleged to contravene, and the particular Articles of Religion or portions of the Formularies which contain such doctrines. The accuser is, for the purpose of the charge, confined to the passages which are included and set out in the Articles as the matter of the accusation; but it is competent to the accused party to explain from the rest of his work the sense or meaning of any passage or word that is challenged by the accuser."

So in the judgment in the Gorham case—

"The question which we have to decide is, *not whether the opinions are theologically sound or unsound*, not whether upon some of the doctrines comprised in these opinions, other opinions opposite to them may or may not be held with equal or even greater reason by other learned and pious ministers of the Church; but whether these opinions now under our consideration, are contrary or repugnant to the doctrines which the Church of England, by its Articles, Formularies, and Rubrics, requires to be held by its ministers, so that upon the ground of those opinions the Appellant can lawfully be excluded from his benefice." . . . "This question must be decided by the Articles and the Liturgy; and we must apply to the construction of those books the same rules which have been long established, and are by law applicable to the construction of all written instruments. We must endeavour to attain for ourselves the true meaning of the language employed,

assisted only by the consideration of such external or historical facts as we may find necessary to enable us to understand the subject-matter to which the instruments relate, and the meaning of the words employed." . . . "There were different doctrines or opinions prevailing or under discussion at the times when the Articles and Liturgy were framed, and ultimately made part of the law; but we are not to be in any way influenced by the particular opinions of the eminent men who propounded or discussed them, or by the authorities by which they may be supposed to have been influenced, or by any supposed tendency to give preponderance to Calvinistic or Arminian doctrines. The Articles and Liturgy, as we now have them, must be considered as the final result of the discussion which took place; not the representation of the opinions of any particular men, Calvinistic, Arminian, or any other; but the conclusion which we must presume to have been deduced from a due consideration of all the circumstances of the case, including both the sources from which the declared doctrine was derived, and the erroneous opinions which were to be corrected." . . . "*This Court has no jurisdiction or authority to settle matters of faith* or to determine what ought in any case to be the doctrine of the Church of England. Its duty extends only to the consideration of that which is by law established to be the doctrine of the Church of England upon the true and legal construction of the Articles and Formularies."

Lord Stowell had long before said, in the case of King's Proctor *v.* Stone: "If any Article is really a subject of dubious interpretation, it would be highly *improper* for the *Court to fix on one meaning* and prosecute all those who hold a contrary opinion regarding its interpretation. It is a very different thing where the authority of the Articles is totally eluded, and the party deliberately declares the intention of teaching doctrines contrary to them."

To the principles thus laid down their Lordships will adhere in the present case.

The attention of the Court has been directed to the successive revisions of the Book of Common Prayer, and to alterations or omissions which have been made in it at different times. Changes by which words or passages inculcating particular doctrines, or assuming a belief in them, have been struck out, are most material as *evidence that the Church has deliberately ceased to affirm* those

doctrines in her public services. At the same time it is material to observe that the necessary effect of such changes, when they stand alone, is that it ceases to be unlawful to contradict such doctrines, and not that it becomes unlawful to maintain them. In the public or common prayers and devotional offices of the Church

all her members are expected and entitled to join; it is necessary, therefore, that such forms of worship as are prescribed by authority for general use should embody those beliefs *only* which are assumed to be generally held by members of the Church.

Ritual compromises
the worshippers
more than
preaching.

In the case of *Westerton v. Liddell* (and again in *Martin v. Mackonochie*) their Lordships say "In the performance of the services, rites, and ceremonies ordered by the Prayer Book, the directions contained in it must be strictly observed; no omission and no addition can be allowed." *If the Minister be allowed to introduce at his own will variations in the rites and ceremonies that seem to him to interpret the doctrine of the service in a particular direction, the service ceases to be what it was meant to be, common ground on which all Church people may meet though they differ about some doctrines.* But the Church of England has wisely left a certain latitude of opinion in matters of belief, and has not insisted on a rigorous uniformity of thought which might reduce her communion to a narrow compass.

Dealing *only* with the third edition of the Respondent's work, and having regard to their former decision, that *the charge of contradicting the 29th Article of Religion as to the reception of the wicked should be struck out*, their Lordships may consider the remaining charges against the Respondent under three heads:—

I. AS TO THE PRESENCE OF CHRIST IN THE CHARGES.

HOLY COMMUNION.

2. AS TO SACRIFICE IN THE HOLY COMMUNION.

3. AS TO ADORATION OF CHRIST PRESENT IN THE HOLY COMMUNION.

The Respondent is charged with maintaining under these three heads the following propositions:—

1. That in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper there is an actual presence of the true Body and Blood of our Lord in the consecrated bread and wine, by virtue of and upon the consecra-

tion, without or external to the communicant, and irrespective of the faith and worthiness of the communicant, and separately from the act of reception by the communicant; and it was contended by Counsel under this head that the true Body of Christ meant the natural Body.

2. That the Communion Table is an altar of sacrifice, at which the priest appears in a sacerdotal position at the celebration of the Holy Communion, and that at such celebration there is a great sacrifice or offering of our Lord by the ministering priest, in which the mediation of our Lord ascends from the altar to plead for the sins of men.

3. That adoration is due to Christ present upon the altars or Communion tables of the churches, in the Sacrament, under the form of bread and wine, on the ground that under their veil is the Body and Blood of our Lord.

The several positions so maintained are averred, each and all, to be repugnant to the doctrines of our Church, as set forth in the Articles and Formularies in that behalf specially alleged.

Their Lordships are bound to consider, in the first place, what has been affirmed and what has been denied, in reference to the doctrine to which these three statements relate.

The 4th Article of Religion affirms:—

Statements
of the
Formularies.

1. That Christ did truly rise from death and took again His body, with flesh and bones and all things appertaining to the perfection of man's nature, wherewith He ascended into Heaven; and there sitteth until He return to judge all men at the Last Day.

In the 28th Article of Religion it is affirmed:—

1. “The Supper of the Lord is not only a sign of the love that Christians ought to have among themselves, one to another, but rather is a Sacrament of our redemption by Christ's death: insomuch that to such as rightly, worthily, and with faith receive the same, the bread which we break is a partaking of the Body of Christ, and likewise the cup of blessing is a partaking of the Blood of Christ.”

2. “Transubstantiation (or the change of the substance of bread and wine) in the Supper of the Lord cannot be proved by Holy Writ; but is repugnant to the plain words of Scripture, over-

throweth the nature of a Sacrament, and hath given occasion to many superstitions."

3. "The Body of Christ is given, taken, and eaten in the Supper only after a Heavenly and spiritual manner."

4. "The mean whereby the body of Christ is received and eaten in the supper, is faith."

5. "The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was not by Christ's ordinance reserved, carried about, lifted up, or worshipped."

By the 29th Article of Religion it is affirmed :—

6. "The wicked and such as be void of a lively faith, although they do carnally and visibly press with their teeth (As St. Augustine saith) the Sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, yet in no wise are they partakers of Christ ; but rather to their condemnation do eat and drink the sign or sacrament of so great a thing."

By the 31st it is affirmed :—

7. "The offering of Christ once made is that perfect redemption, propitiation, and satisfaction for all the sins of the whole world, both original and actual ; and there is none other satisfaction for sin, but that alone." And—

8. "The sacrifices of masses, in the which it was commonly said that the priest did offer Christ for the quick and the dead to have remission of pain or guilt were blasphemous fables and dangerous deceits."

9. In the Catechism it is stated that "the Body and Blood of Christ are verily and indeed taken and received by the faithful in the Lord's Supper."

Their Lordships proceed, with these passages before them, to examine the charges made against the Respondent.
Real Presence.

The first relates to the presence of the Body and Blood of Christ in the Holy Communion.

The Church of England in the passages just cited holds and teaches affirmatively that in the Lord's Supper the Body and Blood of Christ are given to, taken, and received by the faithful communicant. She implies, therefore, to that extent, a presence of Christ *in the ordinance to the soul* of the *worthy* recipient. As to the mode of this presence she affirms nothing, except that the Body of Christ is "given, taken, and eaten in the supper *only* after an

heavenly and spiritual manner," and that "*the** mean whereby the Body of Christ is received and eaten is faith." Any other presence than this—any presence which is not a presence to the soul of the faithful receiver—the Church does not by her Articles and Formularies affirm or require her ministers to accept. This cannot be stated too plainly. The question is, however, not what the Articles and Formularies affirm, but what they exclude. The Respondent maintains a presence which is (to use his own expression) "real, actual, objective," a presence in the Sacrament, a presence upon the altar, under the form of bread and wine. He does not appear to have used the expression "in the consecrated elements" in his 3rd Edition; this is one of the points on which the language of the 2nd Edition was altered. And the question raised by the Appeal is, whether his position is contradictory or repugnant to anything in the Articles or Formularies, so as to be properly made the ground of a criminal charge.

Setting aside the Declaration at the end of the Communion Office, which will be presently considered, we find nothing in the Articles and Formularies to which the Respondent's position is contradictory or repugnant.

The statement in the 28th Article of Religion that the Body of Christ is given, taken, and eaten in the Lord's Supper, only after a heavenly and spiritual manner, *excludes undoubtedly any manner of giving, taking, or receiving which is not heavenly or spiritual.* The assertion of a "real, actual, objective" presence, *introduces, indeed, terms not found in the Articles or Formularies;* but it does not appear to affirm, expressly or by necessary implication, a presence other than spiritual, nor to be necessarily contradictory to the 28th Article of Religion.

The 29th Article of Religion, which is entitled "of the wicked which eat not the Body of Christ in the use of the Lord's Supper," and which affirms that the wicked and such as be void of a lively faith "are in no wise partakers of Christ, may suggest, indeed, an inference unfavourable to the Respondent's statements, but cannot be said to be plainly contradictory of them or necessarily to exclude them. The two propositions, that the faithful receive Christ in the Lord's Supper, and that the wicked are in no wise partakers of Christ,

* Medium quo.

when taken together, do not appear to be contradicted by the statement that there is a real, actual, objective presence of the Body and Blood of Christ in the sacrament* after a heavenly and spiritual manner.

The "Declaration of Kneeling" should now be considered. It is as follows:—

"Whereas it is ordained in this office for the administration of the Lord's Supper, that the communicants should receive the same kneeling (which order is well meant for the signification of our humble and grateful acknowledgment of the benefits of Christ therein given to all worthy receivers, and for the avoiding of such profanation and disorder in the Holy Communion, as might otherwise ensue), yet, lest the same kneeling should by any persons, either out of ignorance or infirmity, or out of malice and obstinacy be misconstrued and depraved, it is hereby declared, that thereby no adoration is intended, or ought to be done, either unto the sacramental bread or wine there bodily received, or unto any corporal presence of Christ's natural Flesh and Blood, for the sacramental bread and wine remain still in their very natural substances, and therefore may not be adored (for that were idolatry, to be abhorred of all faithful Christians), and the natural Body and Blood of our Saviour Christ are in Heaven, and not here; it being against the truth of Christ's natural Body to be at one time in more places than one."

This Declaration originally appeared in the second Prayer Book of Edward VI., A.D. 1552, in which book the position of kneeling was positively enjoined upon those who received the Sacrament. It was issued by the King, and was ordered by the Council to be appended to the Prayer Book, but after the book had received the sanction of Parliament, so that it was not of statutory authority. From the Prayer Book of Elizabeth (1559) the Declaration was omitted. In 1662 it was inserted in the present Prayer Book, and became of equal authority with the rest of the Prayer Book. The form of the Declaration was somewhat altered; the words "Unto any real and essential presence there being of Christ's natural Flesh and Blood" were altered to "unto any corporal presence of

* The ambiguity of the phrase "in the Sacrament" covers the double meaning of "in the (right use of the) ordinance," or, "in the material creatures of bread and wine."

Christ's natural Flesh and Blood," and the words "true natural Body" became "natural Body."

It was urged for the Appellant that, since the Church recognizes only one Body of Christ, the natural and now glorified Body which is spoken of in the Fourth Article of Religion, and since the Declaration asserts that this Body is "in Heaven and *not here*," the only presence in the Sacrament which can be held consistently with the Declaration is a presence to the soul of the communicant.

It was insisted that the word "natural" applied to the Body of Christ can convey no additional meaning, unless it be used to distinguish the true Body of Christ, which is His natural Body, from the Church, which is His Body in a mystical or figurative sense; and that the expression "corporal presence" cannot mean a presence in the manner or under the conditions in and under which material bodies are present or exist in space; that it must mean or include any presence whatever in the elements, as contradistinguished from a presence to* the spiritual apprehension of the receiver. There can be no question, it was argued, as to the mode or manner of the presence; for no mode or manner of presence is conceivable which would reconcile the proposition that the true Body of Christ is in the elements, with the proposition that the natural Body is in Heaven and *not here*.

Their Lordships are of opinion that these inferences, whether probable or not, are by no means of that plain and certain character which the conclusion they are asked to draw from them requires. The matters to which they relate are confessedly not comprehensible, or very imperfectly comprehensible, by the human understanding; the province of reasoning as applied to them is therefore very limited; and the terms employed have not, and cannot have, that precision of meaning which the character of the argument demands. Concerning the mode of reception of the Body and Blood of Christ by the faithful communicant, the Church affirms nothing more than that it is heavenly and spiritual, and that *the means whereby we receive* is faith.

Nor can their Lordships accede to the argument that the words "Corporal Presence of Christ's natural Flesh and Blood" must be

* See "Spiritual Presence as taught by the Ritualists," price One Penny, being Tract XCIV. published by the Church Association.

understood as the Appellant understands them, and the phrase "Corporal Presence" regarded merely as an equivalent for the different expression in lieu of which it was substituted. On the contrary, it is at the least probable that, as the Declaration itself was introduced in order to conciliate scruples in one quarter, the alteration made in it was designed to remove objections entertained against it in another.*

Their Lordships could not advise the condemnation of a clergyman for maintaining that the use in 1662 of the word "corporal" instead of the words "real and essential" in the Declaration of Kneeling was an intentional substitution, implying that there may be a real or essential presence as distinguished from a corporal presence.

The Respondent has nowhere alleged in terms a corporal presence of the natural Body of Christ in the elements; he has never affirmed that the Body of Christ is present in a "corporal" or "natural" manner. On the contrary, he has denied this, and he speaks of the presence in which he believes as "spiritual," "supernatural," "sacramental," "mystical," "ineffable."

Eucharistic Sacrifice. II. The next charge against the Respondent is, that he has maintained that the Communion Table is an altar of sacrifice, at which the priest appears in a sacerdotal position at the celebration of the Holy Communion, and that at such celebration there is a great sacrifice or offering of our Lord by the ministering priest, in which the mediation of our Lord ascends from the altar to plead for the sins of men.

The Church of England does not by her Articles or Formularies, teach or affirm the doctrine maintained by the Respondent. That she has deliberately ceased to do so would clearly appear from a comparison of the present Communion Office with that in King Edward's First Book, and of this again with the Canon of the Mass in the Sarum missal.

* As matter of history, the change from "real and essential presence" was made after the Great Rebellion to combat the denial by anti-Romanists of "a presence of Christ in the ordinance to the soul of the worthy receiver." The re-introduction of "the black rubric" was bitterly resented by the Duke of York (afterwards James II.) and the Romish party. See "History of the Declaration on Kneeling," in *Church Intelligencer*, ii.-95.

This subject was fully discussed before their Lordships in Westerton *v.* Liddell, when it was decided that the "change in the view taken of the sacrament naturally called for a corresponding change in the altar. *It was no longer to be an altar of sacrifice, but merely a table at which the communicants were to partake of the Lord's Supper.*"

The 31st Article of Religion, after laying down the proposition (which is adopted also, in words nearly the same, in the Prayer of Consecration), that "the offering of Christ once made, is that perfect redemption, propitiation, and satisfaction for all the sins of the whole world, both original and actual," and that "there is none other satisfaction for sin but that alone," proceeds, on the strength of these propositions, to say that "the sacrifices of masses, in the which it was commonly said that the priest did offer Christ for the quick and the dead to have remission of pain or guilt, were blasphemous fables and dangerous deceits."

It is not lawful for a clergyman to contradict, expressly or by inference, either the proposition which forms the first part of this Article, or any proposition plainly deducible from the condemnation of propitiatory masses which forms the second part of it, and is stated as a corollary to the first.

It is not lawful for a clergyman to teach that the sacrifice or offering of Christ upon the Cross, or the redemption, propitiation, or satisfaction, wrought by it, is or can be *repeated* in the ordinance of the Lord's Supper; nor that in that ordinance there is or can be *any sacrifice or offering of Christ which is efficacious*, in the sense in which Christ's death is efficacious, *to procure the remission of the guilt or punishment of sins.*

It is well known, however, that by many divines of eminence, the word Sacrifice has been applied to the Lord's Supper in the sense *not of a true propitiatory or atoning Sacrifice, effectual as a satisfaction for sin*, but of a rite which calls to remembrance and represents before God that one true Sacrifice. To take one example, Bishop Bull says:—

"In the Eucharist then Christ is offered, NOT HYPOSTATICALLY, as the Trent Fathers have determined, for so he was but once offered, but commemoratively only; and this commemoration is made to God the Father, and is not a bare remembering or putting ourselves in mind of Him. For every Sacrifice is directed to God;

and the oblation therein made, whatsoever it be, hath Him for its object, and not man. In the Holy Eucharist, therefore, we set before God the *bread and wine*, ‘as figures or images of the precious Blood of Christ shed for us, and of his precious Body’ (they are the very words of the Clementine Liturgy), and plead to God the merit of His Son’s Sacrifice once offered on the Cross for us sinners, and in this Sacrament represented, beseeching Him for the sake thereof to bestow His heavenly blessings on us.”—*Bull's Works*, vol. ii. p. 22.

The distinction between *an act by which a satisfaction for sin is made*, and a devotional rite by which the satisfaction *so made* is represented and pleaded before God, is clear, though it is liable to be obscured, not only in the apprehension of the ignorant, but by *the tendency of theologians to exalt the importance of the rite till the distinction itself well nigh disappears*. To apply the word sacrifice in the sense in which Bishop Bull has used it to the ordinance of the Lord’s Supper, though it may be liable to abuse and misapprehension, does not appear to be a contravention of any proposition legitimately deducible from the 39th Article. It is not clear to their Lordships that the Respondent has so used the word “sacrifice” as to contradict the language of the Articles.

III. Their Lordships now proceed to the third charge, which relates to the adoration of Christ present in the Adoration. Sacrament.

The 20th and 27th Articles of Charge contain the false doctrines alleged to be held by Mr. Bennett. The 20th charges that he affirms the doctrine that adoration or worship is due to the consecrated bread and wine.

The 27th, that he affirms that adoration is due to Christ present upon the altars of our churches in the Sacrament* of the Holy Communion, under the form of bread and wine, on the ground that under their veil is the sacred Body and Blood of our Lord (the passages referred to for proof are set out in the 7th Article).

* N.B.—Note the ambiguity of the phrase “in the Sacrament” contrasted with “a presence of Christ in the ordinance to the soul of the worthy receiver,” as defined above, p. 13.

The 31st Article charges that these doctrines are contrary to the 28th article of Religion, and the Declaration on Kneeling.

The passages relied on as the ground of these charges are the following :—

“The reader will observe that in the two first editions, at page 3, the words were : ‘*The real actual and visible Presence of our Lord upon the altars of our Churches.*’ In the present edition he will find at page 2 the following words substituted : ‘*The real and actual presence of our Lord under the form of bread and wine upon the Altars of our Churches.*’ He will also observe that, at page 14 in the former editions the words were :—‘*Who myself adore and teach the people to adore the consecrated elements, believing Christ to be in them—believing that under their veil is the sacred Body and Blood of my Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.*’ He will now find the following words substituted :—‘*Who myself adore and teach the people to adore Christ present in the Sacrament, under the form of Bread and Wine, believing that under their veil is the sacred Body and Blood of my Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.*’”

“The three great doctrines on which the Catholic Church has to take her stand are these :—I. The real objective presence of our blessed Lord in the Eucharist; II. ‘The sacrifice offered by the priest;’ and, III. ‘the adoration due to the presence of our blessed Lord therein.’”

“Well, I do not know what others of my brethren in the priesthood may think,—I do not wish to compromise them by anything that I say or do,—but seeing that I am one of those who burn lighted candles at the altar in the daytime; who use incense at the Holy Sacrifice; who use the Eucharistic Vestments; who elevate the Blessed Sacrament; who myself adore, and teach the people to adore, Christ present in the Sacrament, under the form of bread and wine; believing that under their veil is the sacred Body and Blood of my Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ;—seeing all this it may be conceived that I cannot rest very much at ease under the imputations above recited.”

Their Lordships agree with the learned Judge of the court below that the doctrine charged in the 20th Article, namely, that adoration is due to the *consecrated elements*, is contrary to law, and *must be condemned*. But they have admitted, as the learned Judge has done, Mr. Bennett’s explanation of that language, and therefore they are not called upon to condemn Mr. Bennett under the 20th Article. The 27th Article of Charge therefore alone remains for decision; it is as follows :—

"That in or by the passages lettered N, O, and S, hereinbefore set forth in the seventh preceding Article you have maintained or affirmed and promulgated the doctrine that adoration is due to Christ, present upon the Altars (thereby referring to the Communion Tables) of the Churches of the said United Church of England and Ireland in the Sacrament of the Holy Communion under the form of bread and wine, on the ground that under their veil is the sacred Body and Blood of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ."

Their Lordships have now to consider whether or not the passages from the Respondent's writings above set forth are necessarily repugnant to or contradictory of the 28th Article of Religion, or of the Declaration of Kneeling, as alleged in the 31st Article of Charge.

The Declaration of Kneeling states that, by the direction that the communicants shall receive the consecrated elements kneeling, "no adoration is intended or ought to be done either to the Sacramental bread and wine there bodily received, or to any corporal presence of Christ's natural Flesh and Blood."

According to this declaration, neither the elements nor any corporal presence of Christ *therein* ought to be adored.

The 28th Article lays down that "the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was not by Christ's ordinance reserved, carried about, lifted up or worshipped."

In the 25th Article it had been affirmed that "the Sacraments were not ordained by Christ to be gazed upon, or to be carried about, but that we shall duly use them."

It was laid down in *Martin v. Mackonochie* that such acts as the elevation of the cup and paten, and kneeling and prostration of the minister before them, were unlawful, because they were not prescribed in the Rubric of the Communion Office, and because acts not prescribed were to be taken as forbidden. Their Lordships in that judgment adopted the words of the committee in *Westerton v. Liddell*; "for the performance of the services, rites, and ceremonies ordered by the Prayer Book, the directions contained in it must be strictly observed; no omission and no addition can be permitted."

It follows then that the Church of England has forbidden all acts of adoration to the Sacrament, understanding by that the consecrated

elements. She has been careful to exclude any act of adoration on the part of the minister at or after the consecration of the elements and to explain the posture of kneeling prescribed by the Rubric. If the charge against Mr. Bennett were that he had performed an outward act of adoration on any occasion in the service, the principles laid down in *Martin v. Mackonochie* would apply to this case. Such an act could not be done except in the service, because the Sacrament may not be "reserved." But even if the Respondent's words are a confession of an unlawful act, it is questionable whether such a confession would amount to false doctrine. And it is also fair to remember, in the Respondent's favour, that the judgment in the case of *Martin v. Mackonochie*, which established the unlawfulness of introducing acts of adoration, was not delivered until December 23, 1868, after the publication of the words that are now impugned. Some of their Lordships have doubted whether the word "adore," though it seems to point rather to acts of worship such as are forbidden by the 28th Article, may not be construed to refer to mental adoration, or prayers addressed to Christ present spiritually in the Sacrament,* which does not necessarily imply any adoration of the consecrated elements or of any corporal or natural presence therein.

Upon the whole, their Lordships, not without doubts and division of opinions, have come to the conclusion that this charge is not so clearly made out as the rules which govern penal proceedings require. Mr. Bennett is entitled to the benefit of any doubt that may exist. His language has been rash, but as it appears to the majority of their Lordships that his words can be construed so as not to be plainly repugnant to the two passages articled against them, their Lordships will give him the benefit of the doubt that has been raised.

Their Lordships having arrived at the conclusion that they must advise Her Majesty that the Appeal must be dismissed, feel bound to add that there is much in the Judgment of the learned Judge in the Court below with which they are unable to concur. The learned Judge has endeavoured to settle by a mass of authorities what is the doctrine of the Church of England on the subject of the Holy Communion.

Censure of Sir R.
Phillimore's parti-
san unfairness.

* See note p. 19.

It is not the part of the Court of Arches nor of this Committee, to usurp the functions of a Synod or Council. Happily their duties are much more circumscribed, namely, to ascertain whether certain statements are so far repugnant to, or contradictory of, the language of the Articles and Formularies, construed in their plain meaning, that they should receive judicial condemnation.*

Their Lordships will not attempt to examine in detail the catena of authorities which the Judge of the Arches has brought together, nor that of the learned Counsel who appeared for the Appellant.

No mode of argument is more fallacious on a ^{Value of} "Authorities." subject so abstruse and of so many aspects; short extracts, even where candidly made, as in this case, give no fair impression of an author's mind. Thus Dean Jackson is quoted in the judgment; but the quotation omits the preceding sentence† which gives to the whole passage a meaning difficult to reconcile with the purpose for which it is used; while the opinion of this eminent divine would have been more correctly represented by referring also to the following remarkable passage in a previous chapter of this work: "What need then is there of His bodily presence in the Sacrament, or any other presence than the influence or emission of virtue from His heavenly sanctuary *into our souls?* He has left us the consecrated elements of bread and wine, to be unto us more than the hem of His garment. If we do but touch and taste them with the same faith by which this woman touched the hem of His garment, our same faith shall make us whole."‡ Several of those who are cited by the learned Judge are living persons of greater or less note, who cannot rank as authorities for the history of a great controversy.

One of the authorities is so questionable, that it requires a passing examination. The learned Judge, after quoting the 28th Article of Religion, introduces as "a 'contemporanea expositio,' from the compiler of this Article, which cannot, I think, be gainsaid," a letter from Bishop Gheast to Cecil, under the date 1556 (probably a mistake for 1566) explaining the sense which he put upon the word "only" in the 28th Article. Gheast does not say that he was the "compiler" of the 28th

* Compare above p. 9.

† Works, Vol. x. p. 41.

‡ Works, Vol. ix. p. 611.

Article, all but one sentence of which had been in substance in the Articles of 1552; and the context shows that he used the word "Article" only of this sentence, which, he says, was "of mine own penning." Upon the faith of this letter, genuine or not, avowedly written for a personal purpose ("for mine own purgation") is founded an exposition of the words "only after a heavenly and spiritual manner," as meaning that though a man "took Christ's Body in his hand, received it with his mouth, and that corporally, naturally, really, substantially, and carnally . . . yet did he not for all that see it, feel it, smell it, nor taste it." Upon this alleged exposition their Lordships feel themselves free to observe that the words "only after a heavenly and spiritual manner," do not appear to contain or involve the words "corporally, naturally, and carnally," *but to exclude them; and that it is the Article, and not the questionable comments of a doubtful letter written for personal motives, which is binding on the clergy and on this Court.*

Their Lordships recall once more, in acknowledging the learning that has been brought to bear upon this case, the principle which this Committee has long since laid down. "There were different doctrines or opinions prevailing or under discussion at the times when the Articles and Liturgy were framed, and ultimately made part of the law; but we are not to be in any way influenced by the particular opinions of the eminent men who propounded or discussed them, or by the authorities by which they may be supposed to have been influenced, or by any supposed tendency to give pre-ponderance to Calvinistic or Arminian doctrines. The Articles and Liturgy, as we now have them, must be considered as the final result of the discussion which took place; not the representation of the opinions of any particular men, Calvinistic, Arminian, or any other; but the conclusion which we must presume to have been deduced from a due consideration of all the circumstances of the case, including both the sources from which the declared doctrine was derived, and the erroneous opinions which were to be corrected."*

Citations from established authors may be of use to show that "the liberty which was left by the Articles and Formularies has been actually enjoyed and exercised by the members and ministers

* Judgment of Privy Council, Gorham Case.

of the Church of England.”* But, to say the least, very few of the quotations in the judgment exhibit the same freedom of language as do the extracts from Mr. Bennett. And after every authority had been examined, there would still remain the question that is before this Committee, whether the license or liberty is really allowed by the Articles and Formularies—whether anything has been said by the Respondent which plainly contradicts them. *If the Respondent had made statements contradicting the Articles or Formularies, the citation of great names would not have protected him; if he has not done so, he is safe without their protection.*

There is one passage in the judgment which seems especially to call for comment:—

“With respect to the second and corrected edition of his pamphlet, and the other work for which he is articled, I say that the objective, actual, and real presence, or the spiritual, real presence, a presence *external to the act of the communicant*, appears to me to be the doctrine which the Formularies of our Church, duly considered and construed so as to be harmonious, intended to maintain. But I do not lay down this as a position of law, nor do I say that what is called the Receptionist doctrine is inadmissible; nor do I pronounce on any other teaching with respect to the mode of presence. I mean to do no such thing by this judgment. I mean by it to pronounce only that to describe the mode of presence as objective, real, actual, and spiritual, is certainly not contrary to the law.

Their Lordships regret that the learned Judge should have put forth *this extra-judicial statement*, in which he adopts words that are not used in the Articles or Formularies as expressing their doctrine. *The word “receptionist” is as foreign to the Articles as the word “objective.”* Their Lordships have already said that any presence that is not a presence to the soul of the faithful receiver, the Church does not by her Articles and Formularies affirm. They need not ask whether there is really any doubt as to the admissibility of the doctrine of Hooker and Waterland, who appear to be described as “Receptionists,” in the Church of which they have been two of the greatest ornaments.

Their Lordships have not arrived at their decision without great

* Judgment of Privy Council, Gorham Case.

anxiety and occasional doubt. The subject is one which has always moved the deepest feelings of religious men, and will continue to do so. There might have been expected from a theologian dealing with this subject, if not a charitable regard for the feelings of others, at least a careful preparation and an exactness in the use of terms. The very divine* whose opinions Mr. Bennett seems to have sought to represent, was obliged himself to point out how erroneous was his statement of those opinions. The Respondent corrected the manifest error without an expression of regret at the pain he may have caused to many by his careless language. *Even in their maturer form, his words are rash and ill-judged, and are perilously near a violation of the law.* But the Committee have not allowed any feeling of disapproval to interfere with the real duty before them, to decide whether the language of the Respondent was so plainly repugnant to the Articles and Formularies as to call for judicial condemnation: and, *as these proceedings are highly penal, to construe in his favour every reasonable doubt.*

There will be no order as to costs, as the Respondent had not appeared.

* Dr. Pusey.



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FOLKESTONE
RITUAL CASE.

JUDGMENT

OF

The Lords of the Privy Council,

IN

RIDSDALE *v.* CLIFTON,

On Appeal from the Court of Arches,

MAY 12th, 1877.

London:

CHURCH ASSOCIATION, 14, Buckingham Street, Strand.

J. F. SHAW & Co., 48, PATERNOSTER ROW.

J. KENSIT, 18, PATERNOSTER ROW.

No. CX.]

PREFACE.

The ipsissima verba of the Judgment have been given throughout, but italic type has occasionally been employed to bring out salient points; Marginal headings have been added; and such Notes as are enclosed in square brackets formed no part of the original.

J. T. T.

JUDGMENT

OF THE

Judicial Committee of the Privy Council on the Appeal of the Rev. C. J. Ridsdale, Clerk, v. Clifton, from an Order of the Judge as Official Principal of the Arches Court of Canterbury; delivered 12th May, 1877.

Present at the hearing of the Appeal:—LORD CHANCELLOR (Cairns), LORD SELBORNE, SIR JAMES W. COLVILE, LORD CHIEF BARON (Kelly), SIR ROBERT PHILLIMORE, LORD JUSTICE JAMES, SIR MONTAGUE E. SMITH, SIR ROBERT P. COLLIER, SIR BALIOL BRETT, SIR RICHARD AMPHLETT. Episcopal Assessors:—ABP. OF CANTERBURY (Tait), BISHOPS OF CHICHESTER (Durnford), ST. ASAPH (Hughes), ELY (Woodford), ST. DAVIDS (Jones).



THE Appeal of Ridsdale *v.* Clifton, in which their Lordships have now to state the recommendation which they propose humbly to make to Her Majesty, is an Appeal to Her Majesty in Council brought by the Rev. Charles Joseph Ridsdale, Clerk, Incumbent, or perpetual Curate of St. Peter, Folkestone, against an Order or Decree pronounced by Lord Penzance, as Judge or Official Principal of the Arches Court of Canterbury, on the 3rd of February, 1876.

This Judgment specified various matters as to which it declared that the Appellant had offended against the laws ecclesiastical; but the Appeal is brought in respect of four only of these matters, and it is to these only that the observations of their Lordships need be directed.

SUBJECTS OF APPEAL. The four matters as to which the Appeal complains of the Judgment are these:—

1. The wearing during the service of the Holy Communion of vestments known as an alb and a chasuble.
2. The saying the Prayer of Consecration in the service of the

Holy Communion, while standing at the middle of the west side of the Communion Table, in such wise that the people could not see the Appellant break the bread or take the cup into his hand.

3. The use, in the service of the Holy Communion, of wafer-bread or wafers, to wit, bread or flour made in the form of circular wafers, instead of bread such as is usual to be eaten.

4. The placing and unlawfully retaining a crucifix on the top of the screen separating the chancel of the church from the body or nave.

There were eight other charges against the Appellant, as to all of which he was admonished by the learned Judge, but as to none of which is there any Appeal.

Of the four charges which are the subject of Appeal, the three first were considered by the learned Judge to be covered by the decision of this Committee in the case of *Hebbert v. Purchas*, and by the Order of Her Majesty in Council made in that case; and as to them he did not exercise any independent judgment.

The fourth charge, as to the crucifix, the learned Judge did not consider to be covered by authority otherwise than indirectly and by implication.

Their Lordships have had to consider, in the first place, how far, in a case such as the present, a previous decision of this Tribunal between other parties, and an Order of the Sovereign in Council founded thereon, should be held to be conclusive in all similar cases subsequently coming before them. If the case of *Hebbert v. Purchas* is to be taken as absolutely conclusive of every other case, with the same or similar facts, there can be no doubt that the decision of the learned Judge on the first three heads, being in accordance with that of *Hebbert v. Purchas*, was correct.

In *Hebbert v. Purchas*, the Defendant did not appear, either before the Dean of Arches or before the Judicial Committee; but, after the decision of the Judicial Committee was pronounced against him, he presented a Petition praying for a rehearing.

The Judicial Committee to whom that Petition was referred were of opinion that, to have granted such an application, would have been to violate the spirit of the 2nd and 3rd William IV. cap. 92, which transferred the powers of the Court of Delegates to

the Sovereign in Council, and provided that every Judgment, Order, and Decree should be final and definitive, and that no Commission should thereafter be granted or authorized to review any Judgment or Decree made under that Act.

All that this decided was the finality of that Judgment *inter partes*; and the propriety of its being held final in that case was the more obvious from the fact that a Defendant not appearing in the Primary Court or on the Appeal might be supposed to be lying by, taking the chance of a decision in the first instance, and then trying to get rid of it when it turned out to be unfavourable.

The present case, however, raises the question of finality not *inter partes*, but as against strangers.

In the case of decisions of final Courts of Appeal on questions of law affecting civil rights, especially rights of property, there are strong reasons for holding the decisions, as a general rule, to be final as to third parties.

The law as to rights of property in this country is to a great extent based upon and formed by such decisions. When once arrived at, the decisions become elements in the composition of the law, and the dealings of mankind are based upon a reliance on such decisions.

Even as to such decisions it would perhaps be difficult to say that they were, as to third parties, under all circumstances and in all cases absolutely final, but they certainly ought not to be reopened without the very greatest hesitation.

Their Lordships are fully sensible of the importance of establishing and maintaining, as far as possible, a clear and unvarying interpretation of rules the stringency and effect of which ought to be easily ascertained and understood by every Clerk before his admission to Holy Orders.

On the other hand, there are not, in cases of this description, any rights to the possession of property which can be supposed to have arisen by the course of previous decisions; and in proceedings which may come to assume a penal form, a tribunal, even of last resort, ought to be slow to exclude any fresh light which may be brought to bear upon the subject.

Purchas J. not final because only heard ex parte. It is further to be borne in mind that in the case of *Hebbert v. Purchas*, the Judicial Committee, although they had before them a learned and able

Judgment of the then Dean of Arches in favour of Mr. Purchas, on the points now raised, had not the advantage of an argument by Mr. Purchas' Counsel on those points.

These considerations have led their Lordships to the conclusion that, although very great weight ought to be given to the decision in *Hebbert v. Purchas*, yet they ought in the present case to hold themselves at liberty to examine the reasons upon which that decision was arrived at, and if they should find themselves forced to dissent from those reasons, to decide upon their own view of the law.

Their Lordships will now proceed to consider the VESTMENTS.

first charge against the Appellant, namely, that of wearing an alb and chasuble. They will, however, premise that they do not propose to express any opinion upon the vestures proper to be worn by Bishops, as to which separate considerations may arise; and in referring to the dress of the parochial clergy, they will, for greater convenience, use the term "vestments" for the purpose of denoting the alb and chasuble or cope, as distinguished from the surplice.

The argument of the Appellant on this head, which was very clearly and very forcibly stated, may be thus summed up. The Ornaments Rubric, he contends, in the revised Prayer Book of 1662 is now the *only* law as to the vesture of the clergy. It contains within its one sentence *all* that is now enacted upon that subject. It sweeps away all previous law as to the vesture of the clergy, whether that law was to be found in Statute, Canon, Injunction, or otherwise. It authorizes the use of all ornaments which had the Parliamentary authority of the First Prayer Book of Edward the Sixth. The vestments in question are among the ornaments which had this Parliamentary authority; therefore it authorizes the use of the vestments in question.

Ornaments Rubric
not the only, nor
the primary
authority. To this reasoning, if the first proposition in the series be correct in point of fact and law, no exception could, probably, be taken. Their Lordships,

however, are unable to accept that proposition. They are of opinion that it is a misapprehension to suppose that the Rubric note of 1662 as to ornaments was intended to have, or did have, the effect of repealing the law as it previously stood, and of substituting for that previous law another and a different law,

formulated in the words of that Rubric note, and of thus making the year 1662 a new point of departure in the legislation on this subject.

Before, however, proceeding to trace the history of the law, their Lordships must observe upon the expression in the argument which asserts that the Ornaments Rubric "authorises" the use of the vestments in question. In the opinion of their Lordships, if the only law as to the vesture of the clergy is to be found in the Ornaments Rubric, the use of the vestments of the First Edwardian Prayer Book is *not merely authorized, it is enjoined*. It is not an enactment ordering the accomplishment of a particular result, and suggesting or directing a mode by which the proposed result may be attained. The sole object of the Rubric is to define the mode of performing an existing ministration. If the Rubric is taken alone the words in it are *not optional, they are imperative*; and every clergyman who, since 1662, has failed, or who may hereafter fail, to use in the administration of the Holy Communion the vestments of the First Edwardian Prayer Book, has been, and will be, guilty of an ecclesiastical offence rendering him liable to heavy penalties. Any interpretation of the Rubric which would leave it optional to the minister to wear or not to wear these vestments, not only would be opposed to the ordinary principles of construction, but must also go to the extent of leaving it optional to the minister whether he will wear *any* official vesture whatever. If the Rubric is not imperative as to the alb, and the chasuble or cope, in the Communion Office, it cannot be imperative as to the surplice in the other services, or any* of them.

It is necessary now to ascertain the state of the law before the Act of Uniformity and Rubric of 1662: and then to examine whether any and (if any) what alteration was made by that Act and Rubric.

First Prayer Book of Ed. VI. In the First Book of Edward the Sixth (1549), the directions as to the vestures of the ministers officiating in the public services of the Church (omitting all that relates to hoods and the directions as to Bishops) were as follows:

In the saying and singing of matins and evensong, baptizing and burying, the minister was to use a surplice. In the administration of the Holy Communion the celebrant was to "put upon him a

* [See on this point, p. 33, as to Litany, &c.]

white albe plain, with a vestment or cope," and the assistant ministers (priests or deacons) were to "have upon them likewise the vestures appointed for their ministry, namely, albes with tunicles."

Second Book of Ed. VI. These directions were omitted from the Second Book of King Edward (1552); and, instead of them, a Rubric was inserted, immediately before the order for Morning Prayer, in these words:—"And here it is to be noted, that the minister, at the time of the Communion, and at all other times in his ministration, shall use neither alb, vestment, nor cope; but . . . being a priest or deacon, he shall have and wear a surplice only." This Book was "annexed and joined" to the statute 5th and 6th Edward the Sixth, cap. I, and was established as law thereby.

King Edward died within a few months after the time appointed for this statute to take effect, and the re-action under Queen Mary followed. Upon the accession of Queen Elizabeth, the Legislature, reverting to the state of matters which had existed when the Second Book of Edward was introduced,* determined at once to restore the Liturgy and offices of religion contained in that book, with a few *specified*† alterations, but to leave the question of the vestures of the ministers of the Church open for further consideration. The natural course under these circumstances was that adopted, viz. to "retain" the use of the vestures which had been authorized before 1552, until a final settlement of that question could conveniently be made.

Elizabeth's book
not new; nor
"annexed" to
Statute.

No new or revised Prayer Book was annexed to Queen Elizabeth's Act of Uniformity (1 Eliz. cap. 2); but the Second Book of King Edward, "with the alterations and additions therein added and appointed by this statute" (viz. "one alteration or addition of certain lessons to be used on every Sunday in the year, and the form of the Litany, altered and corrected, and two sentences only added

* [That is not quite accurate. The Act 1 Eliz. c. 2, began: "Where at the *death* of our late Sovereign there remained . . . one book:" and the 30th Royal Injunction of 1559 insisted on the ministerial dress of "the *latter* year of Kg. Ed. VI." i.e. of 1553.]

† [N.B.—The Ornaments Rubric, and that relating to the place for morning prayer, were not of the number of these "specified alterations."]

in the delivery of the Sacrament to the communicants,"* as specified in the 3rd section), was directed to stand and be in full force and effect from the 24th June, 1559.

The enactment, however, that the Second Book of King Edward was to be used, with these alterations and additions, "*and none other or otherwise*" (sect. 3), was further qualified by the provisos contained in the 25th and 26th sections, of which the former is in these words :—

" Provided always, and be it enacted, that such ornaments of the Church, and of the ministers thereof, shall be retained and be in use, as was in this Church of England by authority of Parliament in the second year of King Edward the Sixth, until other order shall be therein taken by the authority of the Queen's Majesty : with the advice of Her Commissioners, appointed under the great seal of England for causes ecclesiastical, or of the Metropolitan of this realm."

In this manner, and *not by any textual alteration of the Rubrics* in the Second Book of King Edward, the directions as to ornaments of the First Book were kept in force until other order should be therein taken, in the way provided by the Act.

The authorities whose duty it was to issue to the people, in ^{1559, a printed Book of Common Prayer, made} ^{The printed rubric of 1559 was [illegal-ly?] "substituted" for that enacted in section 3.} conformable to the Statute, prefixed to the Book so issued by them a copy, *in extenso*, of the Statute of

Elizabeth itself ; and they also of *their own authority*, *not by way of enactment* or order, but by way of a memorandum or reference to the Statute, *substituted* a new admonitory note or Rubric for the note immediately preceding the order of Morning Prayer in the Second Book of King Edward.†

That note or Rubric, as is pointed out by Bishop Gibson,‡ was *not inserted by any authority of Parliament*. It was meant to be a

* [Unhappily the Judges forbore to quote here the very next words which were "and NONE other, or OTHERWISE :" the result of which must have been to legalise under penalties the rubric of 1552 above cited.]

† [This was, of course, *ultra vires* : as the Crown could not alter the statutory wording of the Prayer Book. And there was at that date (June 24, 1559) neither a "Metropolitan" nor any "Commissioners under the Great Seal for causes ecclesiastical."]

‡ Codex, Ed. 1761, p. 296.

compendious and convenient summary of the enactment on this subject. If it was an accurate summary, it was merely a repetition of the Act. If it was inaccurate or imperfect, *the Act, and not the note, would be the governing rule.*

It is of importance to bear in mind that the Ornaments Rubric, which it is now contended contains the whole enactment or law relating to the vesture of the clergy, *was not*, when originally introduced in 1559, *and was not meant to be, an enactment at all*; and it ended with a reference to the Statute 1 Eliz. cap. 2, set out in the beginning of the Prayer Book, in terms which showed that the Rubric *claimed no intrinsic authority for itself.*

The Statute, by its 25th section, had enacted that the ornaments of 1549 should be retained and be in use, but only until other order should be therein taken, by the authority of the Queen, with the advice therein mentioned. The enactment was therefore in its nature provisional, and prepared the way for the subsequent exercise of a power reserved to the Queen. If that power was not exercised, the enactment in the 25th clause would remain absolute. If the power was exercised, the order made under the power would not be an order in derogation or by way of repeal of the Act; but the order would be in pursuance of and *read into the Act as if that which was done by virtue of the reserved power had originally been enacted* in the Statute.

Did, then, Queen Elizabeth ever take other order, within the meaning of the 25th section?

Their Lordships do not think it necessary to dwell upon the Injunctions of Queen Elizabeth, and still less upon the interpretation of those Injunctions; because they cannot satisfy themselves, either that the Injunctions pointed to the vestments now in controversy,* or that they were issued with the advice required by the section of the Act of Parliament.

But their Lordships are clearly of opinion that the Advertizements (a word which in the language of the time was equivalent to "admonitions" or "injunctions") of Elizabeth, issued in 1566, were a "taking of order," within the Act of Parliament, by the Queen, with the advice of the Metropolitan.

Legal value of the Advertisements.

* [On that point, however, since 1877 much additional information has been accumulated. See *Church Intelligencer*, iii.-101.]

It is not disputed that these Advertisements were issued with the advice of the Metropolitan, and, indeed, also with the advice of the Commissioners for causes ecclesiastical; but it is said that they were not a taking of order by the Queen.*

The Queen had in the most formal manner, by Her Royal Letters, commanded the Metropolitan and other prelates to prepare these Advertisements, directing them "so to proceed by Order, Injunction, or censure, according to the order and appointment of such laws and ordinances as were provided by Parliament, and the true meaning thereof, so as uniformity of order might be kept in every church, and *without variety* or contention."

There was no particular form required by statute or by law in which the Queen was to take order, and it was competent for Her Majesty to do so by means of a Royal Letter addressed to the Metropolitan. The Advertisements were issued by the Prelates as *Orders prepared under the Queen's authority.*

Immediately after their issue, on the 21st May, 1566, Grindal, Bishop of London, writes † to the Dean of St. Paul's, requiring him to put them in force, and stating that they were issued by the Queen's authority, and that he (Grindal) would proceed to deprive any who should disobey them. The Articles of Archbishop Parker ‡ speak of them as Advertisements set forth "by public authority." In 1583, in Articles presented to the Queen § herself by the Archbishop and some of the Bishops, they are referred to as the "Book of Advertisements," and in the margin as the "Advertisements set out by Her Majesty's authority."

Against this it is said there is, nevertheless, other matter in the "Parker Correspondence" (lately for the first time published in a collected form, though it was partially known to some historical writers of the last century, who drew from it similar inferences),

* [For a copy of the Commission appointing these Commissioners, see Tract CVII. published by the Church Association.]

† MS. from Dom. Eliz., vol. 39, No. 76. [Printed in Tract XC. of the Church Association.]

‡ 1 Card. Doc. An. 320 [and in 1575 Abp. Parker speaks of "The Queen's Majesty's Injunctions, and other Her Highness' commandments orders, decrees, and Advertisements," 2 Rep. Rit. Com. 418-50].

§ 163 State Papers, Domestic, No. 31 [better given by Lord Selborne in "Notes on the Liturgy," p. 75].

from which it ought to be inferred, as a matter of fact, that the Book of Advertizements was published without Queen Elizabeth's sanction.

Their Lordships cannot lend any countenance to the suggestion that the legitimate inference to be drawn from the tenor and language of public documents, from the acts done under them, and from the public recognition of their authority, could in any case be controlled by expressions found in a correspondence of this character. As, however, much of the argument against the authority of the Advertizements was founded on this correspondence, their Lordships think it right to say that they draw from the Correspondence, as a whole, a conclusion opposite to that in support of which it was referred to.

The first draft of the Book of Advertizements was prepared by the Archbishop and his colleagues very soon after the receipt of the Queen's letter of the 25th January, 1564-5, in the form of an order running in the Queen's name; and it appears, from passages in several letters, that they wished the Civil Power to undertake as much as possible of the formal responsibility of promulgating and enforcing the proposed new order, and that they anticipated very great difficulty if, without that support, the principal share of the burthen should be thrown upon the ecclesiastical jurisdiction. An opposite view, however, prevailed at Court, where some of the Queen's Ministers and courtiers were more favourable than she was herself to the views of the Puritans, and where it was as well understood as it was by the Archbishop that the measure would encounter much unpopularity and opposition, so far as it was contrary to those views.

It further appears that in the first draft of the book (which is printed at length in the Appendix to Strype's "Life of Parker," No. 28, p. 84,) there were several doctrinal articles, and other articles (about the temporalities of Bishops, the employment of schoolmasters, and the dissolution of marriages within the prohibited degrees) which were afterwards omitted, and the legality of all or some of which, under any powers then vested in the Crown, might have been more than doubtful.

That the Archbishop knew that no new "Order" could legally be taken by the sole authority of himself and his brother Commissioners, is abundantly clear.

When, on the 8th March, 1564-5, he sent the *first draft* to Secretary Cecil to be submitted to the Queen, he wrote :—

“ If the Queen’s Majesty will not authorize them, the most part be like to lie in the dust for execution of our parts ; laws be so much against our private doings.”*

This draft was not approved ; he sent it again a year afterwards (12th March, 1565-6), with a letter containing this passage :—

“ And where once, this last year, certain of us consulted and agreed upon some particularities in apparel (when the Queen’s Majesty’s letters were very general), and for that by Statute we be inhibited to set out any Constitutions without licence obtained of the Queen, I sent them to your honour to be presented. They could not be allowed then, I cannot tell of what meaning ; which I now send again, humbly praying that, if not all, yet so many as be thought good may be returned with some authority, at the least way for particular apparel ; or else we shall not be able to do so much as the Queen’s Majesty expecteth for, of us to be done.”†

That the Archbishop, both from his communications (in every stage of this business) with the Secretary of State (whose answers to him do not appear in the correspondence), and also from personal interviews with the Queen, must have had the Queen’s pleasure distinctly made known to him, is no less certain.

In a letter dated the 12th April, 1566, he gives an account of an audience which he had on the 10th of March preceding (exactly two days before his letter of the 12th March to Cecil), when he had explained to the Queen the difficulty of enforcing the uniformity desired by Her Majesty. “ I answered, that these precise folk would offer their goods and bodies to prison rather than they would relent. And Her Highness willed me to imprison them.”‡

In his official letter to Grindal, dated the 28th Marth, 1566, inclosing the Book of Advertizements, he refers to another interview which they had both then recently had with the Queen by her own command, in which she charged them “ to see her laws executed, and good Orders *decreed* and observed.”§

In the letter which he wrote on the same 28th March, to the Secretary of State, submitting the Advertizements in their final

* [Parker Corr., p. 234.]

† [Parker Corr., p. 278.]

‡ [Parker Corr., p. 263.]

§ [Parker Corr., p. 273.]

form (together with the draft of the letter to Grindal) for approval, he says :—

" I pray your Honour to peruse this draft of letters and the Book of Advertisements, with your pen, which I mean to send to my Lord of London. *This form is but newly printed, and yet stayed till I may hear your advice.* I am now fully sent to prosecute this Order and to delay no longer, and I have weeded out of these Articles all such of doctrine, &c., which, peradventure, stayed the Book from Her Majesty's approbation, and have put in but things advouchable, and, as I take them, against no law of the realm."*

They could only be "against no law of the realm" if they were issued by the Queen's authority. For what purpose were they sent to Cecil, except to obtain that authority for their promulgation, in the form and manner proposed? It is true that the words follow (which were relied upon by the Appellant's Counsel) :— " And where the Queen's Majesty will needs have me assay with mine own authority what I can do for order, I trust I shall not be stayed hereafter, saving that I would pray your Honour to have your advice to do that more prudently, in this common cause, which must needs be done." Their Lordships understand by this that the Queen had determined that the new order, made with her authority and approbation, should be *enforced* by the Metropolitan, through the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, without aid from the Privy Council or the secular power; not that the new order itself was to be without warrant, except from the sole authority of the Metropolitan, to whom, without the authorization of Crown, the law had given no power to make any such order.

The facts that this duty was undertaken by the Archbishop reluctantly and possibly against his own judgment, that his wishes and opinions were on several points overruled, and that the Book of Advertisements were promulgated, not in the form which he would have preferred, but in that imposed upon it by the Royal will, all tend to prove that it was promulgated in that form with, and not without the Queen's authority.

If, indeed, the legal effect of the Advertisements were to be judged of (as their Lordships do not think it ought to be) by the private opinion of Archbishop Parker, there is in the corre-

* [Parker Corr., p. 272.]

spondence distinct evidence that Parker, after the Advertizements were issued, considered them to be an execution of the statutory power. Writing to the Lord Treasurer, November 15, 1573,* seven years after the Advertizements were issued, he says :—

“The world is much given to innovations, never content to stay to live well. In London our fonts must go down. . . . I do but marvel what some men mean . . . with such alteration, when *order hath been taken publicly* this seven years by Commissioners, *according to the Statute*, that fonts should not be removed.”

The Advertizements had ordered† “that the fonte be not removed,” and this circumstance, and the expressions “order taken,” “this seven years,” and “Commissioners” (the Advertizements having been signed by the Bishops as Commissioners), make it clear that Parker was referring to the Advertizements. But the Advertizements could not have been a “taking of order publicly” “according to the Statute” unless they had the direct authority of the Queen.

Directions of the Advertisements as to Ornamenta. Their Lordships now turn to the part‡ of the Book of Advertizements which deals with the vestures of the Ministers. It is in these words :—

“In the ministration of the Holy Communion in Cathedral and Collegiate Churches, the principal minister shall wear a cope, with gospeller and epistoller agreeably ; and at all other prayers to be said at that Communion Table, to use no copes, but surplices.

“That the Dean and Prebendaries wear a surplice with a silk hood in the choir ; and when they preach, to use their hoods.

“Item, that every minister saying any public prayers, or ministering the Sacraments, or other rites of the Church, shall wear a comely surplice with sleeves, to be provided at the charge of the parish.”

It was not seriously contended that albs or chasubles could, in any reasonable or practical sense, or according to any known usage, be worn, or could be meant to be worn, concurrently with the surplice. If, therefore, the use of the surplice, at the administration of the Holy Communion, was rendered lawful and obligatory by these “Advertizements,” the use of albs or chasubles, at that administration, was thereby rendered unlawful.§

* Correspondence, p. 450.

† Card. Doc. Ann. 326 [p. 292, 1st Edit.].

‡ Card. Doc. Ann. [No. LXV. p. 291, 1st Edit.].

§ [For a refutation of counter-statements, see *Church Intelligencer*, vi.-128.

Their Lordships do not forget that the Book of Advertisements also contains orders upon other distinct subjects not within the 25th section of the Statute ; as to some of which it was suggested in argument that the Queen had no legislative power. But this, whether the suggestion be well or ill-founded, is for the present purpose, immaterial.

The proof of the subsequent reception and enforcement as law of the order established by the Book of Advertisements as to the vestures of the ministers of the "other order." Church in the administration of the Holy Communion throughout the Church of England from 1566 to the Great Rebellion, and again between the Restoration and St. Bartholomew's Day in 1662,* is complete.

After 1566, vestments, albs, and tunicles (copes also, in parish and non-collegiate churches) are mentioned in the official acts of the Bishops and others, performed in the *public exercise of their legal jurisdiction*, only as things associated with superstition, and to be defaced and destroyed. They were so treated by a Royal Commission sent to Oxford by Queen Elizabeth in 1573, and by the Visitation Articles of Archbishops Grindal and Sandys (York, 1571 and 1578); and Abbot and Laud (1611 and 1637); of Bishops Aylmer, Bancroft, and King (London, 1577, 1601, and 1612), and others.† The surplice, on the other hand, in a long series of Visitation Articles (sometimes accompanied by injunctions) of not less than thirty-two Archbishops and Bishops, of sixteen dioceses in England, commencing with Archbishop Parker in 1567,‡ and ending with Bishop Juxon in 1640,§ besides those of various Archdeacons, is consistently treated as the vesture required by law to be used by all ministers of the Church, not only in their other

* [In the Catalogue of the British Museum are seven editions of the *unrevised Prayer Book* (besides an ordinal of 1660), published after the Restoration, and used during those two years May 29, 1660, to August 24, 1662, to which the word "retained" in our present book refers.]

† [Among these "others" may be named Abp. Grindal, in his Metropolitical Visitation of York province, 1571, the Bp. of Carlisle, 1572, Abp. Piers (York), 1590, Abp. Abbot, 1611, and Bishops Thornborough (1603), Vaughan (1604), Babington (1607), Bp. Howson (1619), and Abp. Laud, 1628, and 1637.]

‡ 1 Card. Doc. Ann. 320.

§ 2 Rep. Rit. Com. 589.

ministrations, but expressly *in the administration of both Sacraments*. Among the most stringent in this respect are the Articles of Bishops Andrewes, Overall, and Wren. After the Restoration (if, as seems probable, the Visitations of Cosin and other Bishops in 1662, whose Articles of that year do not expressly refer to the Act 13th and 14th Car. 2, cap. 4, were held under the state of the law prior to that Act), we have not only Bishop Cosin* but Bishops Ironside of Bristol, Morley of Winchester, and eight others of as many dioceses (whose Articles of 1662 are stated in the Appendix to the 2nd Report of the Ritual Commissioners to have been the same on this point with those of Morley), all administering strict inquiries to the same effect.

This, however, is not all. There is direct proof in the same class of documents, and in others of a still more public and authoritative kind, that the Advertizements were accepted as law, as having the Queen's authority.

In a Visitation held in 1569, Bishop Parkhurst, of Norwich, inquired (not expressly mentioning the surplice), "Whether your Divine service be said or sung in due time and reverently, and the Sacraments duly and reverently ministered in such decent apparel as is appointed by the laws, the Queen's Majesty's Injunctions, and other orders set forth by public authority in that behalf." That he was referring to the Advertizements, and "by public authority," meant the authority of the Queen, seems clear from one of his "Injunctions to the Clergy" (the fourth), at the same Visitation, about perambulations, where he orders the clergy, on those occasions, not to use surplices or superstitious ceremonies, "but only give good thanks, and use such good order of prayers and homilies as be appointed by the Queen's Majesty's authority in that behalf." The use of homilies at perambulations was prescribed, not by the Injunctions of 1559, but by the Advertizements.

Bishop Cox, of Ely, in his "Injunctions" issued between 1570 and 1574, directed "that every parson, vicar, and curate shall use in the time of the celebration of Divine service to wear a surplice, prescribed by the Queen's Majesty's Injunctions and the Book of Common Prayer; and shall keep and observe all other rites and orders prescribed in the same Book of Common Prayer, as well

* Works, vol. iv., 509, 510.

about the celebration of the Sacraments, as also in their comely and priestly apparel, to be worn according to the precepts set forth in the book called "Advertisements." And, in his accompanying "Articles," he inquired, "Whether any, licensed to serve any cure, do not wear at the celebration of the Divine service and Sacraments, a comely surplice, and observeth all other rites and orders prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer, and the Queen's Majesty's Injunctions, and in the Book of Advertisements?"

Archbishop Grindal, in his Gloucester Articles of 1576, ordered the clergy "not to oppose the Queen's Injunctions, nor the Ordinations, nor Articles made by some of the Queen's Commissioners" (naming those who subscribed the Advertisements), January the 25th, in the seventh year of the Queen's reign. (The date is that of the Queen's letter mentioned in the Advertisements, not that of the promulgation of the book itself.) This alone seems to have been thought by Strype* (an historian sometimes cited for a contrary purpose) sufficient proof that the Queen must in the end have authorized the publication of the Advertisements.

Archbishop Whitgift, in his celebrated Articles of 1584,† enjoined "that all preachers and others in ecclesiastical orders do at all times wear and use such kind of apparel as is provided unto them in the Book of Advertisements and Her Majesty's Injunctions, *anno primo*."

Bishop Thornborough, of Bristol, in 1603 inquired, "Whether at any time, and during the whole celebration of Divine service and ministration of the Sacraments, in every your churches, your parson, vicar, or curate doth wear a surplice, according to the terms and statutes of this realm of England in that behalf provided; and how often default hath been made herein, and by whom?" In another Article as to Perambulations, he inquires whether the clergy say "the prayers and suffrages appointed" for that ceremony, "according to the late Queen's Majesty's Injunctions in that behalf provided, and according to the Book of Advertisements?"

The Book of Advertisements was referred to as of legal authority in several of the Canons of 1571; showing (though those Canons were not confirmed by the Crown, nor, apparently, ever put in force) the sense and understanding at that time, while the matter was still

* 1 Life of Parker, 319.

† 1 Card. Doc. Ann. 413.

recent, of the Bishops and clergy of the whole Church of England represented in the Convocations of both provinces. The 24th and 25th Canons of 1603-4, repeated, with express reference to the Advertizements, as already containing the rule to be followed ("according to the Advertizements published anno 7 Eliz." "Juxta Admonitiones in Septimo Elizabethæ promulgatas") the substance of the directions contained in the Advertizements, as to the use of surplices, &c., in cathedral and collegiate churches; and the 58th Canon, which relates to the use of surplices at the administration of the Holy Communion in parish churches, followed, with scarcely any variation, the exact words of the Advertizements on the same subject.

The Convocations which passed those Canons thought them consistent with others (the 14th, 16th, and 56th), which enjoined the strictest possible conformity with the orders, rites, and ceremonies prescribed by the Book of Common Prayer, without addition, omission, or alteration; a view quite sound and correct, if the Advertizements were a legal exercise of the statutory power given to the Crown by 1 Eliz., cap. 2, section 25; but, on the contrary supposition, erroneous and untenable. The Canons of 1603-4 received the Royal Assent; so that on that occasion there was the most formal, solemn, and public concurrence possible, of the Crown and the Convocation of both Provinces, in that understanding of the law, which had been acted upon for nearly fifty years by all the executive authorities of the Church. The Canons of 1640 (also confirmed by the Crown), which mention "*Queen Elizabeth's Injunctions and Advertizements*," carry on the public evidence of the same understanding down to the time of the Great Rebellion; and the Divines consulted by the Lords' Committee of 1641 * alleged that the High Church party "pretended, for their innovations, the Injunctions and Advertizements of Queen Elizabeth," denying, indeed, that either the Injunctions or the Advertizements were in force, "but by way of commentary and imposition;" but not disputing that the Advertizements had such authority as Queen Elizabeth by law could give them.

To this it may be added that Hooker, the greatest ecclesiastical writer between 1566 and the Protectorate, describes the Advertizements as "agreed upon by the Bishops, and confirmed by the

* Card. Conf. 273.

Queen's Majesty."* Cosin (although, in a passage which will afterwards be referred to, he appears to have at one time supposed that the conditions of the Statute had not been duly complied with) speaks of them† as made under the Queen's reserved authority; and Wren‡ as "Advertisements authorized by law" (1 Eliz. cap. 2, sect. penult.).

From all these facts, the conclusion drawn by this Committee in *Hebbert v. Purchas*, that the Advertisements of Queen Elizabeth on this subject had the force of law under 1 Elizabeth, cap. 2, section 25, appears to their Lordships to be not only warranted, but irresistible.

Nor is the weight of these facts diminished by the circumstance (which was, in the opinion of their Lordships, established by the Appellant's Counsel), that the extensive destruction of albs, vestments, and copes, mentioned in Mr. Peacock's book, and spoken of in the Judgment of *Hebbert v. Purchas* as if it had been later than the promulgation of the Advertisements, really preceded that event. The same causes which had led to the destruction, irregularly and without law,§ of a particular kind of ornaments, as to which the law, in its then provisional state, was at variance with the sentiment of the moderate, as well as of the extreme, section of the clergy of the Reformed Church, would naturally suggest the expediency of taking such order, upon the first convenient opportunity, as would give legal sanction to the disuse of those ornaments.

^{Advertisements of 1566 a statutory order under 1 Eliz. c. 2.} Reading, then, as their Lordships consider they are bound to do, the order as to vestures in the Book of Advertisements, into the 25th section of the 1st of Elizabeth, cap. 2, and omitting (for the sake of

* 3 Hooker's Works, by Keble, 6th edition, p. 587.

† 5 Works, p. 90. ‡ Parentalia, p. 75.

§ [Another view would be that the destruction of copes, &c., was due to the rubric of 1552 (re-enacted by sec. 3 of 1 Eliz. c. 2) and the 30th Injunction of 1559, both of which were acted upon during the years 1559-66, except in a few state functions, in the royal chapel, and perhaps one or two cathedrals, where copes were occasionally worn. But no vestments, albs, or tunicles were ever worn during those years: nor was the cope worn *as prescribed* by the First Prayer Book. On this view, the Advertisements constituted a "further order" under the 26th section of 1 Eliz. c. 2.]

brevity) all reference to hoods, it will appear that that section, from the year 1566 to 1662, had the same operation in law as if it had been expressed in these words: "Provided always that such ornaments of the Church and of the ministers thereof shall be retained and be in use as were in this Church of England by authority of Parliament in the second year of King Edward VI, except that the surplice shall be used by the ministers of the Church at all times of their public ministrations, and the alb, vestment or tunicle shall not be used, nor shall a cope be used except at the administration of the Holy Communion in cathedral and collegiate churches."

It is clear that, during the whole of this period, except during the interregnum of the Civil War and the Protectorate, when the Episcopalian Government of the Church and the use of the Liturgy were interrupted, this state of the law was generally understood, acted upon, and enforced by authority. It is also clear that throughout this long period the *Ornaments Rubric*, as originally printed in the Prayer Book of Queen Elizabeth, was allowed to remain unaltered. This, then, being the state of the law up to and in 1662, and the *Ornaments Rubric*, up to and at that time, *not being in any sense a complete and independent enactment*, but being merely a reference to an external law, namely, the Statute of 1st Elizabeth, cap. 2, the question has now to be asked, was it the intention, and was it the effect of the alteration in the *Ornaments Rubric* in 1662, to repeal the 25th section of the Statute of Elizabeth, and all that had been done under it, and to set up a new and self-contained law on the subject of ornaments?

The history of the Revision of the Prayer Book is
Revision of 1662. strongly opposed to such a conclusion.

The Puritans, in their 18th "General Exception," at the Savoy Conference, stated various objections of principle to ceremonies in the Church, especially as to three matters: (1) the surplice; (2) the sign of the Cross in Baptism; and (3) kneeling at the Holy Communion. Following up their general "exceptions" with objections in detail to particular parts of the Book of Common Prayer, they said, commenting on the *Ornaments Rubric*, as it stood before the revision of 1662, "Forasmuch as this Rubric *seemeth* to bring back the cope, albs, &c., and other vestments *forbidden* by the *Common Prayer Book*,"^{*} 5th and 6th Edward the Sixth,

* [See footnote to p. 9, *supra*.]

and for our reasons alleged against ceremonies under our 18th General Exception, we desire it may be wholly left out."

Baxter* seems to treat the objection as having been founded on the words in the Rubric "at the time of the Communion." "They excepted," he says, "against that part of the Rubric which, *speaking of the Sacraments to be used in the Church*, left room to bring back the cope, albe, and other vestments."

The words "seemeth to bring back," assumed that those vestures of the First Book of King Edward were not practically in use under that Rubric. The words did not suggest—and they would have been erroneous if they had suggested—more than that the Rubric had the *appearance of giving them some legal authority*. The real substance of the objection was in the reference to the 18th General Exception, and in the request that the whole Rubric might be omitted, with the object, manifestly, of getting rid of the surplice. The Bishops do not appear to have considered the suggestion about "seeming to bring back," &c., worthy of particular notice. It would have been easy to answer it by showing that, under the Statute to which that Rubric referred, the surplice had been legally substituted for the albs, &c. But knowing that the surplice itself was the only thing really in controversy, they contented themselves with saying: "For the reasons given in our answer" (in which they had defended ceremonies generally, and the surplice particularly, but *had said nothing about copes, albs, or vestments*) "to the 18th General Exception to which you refer us, we think it fit that the Rubric continue as it is."

* History of Life and Times, cap. 8, p. 155.

[A few months before his death Baxter brought out a second edition of his "English Nonconformity" in which he said of the Ornaments Rubric: "Against this we have these Exceptions.

"1. We know not what was then in use, and therefore cannot consent to we know not what.

"2. We are told that the albe, and many other ornaments were then in use, *that are since put down*, and we must not consent to restore them, without more reason than we hear. And the Canon enumerating the Ornaments now, we suppose the addition of all those will contradict it.

"3. We meet with few Conformists that know what was then in use. And we see that all those that subscribe or consent to this, yet use them not. And we will not run for company into a solemn Covenant consent, to the use of

Although the Bishops would not yield on this point, it could not have been their intention, when they "thought it fit that the Rubric should *continue as it was*," to abolish the use of the surplice,* and restore the ancient vestures, in any office in which, as the law then stood, the surplice was the vesture proper to be used. No one who holds in respect the memory of the Ecclesiastical Legislature of that day (whose revision of the Prayer Book was accepted by Parliament, almost *sub silentio*) could impute to them a deliberate intention, *covertly* to alter the substance of the law as to the vestures of the clergy (which they had in the Conference declared their *intention to leave unchanged*), by changes apparently verbal and trivial, in a Rubric, *possessing down to that time no legislative authority*, and on which they themselves, as will be seen in the sequel, never meant to act, and never did act, in any such sense.

The declarations of the Legislature which bear upon this question are (1) the recitals in the preamble of the Act of 1662, and in the second section of that Act; and (2) the preface to the Prayer Book.

The preamble of the Act of 1662 recites that the Commission on which the annexed book was founded had been ordered "for settling the peace of the Church, and for allaying the present distempers, which the indisposition of the time had contracted."

The restoration of vestures which had not been in use for nearly a hundred years, and had become associated, *not in the popular mind only*, with the idea of superstition, cannot well be supposed to have been contemplated by the Legislature as a change conducive to the peace of the Church, or to agreement within its pale

those things that we see *no body* use. The second year of King Edw. 6, was the minority of the Reformation, and before we consent to make it our pattern, we must know what it was, and whether no Act of Parliament have since reversed that which then was used."

His "thirtieth point" was "Of Canon 58, that maketh the surplice necessary to ministration;" and about a score of the Canons of 1604 were also adduced by him as furnishing various "points" of objection in 1690.

It will be seen that although twenty-eight years had elapsed since the new "rubric" came into force, not one of the conforming clergy had used the ornaments of 1548, which Baxter admits had been "put down."]

* [For it must be borne in mind that no priest was *allowed* to celebrate in a surplice under the First Pr. Bk. of Ed.]

even when that pale might have been contracted by the secession of those from whom conformity was not to be looked for. And if it had been intended not merely to continue an existing and well-known state of things, but to revive uses long obsolete, and to prohibit all things previously in legal use, which were not prescribed by the First Book of King Edward, it can hardly have been expected that the desired certainty of rule, and agreement in practice, would have been attained by a vague reference to a Prayer Book *not generally accessible.**

Of the "Preface" to the Book of 1662 it is to be observed (1) that it disallows, as without warrant in law, the practical interruption, during the Rebellion and the Protectorate, of the use of the Liturgy, "though enjoined by the laws of the land, and *those laws never yet repealed*;" † (2) that none of the general reasons thereby assigned for the revision, and for the alterations then made, are such as to make it at all probable that for any of those reasons the old vestures would be restored; and (3) that a comparison of the new language with the old is thereby expressly invited, for the purpose of arriving at a just view of the reasons for particular changes; "If any man, who shall desire a more particular account of the several alterations in any part of the Liturgy, shall take the pains to compare the present Book with the former, we doubt not but the reason for the change may easily appear."

Entering then upon the comparison so invited, the first material observation is that on the one hand, the Statute
 No change made in 1662. I Elizabeth, cap. 2, is reprinted at the beginning of the book as *an unrepealed and effective law, and, indeed, is transcribed in the Manuscript Book approved and signed by the two Convocations;* and, on the other hand, the Ornaments Rubric of 1662 occupies the same place, and *primâ facie* retains the

* [That the first Prayer Book was little known is testified by L'Estrange and Collier. Cosin's son-in-law had great difficulty in procuring a sight of it; and the way in which L'Estrange's reprint (the only one which then existed) misled men like Bingham and Prynne can be seen in the facsimile published by the Church Association in their Tract XCIII, "Additional Evidence as to the Ornaments Rubric, No. 2," p. 4, price One Penny.]

† [So far from being "repealed," the I Eliz. c. 2 was incorporated into the Prayer Book of 1662.]

same general office and character which it had in the former book, in which (as has been already said) it was a note of reference to an *external law*, namely, that contained in the 25th section of the Statute, still printed at the beginning of the book. Their Lordships cannot look upon this Rubric as being otherwise than what it was before, a memorandum or note of reference to that law. Except for its *new* Parliamentary authority (which is a matter scarcely entering into the comparison of the old with the new language), it would certainly be so. It is true that the former express reference to the act of Elizabeth at the end of the Rubric is omitted. But, on the other hand, the Act itself is exhibited as a law *still in force*, and the effect and obvious purpose of all the changes in the wording of the Rubric (with a single exception) is to make it, as far as it goes, a mere extract from, and a simple repetition of the words of the Act. The important words of the Act, "until other order shall be therein taken," &c., are not now for the first time left out; the former Rubric had also stopped short of them when *it could not possibly control their legal effect*. If the manuscript alterations in the handwriting of Sancroft acting as Cosin's secretary (much dwelt upon by the Appellant's Counsel), could for this purpose be accepted as evidence, they would prove, as a matter of fact, that the charge was made because (in the language of the manuscript) "these are the words of *the Act itself*." Their Lordships do not think that such evidence is admissible; but the same reason is legitimately to be inferred from the comparison suggested by the preface to the Prayer Book. It is easy to understand why the words of the Act should be as closely as possible adhered to, if those words as found in that Act, were still *the law authoritatively governing the matter*. The words "shall be retained and be in use" were not in the former Rubric, but they were in the Statute. If intended as a mere extract from the Statute, or to continue and carry forward in 1662 the use of those things which *were then actually*, or in contemplation of law, *in use under that Statute*, they are apt and appropriate; but if it was meant to bring back an old and long disused state of things, by making the Rubric of 1662, for that purpose a new point of departure, while repealing the 25th section of 1 Elizabeth, cap. 2, and all that had been done under it, the substitution of this particular language for the words of the former Rubric, "the Minister shall use," &c., and the

recurrence to the exact phraseology of the enactment about to be superseded, would seem to be the most inappropriate way conceivable of accomplishing that object.

The only other alteration (which is also the single deviation in the Rubric of 1662, as far as it goes, from the language of the 25th section of 1 Eliz., cap. 2), is this. In that section the words were, "such ornaments of the Church and of the Ministers thereof shall be retained and be in use as was in this Church," &c. The Rubric in use before 1662 was that of 1559, as reprinted in the book of 1603-4, which said, "The Minister, *at the time of the Communion, and at all other times in his ministration,* shall use such ornaments in the Church as were in use," &c. In the Rubric of 1662 they are, "such ornaments of the Church, and of the Ministers thereof, at all times of their ministration, shall be retained and be in use as were in this Church," &c.; the words "*at all times of their ministration,*" being interpolated into the context, of which the rest is extracted from the Act of Elizabeth. What is the reason for this change, discoverable (according to the rule of the preface to the Prayer Book) from a comparison of the new language with the old? The old language (*i.e.* that of the former Rubric) seemed to imply a distinction which really existed when it was used in 1559, between the ornaments of the Minister at the time of the Communion and his ornaments at other times in his ministration, and the objection at the Savoy Conference as understood by Baxter (than whom no one was better acquainted with all that passed) seems to have been an apparent recognition or admission of this distinction. That distinction, in all parish and non-collegiate Churches, had been abolished by the Advertisements and the practice under them. The new words (though not incapable of being read distributively, if and so far as such a distinction might still continue in law), ceased to imply, or to seem to imply, any such distinction.* If the words of the Statute had

* [It is not "the several times," but at "all" times. For as Bp. Geste in 1559 told Cecil, the Prime Minister of Elizabeth—

"Because it is thought sufficient to use but a surplice in baptizing, reading, preaching, and praying, therefore it is enough for the celebrating of the Communion. For if we should use another garment herein, it should seem to teach us that higher and better things be given by it than be given

been in this place simply followed, there would have been less force in the alteration ; but these words, "at all times of their ministration," are put in as if to give emphasis to the change, and to direct attention to the fact that, in the then state of the law, the use of the same vestures by the Minister, at all times of his ministration, was the ordinary and the general rule. Such a change of language here would have been most extraordinary if it had been intended to recur in all the Churches of the Kingdom to those distinctions to which the Advertisements had put an end, but which the terms of the former Rubric seem to recognize. On the other hand, it was a natural change of language, if the object was to remove some part, at least, of the ground for the Puritan objection, that the former Rubric "seemed to bring back" the abolished vestures.

This explanation of the change is, in fact, the only one which is in harmony with or which could justify the note or list of alterations in the book now deposited in the Library of the House of Lords, "out of which was fairly written" * the Book of Common Prayer subscribed on the 20th of December, 1661, by the Convocations of Canterbury and York, and which book, so subscribed, was by those Convocations "exhibited and presented to the King, and sent by the King to the House of Lords on the 25th of February, 1661-2. This original book, from which the transcript was thus made, contains the actual record of all alterations and additions made by the Convocations, clearly written in manuscript in a printed Prayer Book of 1636, and at the beginning a tabular list of the material alterations. It was delivered by the House of Lords to the House of Commons as the authority for the book "fairly written" which was to be referred to in the Act ; and it is impossible to doubt that the tabular list of alterations contained in

by the other service, which we must not believe."—Dugdale's Life of Bp. Geste, p. 145.

In the *Reformatio Legum*. (*De hæresibus*, cap 19), the Reformers said, "Denique nullum relinquimus majorem Eucharistiae venerationem quam Baptismi et verbi Dei."]

* *Lord's Journal*, April 10, 1662. [The book was photozincographed for the Ritual Commission. The history of the "tabular list" is traced in Mr. Milton's "Church Perplexities," published by J. F. Shaw.]

it was inserted for the purpose of enabling the changes which Parliament was asked to sanction to be well understood. This tabular list sets out in parallel columns all the material changes which had been made from the old form, among which no mention of the Rubric in question occurs, and there is then a note added in these words : "These are all ye materiall alterations, ye rest are only verbal, or ye changing of some Rubricks for ye better performing of ye Service, or ye new moulding some of the Collects."

To repeal in 1662 the 25th section of the Statute of the 1st Elizabeth, and the order taken under its authority, would have required either a clear and distinct repealing enactment, or an enactment inconsistent and irreconcilable with the former law. It was admitted in the argument, and indeed could not be denied, that *the Statute of Elizabeth was not repealed* in terms ; and it is in fact, as has been already observed, set forth as the first enactment in the new Prayer Book. The Statute is also beyond question one of those "good laws and statutes for the uniformity of prayer and administration of the Sacrament," which by the 24th section of the Act of 1662 are declared to "stand in full force and strength, to all intents and purposes whatsoever for the establishing and confirming " of the new Book, and which are thereby directed to be "applied, practised, and put in use for the punishing of all offences contrary to the said laws, with relation to the Book aforesaid, and no other."

In order to judge whether there is anything inconsistent and irreconcilable between the Ornaments Rubric in the new Prayer Book and the 25th section of the older statute, that section must be read as if the order taken under the section had been inserted in it. And, as so read, their Lordships see nothing inconsistent between the Rubric and the section. The Rubric served, as it had long previously served, as a note to remind the Church that the general standard of ornaments, both of the church and of the ministers, was to be that established by the authority of Parliament in 1549 ; but that this standard was set up under a law, *still unrepealed*, which engrafted on the standard a qualification that, as to the vestures of parish ministers, the surplice, and not the alb, vestment, or tunicle, should be used.

No doubt can be entertained that for nearly two centuries,

succeeding 1662, the public and official acts of the Bishops and clergy of the Church, and of all other persons, were inconsistent with the supposition that the Rubric of 1662 had made any change in the law.

During the twenty-five years immediately succeeding the legislation of 1662, we have a series of Visitation Articles (those of fifteen Bishops and one Archbishop, of thirteen dioceses, printed either at length or by collation with Bishop Morley's form, in the Appendix to the Second Report of the Ritual Commissioners, pp. 609, 611, 615, 632, 639, 642, 645, 649, 653-4), which prove conclusively that those whose official duty it was to see the law observed, and of whose strictness in the performance of that duty the same Articles supply abundant evidence, understood the law still to be that the surplice was always to be used by the clergy officiating in the administration of the Holy Communion.

This list does not include any articles of the year 1662 except* those of Bishops Hacket of Lichfield and Henchman of Salisbury, who both expressly refer to the Act of Uniformity of that year. Upon the point in question, Bishop Hacket inquires in 1662 thus :—

"Have you a decent surplice, one or more, for your parson, vicar, curate, or lecturer to wear in the time of all public ministrations? Hath he read the Book of Common Prayer as it is enjoined by the late Act of Uniformity for public prayer, administration of the Sacrament, &c., on some Sunday before the 24th August last past, and did and doth he wear *the* surplice while he performed that office and other offices mentioned in that Common Prayer Book?" (*Ibid.*, p. 609.)

Bishop Henchman (*Ibid.*, p. 611) inquires :

"Doth your minister, reading Divine Service, and administering the Sacraments, and other rites of the Church, wear *the* surplice according to the Canons?" †

Subsequently, in 1663, 1664, 1666, 1671, 1672, 1674, 1676,

* [A much more complete list is given, with vouchers, in Tract LXXXIX., published by the Church Association.]

† [The Canons of 1604 were reprinted in 1660 and in 1662 by "His Majesty's authority."—Kennet's Chron. 725.]

1677, 1679, 1683 and 1686, Articles to the same effect, in different forms, but all equally cogent, were administered by the other prelates, whose Visitations have been referred to. Bishop Morley's form, adopted by nine other prelates in those years, and used by himself in 1674 (as he and nine others had also used it in 1662, when the form of the Revised Rubric had been settled by the two Convocations, but before it became law), is this :—

Art. 5 (concerning churches, &c.) :—"Have you a comely, large surplice for the minister to wear at all times of his public ministration in the Church?"

Art. 7 (concerning ministers) :—"Doth your minister, at the reading or celebrating any Divine Office in your church or chapel, wear *the* surplice, together with such other scholastical habit, as is suitable to his degree?" (*Ibid.*, p. 615.)

Bishop Henchman, in 1664 (then translated to London), and Bishop Pearson of Chester, in 1674, used this form :—

Art. 7 (concerning churches, &c.) :—The same as Bishop Morley's.

Art. 4 (concerning ministers) :—"Doth your minister, in the Morning and Evening Service, in the administration of the Sacraments, and in performing other religious offices appointed by the Church of England, use the respective forms in the Book of Common Prayer, together with all those rites and ceremonies which are enjoined in this Church; and doth he make use of *the* surplice when he reads Divine Service or administers the Sacraments?" (*Ibid.*, pp. 632, 642.)

Bishops Morley and Henchman were two of the three Prelates (Archbishop Sheldon being the third) who are stated by Baxter* to have "managed all things" at the Savoy Conference. Archbishop Sheldon, in his Circular Letter to the officials of his diocese in 1670,† directs them to require that all parsons, vicars, and curates, "in the time of their officiating, ever make use of and wear their priestly habit, *the* surplice and hood."

Archbishop Sancroft, in 1686, also used Bishop Morley's form under the head "Concerning churches;" and, under that "Concerning the Clergy," his 7th Article runs thus :—

"Doth your parson, vicar, or curate read Divine Service on all

* Life and Times, 171-2.

† 2 Card. Doc. An., 276-9.

Sundays, and publicly administer the holy Sacraments of Baptism and the Eucharist, and perform all other ministerial offices and duties, in such manner and form as is directed by the Book of Common Prayer lately established, and the Act of Uniformity therewith published . . . without addition, *diminution, or alteration?* And doth he in those his ministrations wear *the* surplice, with a hood or tippet befitting his degree?" (*Ibid.*, p. 654.)

It was not disputed at the Bar that the subsequent practice in parish and non-collegiate churches till about 1840 or later was uniformly consistent with this view of the law.

As public declarations of what was understood to be the state of the law shortly after the completion of the revision in 1662, their Lordships may refer in the first place to the statement of Bishop Sparrow. Sparrow was Bishop of Exeter in 1684. He had been one of the Commissioners at the Savoy Conference. In 1655 he published his "Rationale" of the Book of Common Prayer, which then contained nothing* as to the Ornaments Rubric or the ornaments of the minister. In 1684, after the Revision, he published a new edition, and thus (p. 337) states the law as then understood. "The minister in time of his ministration shall use such ornaments as were in use in the 2nd Edward VI, Rubric 2 :—viz. a surplice in the ordinary ministrations, and a cope in time of ministration of the Holy Communion in Cathedral and Collegiate churches."—Queen Elizabeth's Articles, set forth the seventh year of her reign."

Their Lordships may further refer to the alterations proposed by the Commissioners of 1689 [appointed to revise the Prayer Book, with a view to the relief of Dissenters.]† The Rubric proposed by them to be substituted for the Ornaments Rubric may be taken to be a statement of what at that time was understood to be the state of the law: "*Whereas the surplice is appointed to be used by all ministers in performing Divine Offices,* it is hereby declared that it is continued only as being an antient and decent habit. But if any minister shall declare to his Bishop that he cannot satisfye his

* [It appeared first in the edition of 1657. Also in the editions of 1661, 1664, 1668, 1672, and 1676. He evidently knew of no change in the law during the interval.]

† Ho. of Com. Papers, vol. 36 (1854).

conscience in the use of the surplice, in that case the Bishop shall dispense with his not using it," &c.

And the "Bill of Comprehension" introduced into Parliament by the King's authority about the same time contained a clause* framed on the same principle.

It is abundantly clear that, if any person had imagined that the Prayer Book of 1662 introduced a change on this subject, there were very many who would gladly have acted on it. No instance has been given of any person having acted on it. On the other hand, every one continued to act according to the old law, although, if the argument of the Appellant is correct, every one in so doing was acting illegally. *The practice,—consistent with the old law, inconsistent with the argument of the Appellant,—has been uniform, open, continuous, and under authoritative sanction.*

What, then, in a question of this nature, is the weight in law of such contemporaneous and continual usage? Their Lordships may take the answer to this question from the words, either of Lord Campbell, in *Gordon v. Bishop of Exeter*;† or of Chief Baron Pollock in *Pochin v. Duncombe*;‡ or of Dr. Lushington in *Westerton v. Liddell*.§

Lord Campbell, referring to a Statute of 25 Henry VIII, cap. 19, said :—

"Were the language of the Statute obscure, instead of being clear, we should not be justified in differing from the construction put upon it by contemporaneous and long-continued usage. There would be no safety for property or liberty, if it could be successfully contended that all lawyers and statesmen have been mistaken for centuries as to the true meaning of an old Act of Parliament."

Chief Baron Pollock, with reference to the maxim—"Contemporanea expositio fortissima est in lege," said :—

"The rule amounts to no more than this, that if the Act be susceptible of the interpretation which has thus been put upon it by long usage, the Court will not disturb that construction."

Dr. Lushington said :—

"Usage, for a long series of years, in ecclesiastical customs especially, is entitled to the greatest respect; it has every presumption in its favour; but it cannot contravene or prevail against

* MS. in Burnet Papers, Cardw. Conf., p. 457.

† 15 Q.B., 73, 74. ‡ 1 H. and N. 856. § Moore, separate Report, 79.

positive law ; though, where doubt exists, it might turn the balance."

A Church Rubric, taking the form of directions to be acted on by large numbers of persons from week to week, and from day to day, is a subject above all others for exposition by contemporaneous and continual usage, and the principles laid down in the cases to which their Lordships have referred, fortified as they easily might be by many other authorities, seem to their Lordships to be decisive of the present question.

What their Lordships have already said is sufficient to show that, in their opinion, according to the ordinary principles of legal construction and interpretation, the Ornaments Rubric of 1662, on the subject of the vestures of ministers, *cannot*, any more than the Rubric on the same subject which preceded it, be looked at *otherwise than in connection with the Statute of the 1st of Elizabeth, cap. 2.* They may, however, also point out a singular incongruity which might arise from looking at it unconnected with the Statute. The Rubric states that such ornaments of the ministers, at all times of their ministration, shall be retained and be in use as were in the Church by authority of Parliament in 1549, that is, under the First Prayer Book of Edward VI. But under the Book of 1549 the Rubric as to the vestures in the Communion Service is confined to that office, and the general Rubric at the end of the Book is confined to the saying, or singing, of Matins and Evensong, baptizing, and burying. There does not, therefore, appear in the Book of 1549 to be any imperative direction as to the use of the surplice or any other vesture in the Marriage Service, in the churching of women, or by ministers assisting the Bishop in the office of Confirmation, in the Commination Service, or in the saying of the Litany, which in that Book was not connected with Matins or Evensong. These omissions, however, were filled up by the Advertisements issued under the Statute which provided that every minister saying any public prayers, or ministering the Sacraments, or other rites of the Church, should wear a comely surplice. If, therefore, the Act and the Advertisements are read in connection with the Rubric, the use in the latter of the words "at *all* times of their ministration" may be justified : whereas those words are inaccurate if applied merely to the Prayer Book of 1549.

Bennet *versus* Cosin. The learned Counsel for the Appellant, in the course of their argument, placed considerable reliance on passages in certain books published during the 18th, and in the present, centuries by writers who, however learned, were not entitled to speak with any legal authority, and some of whom appear to have expressed opinions adverse to the legality of the usage as to the vestures of clergymen, which they admit prevailed up to the time at which they wrote.

It would, in the opinion of their Lordships, be contrary to well-settled principles of law to admit private opinions to control the legal interpretation of public documents, or legal inferences from public acts or usage ; but it may be not without advantage to point out the circumstances under which the opinions of these writers appear to have been expressed.

One of the books referred to by the Appellant's Counsel was Doctor Thomas Bennet's "Paraphrase, with Annotations upon the Book of Common Prayer." The second edition of this book was published in 1709, and the earlier edition (the date of which their Lordships have not observed) must have been still nearer the year 1662. Both editions were published before Cosin's Notes on the Prayer Book were printed, and their Lordships will, in the first place, refer to those notes, and to the writers who followed.

Three sets of Notes on the Prayer Book (as it stood before 1662), by Cosin, were published by Nicholls in 1710, the first set being supposed to have been written by Cosin some time before, and the two others at different times after 1630, but all before the revision of 1662.

In the first Notes* he had originally suggested that the clergy, as the law then stood, were "all still bound to wear albs and vestments, howsoever it was neglected ;" and that the 14th and 58th Canons of 1603-4 were inconsistent with each other. But perceiving some time afterwards (at what time afterwards is uncertain) that he had, in making that Note, overlooked the terms of the Statute (1 Eliz., cap. 2, sec. 25), he added : "But the Act of Parliament,

* Cosin's Works, vol. 5, p. 42. [Nicholls did not attribute the "First" series to Cosin : and they were certainly not his at all. See Meyrick's "Two Letters to the Abps. and Bps." (Rivingtons), and *Church Intelligencer*, Vol. III. p. 115.]

I see, refers to the Canon, and until such time as other order shall be taken."†

In another passage of the same set of Notes (*Ibid.*, p. 90), he had distinctly recognized the authority of those Articles of the Advertisements which relate to this matter, as a due exercise of the powers given to the Crown by that statute, with reference to a point which might depend on Section 26 rather than on section 25. "For cathedral churches," he there says, "It was ordained by the Advertisements in Queen Elizabeth's time (that authority being reserved, notwithstanding this book, by Act of Parliament), that there should be an Epistoller and Gospeller, besides the priest, &c." And, in the execution of his official duty as Archdeacon of the East Riding of York, in 1627, he administered to the churchwardens then under his jurisdiction very stringent articles (not adopted without change from forms previously in use, but revised and altered under his own hand), in which the use of the surplice by the parochial clergy, when administering the Sacraments, was treated as legally necessary, and never to be omitted.* In his later Notes, and also in his suggested corrections of the Prayer Book, he repeated the view which had been expressed in the uncorrected form of his first Note, giving, however, no reason for that opinion, except such as may be inferred from a passage at p. 233 of vol. 5 of his "Works," where, after quoting the words of 1 Eliz., cap. 2, sec. 25, he says: "which other order, so qualified as is here appointed to be, was never yet made."

From this it may be concluded that Cosin's opinion at that time was founded either on some technical view of the informality of the Advertisements, or on some conclusions as to matters of fact, with respect to which (as they involved no question of peculiar ecclesiastical learning) his authority was certainly not greater than that of any other man.

After the Restoration, Cosin was made Bishop of Durham; and in his Visitation Articles of 1662, already mentioned (which may be assumed, according to the Appellant's argument, to have been anterior to St. Bartholomew's Day in that year), he still considered

* See his Correspondence published by the Surtees Society, vol. 1, p. 106; and Preface; also "Works," vol. 2, p. 9.

† [This criticism was added by Cosin himself at a later date.]

it to be his duty to treat the use of the surplice in the administration of both Sacraments as matter of legal obligation on all the parochial clergy.

The result appears to be that the opinions recorded in the private Notes of this divine, at different periods of his life, are *not consistent with each other*; while those of them which are adverse to the validity of the Advertizements are inconsistent with his *official acts* done in the exercise of a legal jurisdiction, and in the discharge of his public duty, *both before and afterwards*.

The private Notes of Cosin, however, originally written before 1662, and made known to the public half a century or more after they were written, appear to have been adopted without much examination by writers who have followed. Bishop Gibson, in the "Codex" published in 1713, apparently echoing Cosin's words, says :—

"Which other order (at least in the method prescribed by this Act) was never yet made; and, therefore, *legally*" [the *italics* are Gibson's], "the ornaments of ministers, in performing Divine Service, are the same now as they were in 2 Edw. VI."

Burn, in his Ecclesiastical Law, follows Gibson, as Gibson had followed Cosin. Dr. Cardwell, the last author cited, *erroneously supposed* that there was a judicial decision which had established that an instrument under the Great Seal was necessary for a due execution of the Parliamentary power, and, for that reason, only, he concluded that the Book of Advertizements had not the force of law.*

Their Lordships will now refer to the opinion expressed by the other author, Bennet, already mentioned, whose work was published before Cosin's Notes were made public.

He states† the Rubrics of 1549, 1559, and 1662, and then proceeds thus :—

"From hence it seems to follow that the present Rubric, and that of Queen Elizabeth, which are in effect the very same, do restore those ornaments which were abolished by King Edward VI's Second Book, and which, indeed, have been disused *ever since that time*.

* Cardwell, Confer., p. 38, note. [Compare above, p. 11.]

† Paraphrases with Annotations upon the Book of Common Prayer, 2nd edition, pp. 4, 5.

But it must be considered that in the latter part of the Act of Uniformity, 1 Eliz., there is this clause ('*until other order*,' &c.) ; this clause explains Queen Elizabeth's Rubric, and, consequently, the present one, which is, in reality, the same. So that those ornaments of the Church and its ministry which were required in the second year of King Edward were to be retained till the Queen (and, consequently, any of her successors), with the advice before specified, should take other order. Now, such other order was accordingly taken by the Queen in 1564,* which was the seventh of her reign. For she did then, with the advice of her Ecclesiastical Commissioners, particularly the then Metropolitan, Dr. Matthew Parker, publish certain Advertizements, wherein are the following directions :”—

[He then quotes the Advertizements, and afterwards states the Canons.]

“ From hence 'tis plain that the parish priests (and I take no notice of the case of others) are obliged to use no other ornaments but surplices and hoods. For these are authentic limitations of the Rubric, which seems to require *all* such ornaments as were in use in the second year of King Edward's reign. Besides, since *from the beginning of* Queen Elizabeth's reign down to our own times, the disuse of them has most notoriously been allowed ; therefore, though it were not strictly reconcilable with the letter of the Rubric, yet we cannot be supposed to be under any obligation to restore the use of them. And, indeed, if that practice which our Governors do openly and constantly permit and approve be not admitted for a good interpretation of laws, whether ecclesiastical or civil, I fear it will be impossible to clear our hands of many repugnances of different kinds besides this under debate.”

It only remains to consider the bearing on this part of the present case of the former decisions of the Judicial Committee in *Liddell v. Westerton* and *Martin v. Mackonochie*.

As to *Liddell v. Westerton*, everything said and done in that case to which the Rubric of 1562 was material, had reference exclusively to ornaments of the church. The Court had “nothing to do with the ornaments of the minister or

* [i.e. 1564, Old Style. The date (Jan. 25, 1565, New Style) being that of the Queen's Letter, *not* of the Advertizements issued under it in the following year, 1566.]

anything appertaining thereto."—(Moore's separate Report, p. 31.) The questions whether the power of the Crown, under the 1st Elizabeth, cap. 2, sec. 25, had ever been duly exercised, and (if so) with what effect; whether the Rubric of 1662 was to be read with that section, as a law still in force, or not; what would be the effect of so reading it, and whether any aid towards the solution of those questions might be derivable from usage, either before or after 1662, and what such usage had been, were none of them before Dr. Lushington, or the Court of Arches, or the Judicial Committee. It was not suggested that anything had ever been done under the 1st Elizabeth, cap. 2, sec. 25, as to any "Ornaments of the *Church*."^{*} Under these circumstances it was sufficient, as well as most convenient, to refer to the Rubric, and to that alone; the effect of which was *as to that matter*, simply coincident, and identical with that of the section in the Act of Elizabeth, assuming it to be then in force.

It is perfectly consistent that the Rubric should speak with the authority of the Statute, *so far as* the language and effect of both are identical, and yet should not supersede or control the operation of that part of the Statute which it does *not* in terms repeat.

It is true that Dr. Lushington did, in more than one passage of his Judgment, signify his assent to what he described as the

"Irresistible argument that the last Statute of Uniformity, by referring to the First Book of Common Prayer of Edward VI, excluded not only the Second Book but everything else effected in the interval between 1549 and 1662, whether by Act of Parliament or by Canon, which could or might have altered what existed in 1549; and, consequently, that nothing done from 1549 to 1662, however lawful during that period, had in itself force or binding authority after the Statute of 1662 came into operation."

Everything which fell from that very learned Judge is entitled to most respectful consideration; but he had not been (as their Lordships now have been) *upon the path of inquiry which was really necessary to support or to disprove that proposition.*

Nothing to the same effect is to be found in the Judgment of the Judicial Committee, which overruled that part of Dr. Lushington's

* [This proceeds on the assumption that the "altar" of Edward's First Book was not an "ornament of the Church." It was held in *Liddell v. Westerton* to be illegal.]

Judgment in which these *dicta* occur, reversing his decision and that of the Court of Arches as to the crosses *not* connected with the Communion Table ; and also rejecting as erroneous his view of the meaning of the words "ornaments of the church" as used in the Rubric ; which view had nevertheless been held in both the Courts below to be clear and indisputable.

There is, however, in the Judgment of the Judicial Committee, delivered by Mr. Pemberton Leigh, the following passage, which has been much relied on by the Appellant :—

" It will be observed that this Rubric (that of 1559) does not adopt precisely the language of the Statute, but expresses the same thing in other words. The Statute says: 'such ornaments of the church, and of the ministers thereof, shall be retained and be in use;' the Rubric 'that the minister shall use such ornaments in the Church.' The Rubric to the Prayer Book of January 1, 1604, adopts the language of the Rubric of Elizabeth. The Rubric to the present Prayer Book adopts the language of the Statute of Elizabeth. But they all obviously mean the same thing ; that the same dresses, and the same utensils, or articles which were *used* under the First Prayer Book of Edward VI, may still be *used*. None of them, therefore, can have any reference to articles *not used* in the services, but set up in churches as ornaments *in the sense of decorations.*"

This passage has been the subject, as it appears to their Lordships, of remarkable misconception. It was sufficient for the purpose of the question as to crosses then before the Judicial Committee, to consider only the meaning of the exact words of the Rubric itself, standing alone, and the words corresponding to them which were found in the Statute of Elizabeth and the Rubric of 1559 ; and to do this with a view only to the interpretation of the two particular *phrases*, "ornaments of the church," and "by authority of Parliament in the second year of the reign of King Edward VI." For that purpose of *verbal* exposition the statement in this passage of the Judgment (with the exception of a somewhat inaccurate expression as to the Rubric of 1604) was unexceptionably correct. The words of the Rubric of 1662, *standing alone*, and the corresponding words in the Statute of Elizabeth and the Rubric of 1559 and 1604, do mean what is there stated, neither more nor less. In the Act of Elizabeth there are *other and further words*, the effect of which, if still in force, is

in the present case very important; but in that part of the judgment of *Liddell v. Westerton*, any examination of the effect of those words, or of the questions arising out of them with reference to any ornaments of the ministers of the Church, would have been absolutely irrelevant. *Judges weigh their words with reference to the questions which they have to consider, and not with reference to questions which are not before them.* If what was then said could properly be applied to a purpose not then in contemplation, the statement that the words of the 25th section of the Act of Elizabeth, the Rubric of 1559 and 1604, and the Rubric of 1662, "all obviously mean the same thing," might more reasonably be alleged in proof that the Judicial Committee thought the words "according to the Act of Parliament set forth in the beginning of this Book," or the words "until other order taken therein," &c., were still implied at the end of the Rubric of 1662, than the succeeding words can be relied on to show that they held all the vestures of the clergy prescribed by the First Book of King Edward to be lawful at all the three epochs referred to—1559, 1604, and 1662.

With respect to the decision of the Judicial Committee in *Martin v. Mackonochie* little need be said. There, too, it was sufficient to consider the effect of the mere words of the Rubric of 1662, repeating (as it did) in 1662 the language of the Act of the first year of Elizabeth, on a point *unaffected by anything done in the meantime*. The points determined in *Liddell v. Westerton* are succinctly stated, approved, and followed. There is no reference to the particular passage, in the judgment of *Liddell v. Westerton*, on which the Appellant's Counsel rely; though, if there had been, their Lordships would have been of opinion, for the reasons already stated, that the present question would be in no way affected by it.

Their Lordships, for these reasons, which, out of respect for the elaborate arguments so earnestly addressed to them, and not from any hesitation as to the decision at which they should arrive, they have expressed at a length greater than is usual, are of opinion that the decision of the learned Judge of the Arches Court as to the vestments worn by the Appellant, following that of this Committee in *Hebbert v. Purchas*, is correct, and ought to be affirmed.

Their Lordships will now proceed to consider the charge against the Appellant with reference to his position during the Prayer of Consecration.

The allegation upon that head is that the Appellant, when officiating in the Service of the Holy Communion,
EASTWARD POSITION. unlawfully stood, while saying the Prayer of

Consecration in the said Service, at the middle of the west side of the Communion Table, such Communion Table then standing against the east wall, with its shorter side towards the north and south, in such wise that during the whole time of his saying the said prayer he was between the people and the Communion Table, with his back to the people, so that the people could not see him break the bread or take the cup in his hand.

The rule by which the position of the minister during the celebration of the Holy Communion is to be determined must be found in the Rubrical directions of the Communion Office in the Prayer Book, there being, as to this matter, nothing in any Statute to control or supplement those directions.

In examining these directions, their Lordships propose to put aside the argument, very much pressed upon them, that the proper and only proper position for the Communion Table is in the body of the church, or in the middle of the chancel, and that it is in a wrong position when placed, at the time of the Communion Service, along the east wall. *They think this argument has no sufficient foundation.* No charge is made that in the church of the Appellant the Communion Table stood where it ought not to have stood, and, in the opinion of their Lordships, *no such charge could have been sustained.*

The Rubric, indeed, contemplates that the Table *may* be removed at the time of the Holy Communion; but it does not, in terms, *require* it to be removed. Morning and Evening Prayer are, according to one of the early Rubrics of the Prayer Book, to be used in the accustomed place of the church, chapel, or chancel. In churches where it is customary to use both the chancel and body of the church, or the chancel alone, for Morning and Evening Prayer, the direction that the Table shall stand "where Morning and Evening Prayer are appointed to be said," is satisfied *without* moving it. That direction cannot be supposed to mean that the

position of the Table is to be determined by that of the minister's reading-desk or stall only, the service being "used" and "said" by the congregation as to the part in it assigned to them, as well as by the minister. The practice as to the moving or not moving the Table has varied at different times. It was generally, if not always, moved, in the earlier part of the post-Reformation period. When the revision of 1662 took place, and when the present Rubric before the Prayer of Consecration was for the first time introduced, it had come to be the case that the Table was very seldom removed. The instances in which it has been removed may be supposed from that time to have become still more rare: and there are now few churches in the kingdom in which, without a structural rearrangement, the Table could be conveniently removed into the body of the church. The utmost that can be said is, that *the Rubrics are to be construed so as to meet either hypothesis.*

Their Lordships have further to observe that the Rubrics assume that, before the Prayer of Consecration is reached, those who intend to communicate will have drawn near to the Communion Table, wherever it may be placed, so as to concentrate the Communicants near it or round it, and thus enable them to witness the ministration more easily than if they had remained in their places throughout the church.

It is proper also to point out that the term "east" or "eastward" nowhere occurs in the Rubrics. From the mention that is made of the north side, it seems to be supposed that in all churches that expression would represent a uniform position, and there is no doubt that from the almost universal eastward position of churches in England this would be the case; but the north is the only point of the compass which is actually referred to.

During several portions of the Communion office the minister is directed, either expressly, or by reference or implication, to stand at the north side of the Table. Where this is the case, their Lordships have no hesitation in saying that whether the table is placed altar-wise along the east wall, or standing detached in the chancel or church, it is the duty of the minister to stand at the side of the Table, which supposing the church to be built in the ordinary eastward position, would be next the north, *whether that side be a longer or shorter side of the Table.* No doubt in a certain context the

Meaning of word "side." word "side" might be so used as to be shown by "Side," that context to be contra-distinguished from the top, or bottom, or end of a subject of quadrilateral or any other figure. But for this purpose a determining *context* is necessary. In the absence of such a context it is accurate, both in scientific and in ordinary language, to say that a quadrilateral table has four sides. In the Rubrics not only is there no context to exclude the application of that term to the shorter as well as the longer sides; but the effect of the context is (as it appears to their Lordships) just the reverse. The direction is absolute, and has reference to one of the points of the compass, which are fixed by nature; *the figure and the position of the Table are not fixed either by nature or by law;* and the purpose of the direction is to regulate, *not* one part or another of the Table, but the position of the minister with reference thereto. Under these circumstances, it seems extravagant to put on the word "side," a sense more limited than its strict and primary one, for the purpose of suggesting difficulties in acting upon the rule, which for nearly two centuries were never felt in practice, and which would not arise if the strict and primary sense were adhered to.

If it were necessary that there should be extracted from the Rubrics a rule governing the position of the minister throughout the whole Communion office, where no contrary direction is given or necessarily implied, the rule could not, in their Lordships' opinion, be any other than that laid down in *Hebbert v. Purchas*; and they entertain no doubt that the position which would be required by that rule—a position, namely, in which the minister would stand at the north side of the Table, *looking to the south*—is not only lawful, but is that which would, under ordinary circumstances, *enable the minister, with the greatest certainty and convenience, to fulfil the requirements of all the Rubrics.* The case, however, with which their Lordships have to deal is one which may assume the character of a penal charge. It might be a penal charge against the present Appellant that he has stood, during the Prayer of Consecration, on the west side of the Table; and on the other hand, on a construction of the Rubric the opposite of that contended for by the Respondents, a penal charge might be maintained against a priest who stood at the north side. It is therefore necessary to be well assured, both that there is a direction free from ambiguity that the priest should stand, during this particular Prayer, either at the north or at the

west side, and also that no other test is supplied by the Rubric in question which would be a sufficient and intelligible rule for the position, at that part of the service, of the priest.

Their Lordships have therefore to consider the precise wording of the Rubric preceding the Prayer of Consecration taken in connection with the Prayer itself.

It is to be observed that the Revision in 1662 introduced for the first time the breaking of the bread as one of the manual acts to be done during the Prayer of Consecration, and that, although some of the other manual acts, namely, the taking the bread and the cup into the priest's hands, had been mentioned in the Rubric of the First Prayer Book of Edward VI. they had not been contained in the Second Prayer Book of that Sovereign, or in the Prayer Books of Elizabeth or James I. The Rubric "That he may with the more readiness and decency break the bread before the people," &c., was also new; and it is not impossible that one of the reasons for its introduction may have been to meet one of the demands or suggestions of the Puritan party, who had proposed a form of service in which the priest was to be ordered to break the bread "in the sight of the people."*

Their Lordships are of opinion that the words "before the people," coupled with the direction as to the manual acts, are meant to be equivalent to "*in the sight of the people.*" They "Before the people." have no doubt that the Rubric requires the manual acts to be so done, that, in a reasonable and practical sense, the Communicants, especially if they are conveniently placed for receiving of the Holy Sacrament, as is presupposed in the office, may be witnesses of, *that is, may see them.* What is ordered to be done before the people, when it is the subject of the sense, not of hearing, but of sight, cannot be done before them unless those of them who are properly placed for that purpose can see it. It was contended that "before the people" meant nothing more than "in the church;" to guard against an anterior and secret consecration of the elements. But if the words "before the people" were absent, the manual acts, and the rest of the service *could not* be performed elsewhere than in the church, and in that sense *coram populo*, nor could the Sacrament be distributed except in the place and at

* 4 Hall. Reliq. Liturg. [Card. Conf. 363, Kennet's Register, i. 585.]

the time of its consecration ; and the argument would, therefore, reduce to silence the words "before the people," which are an emphatic part of the declaration of the purpose for which the preparatory acts are to be done. That declaration applies not to the service as a whole, nor to the consecration of the elements as a whole, but to the manual acts, *separately and specifically*.

There is, therefore, in the opinion of their Lordships, a rule sufficiently intelligible to be derived from the directions which are contained in the Rubric as to the acts which are to be performed.

"Ordering" the elements. The minister is to order the elements "standing before the Table ;" words which, whether the Table

stands "altarwise" along the east wall, or in the body of the church or chancel, would be *fully satisfied by his standing on the north side and looking towards the south*; but which also, in the opinion of their Lordships, as the Tables are now usually, and in their opinion *lawfully*, placed, authorize him to do those acts standing on the west side and looking towards the east. Beyond this and after this there is no specific direction that, during this prayer, he is to stand on the west side, or that he is to stand on the north side. He must, in the opinion of their Lordships, stand so that he may, *in good faith, enable the Communicants present, or the bulk of them being properly placed, to see, if they wish it, the breaking of the bread,* and the performance of the other manual acts mentioned. He must not interpose his body so as intentionally to defeat the object of the Rubric and to prevent this result. It may be difficult in particular cases to say exactly whether this rule has been complied with; but *where there is good faith* the difficulty ought not to be a serious one; and it is, in the opinion of their Lordships, clear that *a protection was in this respect intended to be thrown around the body of the Communicants, which ought to be secured to them by an observance of the plain intent of the Rubric.*

In applying these principles to the present case, their Lordships find that some difficulty has arisen from the circumstances under which the evidence was taken. The charge against the Appellant was a twofold one; both that he had stood at the middle of the west side with his back to the people, and that the people could not see him break the bread or take the cup in his hand. The witness Nicholson undoubtedly states that, at the service of which he speaks,

while sitting in the nave, he could not see the Appellant perform the manual acts ; and the witness Bevan gives evidence to the same effect. But with regard to Nicholson, he explains, as their Lordships understand his evidence, that, whether persons could see what the Appellant was doing would depend on whether they were sitting immediately behind him or were sitting on one side or the other ; and with regard to Bevan, he states that, what would have prevented a man who sat at the side from seeing what the Appellant did, was, that he had on a chasuble, " which is a sort of cloak which spreads his body out."

When the Appellant himself was examined, he does not appear to have been asked any question on the subject ; and the inference which their Lordships draw from the whole examination is, that inasmuch as at that time it was understood to be the law, founded on the decision in *Hebbert v. Purchas*, that the standing on the west side of the Table was, of itself and without more, unlawful, neither party thought it important to carry the evidence with any precision beyond this point, the Respondents thinking they had established their case, and the Appellant not being prepared to dispute the fact of the position in which he stood.

Their Lordships are not prepared to hold that a penal charge is established against the Appellant merely by the proof that he stood while saying the Prayer of Consecration at the west side of the Communion Table, without further evidence that the people could not, in the sense in which their Lordships have used the words, see him break the bread or take the cup into his hand, and they will therefore recommend that an alteration should be made in the decree in this respect.

Their Lordships, before leaving this part of the case, think it right to observe that they do not consider the Judgment in the case of *Martin v. Mackonochie* to have any material bearing on the question now before them. The decision in that case was that the Priest must stand during the Prayer of Consecration, and not kneel during a part of it. The correctness of that decision has not been, and, as their Lordships think, *cannot be, questioned*. Nothing is more clear throughout the Rubrics of the Communion office than that when the priest is intended to kneel, an express provision is made on the subject. The conclusion, however, in *Martin v. Mackonochie*, is expressed, per-

haps, more broadly than was necessary for the decision. What was obviously meant was that the posture of standing was to be continued throughout the whole of the prayer. Nothing was or could be decided as to the place in which the priest was to stand, *for that question was not raised, and was not in any manner argued,* in the case.

Their Lordships will now proceed to the charge as to wafer or wafer-bread. The charge as to that is "that the WAFERS.

Appellant used in the Communion Service and administration wafer-bread or wafers, to wit, bread or flour made in the form of circular wafers instead of bread such as is usual to be eaten." And this is traversed by the Appellant.

It appears that the allegation is in the same form as that used in the Purchas Case ; but in that case the Defendant did not appear, and no criticism seems to have taken place as to the form of the allegation or its sufficiency.

It is probable that the allegation was meant to raise the question as to the legality of the wafer, as distinguished from bread of the kind "usual to be eaten," and there are certainly some indications that the Appellant and his Counsel so understood, and meant to meet, the charge.

A different view has, however, been taken by the Counsel for the Appellant on the Appeal, and they have maintained that there is no averment that the wafer, as distinguished from bread ordinarily eaten, was used. They contend that the charge goes to the shape, and not to the composition of the substance.

Their Lordships are of opinion that this objection must prevail. The charge, in their opinion, is consistent with the possibility of it having been the fact that bread "such as is usual to be eaten," but circular, and having such a degree of thinness as might justify its being termed wafers, was what was used. And if this is what was used, their Lordships do not think it could be pronounced illegal.

As, however, the question of the construction of the Rubric has been raised on this Appeal, as it was in the Purchas Case, their Lordships think it right to express their opinion upon it, at the same time that they give the Appellant the benefit of the ambiguity which exists in the *form* of the charge.

It is to be observed that the Rubric does not in any part of it use the term "wafer." The words are "bread :" "bread such as is

usual to be eaten," and "the best and purest wheat bread that conveniently may be gotten."

Their Lordships have no doubt that a wafer in the sense in which the word is usually employed, that is, as denoting a Wafers illegal. composition of flour and water rolled very thin and unleavened, is not "bread such as is usual to be eaten," or "the best and purest wheat bread that conveniently may be gotten."

The only question on the construction of the Rubric is that raised upon the words "it shall suffice."

There is no doubt that in many cases these words standing alone and unexplained by a context, would be quite consistent with something different from, larger or smaller, more or less numerous, more or less costly, than what is mentioned, being supplied.

Here, however, the sentence commences with the introduction : "To take away all occasion of dissension and superstition, which any person hath or might have concerning the bread, it shall suffice," &c. These words seem to their Lordships to make it necessary that that which is to take away the occasion of dissension and superstition should be something definite, exact, and different from what had caused the dissension and superstition. If not, the occasion of dissension remains, and the superstition may recur. "To suffice," it must be as here described. What is substantially different will not "suffice."

The Rubric, which orders that the bread and wine shall be provided by the curate and churchwardens at the expense of the parish, seems to contemplate ordinary bread as the only material to be used, and the 20th Canon is still more precise in the same direction.

The former Rubric (of 1552, 1559, and 1604) had said, "It shall suffice that the bread be such as is usually to be *eaten at the table with other meats*, but the best and purest wheat bread that conveniently may be gotten." Queen Elizabeth's Injunction of 1559 on the same subject (in its form mandatory, and acted upon for many years afterwards) was issued when this Rubric had the force of law, and must be understood in a sense consistent with, and not contradictory* to, it. That Injunction distinguishes between†

* [Abp. Parker held the Injunction to be a "further order" in limitation or restriction of the rubric under the 26th section of 1 Eliz. c. 2. See Parker Corr., p. 375.]

† 1 Card. Doc. Ann., 202.

"the sacramental bread" and "the usual bread and wafer, heretofore named singing cakes, which served for the use of the private mass;" directing the former to be "made and formed plain, without any figure thereupon, and of the same fineness and fashion round" as the latter, but "to be somewhat bigger in compass and thickness." The form, and not the substance, is here regulated. To order the use of the *substance properly called "wafer,"* which was *not* "bread such as is usual to be eaten at the table," *would have been directly contradictory to the Rubric;* and this cannot be supposed to have been intended.

There was evidently "dissension" on this subject, and some diversity of practice in the reign of Elizabeth. It appears from passages in the Fourth Book of the "Ecclesiastical Polity,"* published in 1594, that Hooker considered the use, either of leavened or unleavened bread, to be at that time lawful. But the point was one as to which controversy then existed, and had given occasion to strife. In 1580, Chaderton, Bishop of Chester, acting as Commissioner in Lancashire, under the Crown, applied to the Privy Council for instructions as to "two special points worthy of reformation;" one of which was "for the Lord's Supper, with wafers, or with common bread." The Lords of the Council replied (26th July, 1580) that they thought both points ought to be referred to the consideration of Parliament; adding:—"In the meantime, for the appeasing of such *division and bitterness* as doth and may *arise of the use of both* these kinds of bread, we think it meet, that in such parishes as do use the common bread, and in others that embrace the wafer, they be severally continued as they are at this present. Until which time, also, your Lordship is to be careful, according to your good discretion, to persuade and procure a quietness amongst such as shall strive for the public maintaining either of the one or the other." (Peek's "Desiderata Curiosa," p. 91.)

In a later letter, the Bishop recurred to the same question, and was thus answered (21st August, 1580), by Lord Burghley and Sir Francis Walsingham:—"Concerning the last point of your letter, contained in a postscript, whereby appeareth that some are troubled about the *substance* of the Communion bread, it were good to teach them that are weak in conscience, in esteeming of the

* i Hooker's Works by Keble, 6th edition, pp. 449-451.

wafer-bread, not to make difference. But, if their weakness continue, it were not amiss in our opinions, charitably to tolerate them, as children with milk. Which we refer to your Lordship's better consideration." (*Ibid.*, p. 94.)

In 1584, Bishop Overton, of Lichfield, issued an Injunction to the clergy of his diocese:—"That the Ordinance of the Book of Common Prayer be from henceforth observed in this, that the bread delivered to the communicants be such as is usual to be eaten at the table with other meats, yet of the purest and finest wheat; and no other bread to be used by the minister, nor to be provided for by the Churchwardens and parishioners, than such finest common bread." (Appendix to the 2nd Report of Rit. Comm., p. 430.)

The 20th Canon of 1603-4, already mentioned, seems to have proceeded on the same view of the law; and, after the passing of that Canon, the usual form of inquiry in the Visitation Articles of Bishops and Archdeacons (e.g., Archbishop Bancroft in 1605, Bishop Babington, of Worcester, in 1607; and Bishop Andrewes in 1619), was, whether the churchwardens always supplied, for the Holy Communion, "fine white bread."

The same form of inquiry continued to be generally used after the Rubric had been altered, upon the Revision of 1662, so as to express its purpose to be, "to take away all occasion of *dissension*," as well as of "superstition" (which alone had been previously mentioned). The same motive had been expressed in the Rubric of King Edward's First Prayer Book, "for avoiding all matters and occasion of dissension" ("superstition" not being then added); when the opposite course was taken, of requiring unleavened bread, of a certain form and fashion, to be everywhere and always used. The practice of using fine wheat bread such as is usual to be eaten, *and not cake or wafer*, appears to have been universal throughout the Church of England from the alteration of the Rubric in 1662, till 1840, or later.

Their Lordships think that *if it had been averred and proved that the wafer*, properly so called, *had been used by the Appellant, it would have been illegal*, but as the averment and proof is insufficient, they will advise an alteration of the Decree in this respect.

There remains to be considered the charge as to the Crucifix.
CRUCIFIX. As to this the allegation is, that the Appellant

unlawfully set up and placed upon the top of the screen separating the chancel from the body or nave of the church a crucifix and twenty-four metal candlesticks, with candles which were lighted on either side of the Crucifix.

This charge was accompanied by two other charges, in respect of which the Appellant has been admonished to abstain from the acts complained of, and to this part of the monition he has submitted. One of these charges was for having formed and accompanied a procession from the chancel, down the north aisle and up the nave back to the chancel again, on the occasion of public service, those taking part in the procession at one time falling upon their knees, and remaining kneeling for some time. The other charge was the setting up, attached to the walls of the church, representations of figures, in coloured relief of plastic material, purporting to represent scenes of our Lord's Passion, and forming what are commonly called Stations of the Cross and Passion, such as are often used in Roman Catholic Churches.

The learned Judge, whose decision is under Appeal, thus describes the Screen and Crucifix :—

"There is a screen of open ironwork some 9 feet high stretching across the church at the entrance to the chancel; the middle portion of this screen rises to a peak, and is surmounted by a crucifix or figure of our Saviour on the Cross in full relief and about 18 inches long—this is the crucifix complained of. The screen of course, from its position, directly faces the congregation, and the sculptured or moulded figure of our Lord is turned towards them. There is, further, a row of candles at distances of nearly a foot apart all along the top of the screen, which is continued up the central and rising portion of it, the last candles coming close up to the crucifix on either side, so that when the candles are lighted for the evening service, I should presume that the crucifix would stand in a full light."

For the erection of this screen at the entrance of the chancel, in the form in which it is now found there, and surmounted by the crucifix in question, their Lordships think it clear that no faculty has been obtained. There is, indeed, a faculty, dated the 23rd of August, 1870, authorizing the building of "a dwarf wall with screen thereon of light ironwork between the chancel and the nave;" and this faculty appears to have been granted with reference to a ground plan annexed to the petition for the faculty;

which ground plan specifies the place where this screen of light ironwork was to be erected. But no further information was given to the Ordinary of the character of the structure, much less of the crucifix by which it was to be surmounted.

Technically, therefore, it must be held that, in the absence of a proper faculty, the crucifix was unlawfully set up and retained. If, however, their Lordships were of opinion that the case was one in which, under all the circumstances, the Ordinary, on the application for a faculty, ought to grant, or might properly grant, a faculty, they might probably have thought it right, before pronouncing any Judgment, to have given an opportunity to the Appellant to apply for a faculty.

Their Lordships, however, are of opinion that under the No faculty could circumstances of this case, the Ordinary ought not be granted. *to grant a faculty for the crucifix.*

The learned Judge refers to two cases, decided by this Tribunal, which have a material bearing upon the present question.

The first of these was the case of *Liddell v. Westerton*.* In this case, as the learned Judge states, the Court had to pronounce upon the legality of a Cross set up in Appellant's church. And it was decided that, although before the Reformation the symbol of the Cross had no doubt been put to superstitious uses, "yet that Crosses, when used as *mere emblems* of the Christian faith, and not as objects of superstitious reverence, may still lawfully be erected as *architectural decorations*," and that the wooden cross erected in that particular case "was to be considered a mere architectural ornament."

The Court determined nothing directly as to the legality of a crucifix, but was at great pains throughout the Judgment to point out that crosses were to be distinguished from crucifixes, saying that "there was a wide difference between the Cross and images of saints, and even, though in a less degree, between a Cross and a crucifix," the former of which, they said, had been "used as a symbol of Christianity two or three centuries before either crucifixes or images were introduced."

The other case is that of *Philpotts v. Boyd*.† As to this case, the learned Judge states that this Tribunal, in justifying the erection of the Exeter reredos, adhered entirely and very distinctly

* Moore's Special Report.

† 6 L. R. Pr. C. Ap. 435.

to the position taken up in the previous case, and pronounced that erection lawful, though it included many sculptured images, on the express ground "that it had been set up for the *purpose of decoration only*," declaring that it was "not in danger of being abused," and that "it was not suggested that any superstitious reverence has been, or is likely to be, paid to any of the figures upon it."

The learned Judge then proceeds to consider whether it would be right to conclude that the crucifix in the present case was set up for the purposes of decoration only; whether it is in danger of being abused, or whether it could be suggested that superstitious reverence had been, or was likely to be, paid to it.

The learned Judge states that the crucifix, as formerly set up in our churches, had a special history of its own.

Special history of Crucifix. He refers to the Rood ordinarily found before the Reformation in the parish churches of this country, which was, in fact, a crucifix with images at the base, erected on a structure called the rood loft, traversing the church at the entrance to the chancel, and occupying a position not otherwise than analogous to that which the iron screen does in the present case.

He refers to the evidence as to the preservation of the crucifixes or roods during the reign of Queen Mary, and of their destruction, as monuments of idolatry and superstition, in the reign of Elizabeth.

He takes notice of a letter of Bishop Sandys in 1561 in the "Zurich Letters," first series, p. 73, in which he states:—

"We had not long since a controversy respecting images. The Queen's Majesty considered it not contrary to the Word of God, nay, rather for the advantage of the Church, that the image of Christ crucified, together with Mary and John, should be placed, as heretofore, in some conspicuous part of the church where they might more readily be seen by the people. Some of us thought far otherwise, and more especially as all images of every kind were at our last visitation not only taken down, but also burnt, and that too, by public authority, and because the *ignorant and superstitious multitude are in the habit of paying adoration to this idol above all others.*"

The learned Judge arrives at the conclusion that the crucifix so

placed formed an ordinary feature in the parish churches before the Reformation, and that it did so, not as a mere architectural ornament, but as an object of reverence and adoration.

He further points out that the worship of it was enjoined in the Sarum Missal, in which the order of service for Palm Sunday ends with the adoration of the Rood by the celebrant and choir before passing into the chancel. And to this reference might be added one to the order for the Communion according to the Hereford use, in which there is a prayer with this introduction :—

“ Postea sacerdos adorans crucifixum dicat.”

Proceeding then on these considerations, and dealing with a Church in which was found not merely an illuminated crucifix, but also those stations of the cross and other acts in the conduct of the services, the illegality of which the Appellant does not challenge in his Appeal, the Judge continues thus :—

“ It is no doubt easy to say, what proof is there of idolatry now? What facts are there to point to a probability of ‘ abuse?’ ”

“ But when the Court is dealing with a well-known sacred object—an object enjoined and put up by authority in all the churches of England before the Reformation, in a particular part of the Church and for the particular purpose of ‘ adoration’—when the Court finds that the same object, both in the Church and out of it, is still worshipped by those who adhere to the unreformed Romish faith, and when it is told that, now, after a lapse of three hundred years, it is suddenly proposed to set up again this same object in the same part of the church *as an architectural ornament only*, it is hard not to distrust the uses to which it may come to be put, or escape the apprehension that what begins in ‘ decoration ’ may end in ‘ idolatry.’ ”

“ If this apprehension is a just and reasonable one, then there exists that likelihood and danger of ‘ superstitious reverence ’ which the Privy Council in *Philpotts v. Boyd* pronounced to be fatal to the lawfulness of all images and figures set up in a church.”

In these observations of the learned Judge their Lordships concur; and they select them as the grounds of his decision which commend themselves to their judgment. They are prepared under the circumstances of this case, to affirm the decision directing the *removal of the crucifix*, while at the same time they desire to say that they think it important to maintain, as to

representations of sacred persons and objects in a church, the liberty established in *Philpotts v. Boyd*, subject to the power and duty of the Ordinary so as to exercise his judicial discretion in granting or refusing faculties, as to guard against things likely to be abused for purposes of superstition.

On the whole, therefore, their Lordships will humbly recommend Her Majesty to affirm the Decree of the Court of Arches except as regards the position of the minister and the use of wafer-bread or wafers; and as to these excepted matters they will humbly advise Her Majesty that inasmuch as it is not established to their satisfaction that the Appellant, while saying the Prayer of Consecration, so stood that the people could not see him break the bread or take the cup into his hand, as alleged in the representation; and, inasmuch as it is not alleged or proved that what was used by him in the administration of the Holy Communion was other than bread such as is usual to be eaten, the decree of the Court of Arches should be in these respects reversed. And they will further humbly advise Her Majesty that in respect of the charges as to which the Decree is reversed, the costs in the Court of Arches should be paid by the Respondents to the Appellant; and further that there should be no costs of this Appeal.

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THE THREATENED REVIVAL

OF

CANON LAW

IN

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND;

BEING THE SUBSTANCE OF

A PAPER READ AT THE ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF THE
MIDLAND CLERICAL AND LAY ASSOCIATION, 1884,

BY

J. T. TOMLINSON,

Author of "The Legal History of Canon Stubbs."

LONDON :

CHURCH ASSOCIATION, 14, BUCKINGHAM STREET, STRAND, W.C.

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No. 111.]

REVIVAL OF CANON LAW.

This Paper is intended to bring out some points which may be new to many friends of the English Reformation :—

1. That the Canon Law and the “Spiritual” (*i.e.* Clerical) Courts were not directly included in the “Reformation.”
 2. The exceptional and irregular importance of a Judicature, which has to apply and enforce a system of obsolete bye-laws of alien origin and Trades-unionist character.
 3. The consequent danger of leaving the enforcement of such bye-laws to the “personal” discretion of Bishops without legal training or judicial experience, who are themselves guided by (*so-called*) Theological “experts” or Synodical (*i.e.* clerical) majorities.
-



O put an end to litigation, and to secure order in any society, it is before all things necessary that its laws should be intelligible and consistent, that the remedies and protection which they afford should be available to all its members without respect of persons, that procedure should be simplified, and that punishment for wilful disobedience be made swift and inevitable.

Every one of these conditions of a healthy judicature was absent from the scheme put forth by the Royal Commission of 1881-3.

Unfortunately, at the Reformation, no formal rectification of the canon law was effected, although almost every portion of it was tainted by the spirit of the Papacy, by theocratic theories of Church government, by superstitious regulations as to Church rites, or by vexatious meddling with the domestic relations of individual life.

With that practical shrewdness, but halting logic, which is said to be characteristic of Englishmen, we were content to amend the standards of doctrine, and to reform the ritual and service books, while placing upon the basis of “Royal supremacy” the already existing courts clerical side by side with other “departmental” branches of the administration of justice by the Crown. This done, the business of adapting the old wine-skins of canon law and ecclesiastical procedure to the new wine of a reinstated Gospel, a purified worship, and a married clergy, was left to be worked out, as best it might, by the courts themselves. Under these circumstances, it is obvious that the constitution and powers of the ecclesiastical courts became of the utmost impor-

tance, because it rests with these courts to declare whether any portion of the canon law which may be alleged in a given case is or is not "law."

Lord Chief-Judge Holt said "one-half of what one finds in Lyndwood is not the law of the land."* And Sir W. Scott referred to a canon of Abp. Peckham's as one of "the older canons, which perhaps can hardly be considered as carrying with them all their first authority" and declined accordingly to act upon it.†

Lord Denman said, "the Canon law is not part of the law of England, unless it is made so by authority of Parliament here, or by ancient and uninterrupted use and acknowledgment. The burden of proving that a particular part of that law is the law of England rests with those who assert it to be so."‡

Various expedients were adopted for reducing this chaotic system (or rather congeries) of unreformed bye-laws into tolerable accordance with the law of the land. The most ancient expedient was the power of *Prohibition*, of which Lord Cockburn said :—

"The fact is, we have a choice of evils. We must either leave the ecclesiastical judges to administer a law which is not the general law of the land without appeal or control, or we must subject them to the supervision and direction of the great judicial functionaries of equity and law." (Letter to Lord Penzance, p. 28.)

Another expedient has been to remove entire departments of social life from the jurisdiction of the spiritual courts—as, e.g. marriage, schism, brawling, wills, &c. Next, to introduce lay judges, and to assimilate the procedure of these courts to that of the ordinary "secular" tribunals; but, above all, to subordinate the whole hierarchy of the "courts spiritual" to a Court of Appeal consisting of the highest legal functionaries, whose minds, having been soaked in a wholly different set of traditions, must needs bring any judgment which they deliver into accord with the received principles of National law, and the received rules of Equity.

Whether it might not have been wiser to have codified and recast the entire canon law is a matter which I leave to theorists. But, assuredly, until it has been so recast, the administration of unreformed canon law cannot be safely entrusted to courts purely clerical. The character of recent episcopal appointments; the tone and temper of the clergy, who, as a

* *Rex v. Raynes*, 1 Lord Raymond, 363.

† *Burgess v. Burgess*, 1 Hagg. Consist. Rep. p. 393, cf. *Gilbert v. Buzzard*, 1 Hagg. Cons. Rep. 355.

As to the supposed Parliamentary authority of canon law, see Tract on "The Reservation of the Host," p. 7. The argument is exhaustively dealt with by Dr. Archibald J. Stephens in the Second Report of the Ritual Commission, Appendix, p. 342.

‡ "Case of Dr. Hampden," p. 211. (Bell and Daldy.)

body, seem to be yearning for a revival of their ancient supremacy over the mere laity, who by ancient Canon Law are their "subjects,"* together with the steady growth of magical views as to the nature of the sacraments, and of sacrificial theories as to the nature of an Atonement still in process of being eked out by priests who "stand daily ministering oftentimes the SAME sacrifice;" these, as parts of a general recrudescence of mediæval ideas, should make us dread to entrust to courts manned exclusively by clergymen the administration of a system of clerical bye-laws derived by "historic continuity" from the darkest of dark ages.

For, remember, it is now claimed that "the common law of the church" ought to be held equally authoritative with canon or statute law. "How," says Mr. Spencer Holland, 'can a purely legal court deal with matters not susceptible of legal terminology, and requiring for their interpretation inquiries outside the mere formularies, or Parliamentary statutes affecting them ?" (Summary, p. 46.) He twice over quotes and adopts the language of Mr. Berdmore Compton. (Report of Eccl. Courts Commission, vol. ii. p. 121, Q. 2776), "that in deciding cases of doctrine a spiritual court would be obliged to go outside the formularies of the Church of England, which are *altogether insufficient* to determine a question of doctrine. It would have to consider the great common law of the Church." What that means may be judged of by the two illustrations which Mr. Berdmore Compton gave to the Commissioners, viz. that reception of the mixed chalice would be compulsory upon the laity (Q. 2784), and that a minister should be triable by "a court martial system," for 'conduct unbecoming a priest' (Q. 2744).

Mr. Finlason (who, among lawyers, shares with Dr. Phillimore Mr. Holland's dislike of the Judicial Committee of Privy Council) speaks† of the conflict between

"The principle of Ecclesiastical authority, or traditional belief, and that of national opinion and positive law as representing it; the one retaining all the old doctrine and ritual, except so far as it had been expressly altered; the other discarding all, except what was expressly retained . . . when the controversy should come into the courts of law the result would depend,' he says, 'upon the character of the judicature, for upon that would depend the principle of interpretation adopted.'‡

* "Subditos." See "Jurisdiction in the Confessional," by the Rev. Edmund G. Wood, M.A. (Knott : 26, Brooke Street, E.C.)

† "History, Constitution, and Character of the Judicial Committee of Privy Council," p. 67.

‡ See "Legal History of Canon Stubbs" (Stanford), p. 68, and note p. 69. "As to these constitutions . . . they must be taken, if of force at the time of passing of *any* of the Acts of Uniformity, to have been repealed by those Acts."—P. C. Judgment in *Martin v. Mackonochie*, p. 26.

Hence he complains both of the decisions and of the reasons given for them by the Judicial Committee, as

"Plainly indicating that the Judicial Committee had adopted the popular view of the Reformation . . . so that on the one hand nothing is prescribed to the clergy as to doctrine, but what is laid down for them in the formularies, and that on the other hand nothing is allowed as to ritual which is not prescribed."—(p. 111.)

Instead of this Protestant and merely "legal" standard, we are bidden to rely upon the personal "discretion" of the bishops. The Royal Commissioners tell us (Report, page lii.), that they "desire to recognise *as a principle* that the judicial authority in the court of the bishop *resides in*, and should be exercised by the bishop himself." Bp. Stubbs in the Appendix (p. 45, col. ii., compared with 46, col. ii.), tells us that a bishop ought not to be bound by the precedents of *his own* court, and in his evidence he testified that before the Reformation "a great deal of loose matter" was imported into doctrinal cases (Q. 1138), and that "all things were conducted in a looseish sort of way" (Q. 1141), which he apologises for by saying that "the great object was to convert the man, and an immense number of them did in fact recant" (Q. 1142). Most of those, in fact, who were burned at the stake had in this way been previously induced to "recant," which they did, of course, insincerely, like the Moors in Spain.

Mr. Berdmore Compton told the Commission of 1883, "we must be satisfied with a rougher kind of justice altogether, something probably like going back to Primitive precedent, something like the justice administered for a diocese by the bishop in Synod,"* "for," he adds, "cases which affect ritual and the divine law should be entirely reserved to the clergy" (Q. 2666). The *forum domesticum* of the bishop is described in the Report of the Royal Commission on Eccl. Courts of 1832 (p. 54) as under "little restraint from the forms observed in contentious suits in courts of *Justice*."

You must be better able to judge than I, how far minorities among the clergy would be likely to get an "indifferent" administration of justice under a system of "Personal" Courts and "Sacred Synods;" but, as a layman, I may be permitted to say that a parallel proposal to commit secular causes to the individual discretion of the Sovereign, as being "the Lord's anointed," who should "sit in the gate" to administer justice direct from the fountain head, her assessors having "no voice in any decision" (as the Commissioners carefully provide), and this on the ground of "historic continuity" with Primitive

* Diocesan Synods had no such "jurisdiction" till the fourth century
See Report Eccl. Courts Commission, vol. ii.; Bright, Q. 5433; Jenkins,
Q. 2910-13. "Primitive," i.e. four centuries after Christ!

times, when appeals were unknown,* would be universally regarded as the very height of midsummer madness.

As the Dean of Arches pointed out (Report, p. lxvi.), "It is to be apprehended that a bishop would not be careful to follow decided cases, with which, perhaps, he would be little familiar ; that he would be apt to import into his enunciation of law considerations of policy and the elasticity of discretion, while in controversial matters of doctrine there would be room for the apprehension that he might bring to judicial decision opinions already formed, and perhaps strongly held on one side or other of the controversy."

I ask you to take note of the fact that the Report marks a new departure. For the first time since the Reformation, we have the theory put forth that the Crown is not the source of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and that bishops' courts are entirely independent of the Crown, so that Canon (now Bishop) Stubbs even affirms that no appeals in heresy went even to the Delegates. This discovery has been hailed with rapture by the English Church Union, as furnishing a new "historical" basis for their theocratical ideal of priest-rule. It is, however, not founded in fact. Bp. Wolton wrote in 1581 to Lord Burleigh about "one Anthony Randal, late parson of Lydford in my diocese ; whom I justly deprived for his damnable opinions and heresies. And after his appeal from me to the Arches, and from thence to Her Majesty's Delegates, I had my proceedings approved and ratified" (Strype, Ann. III-ii-180). Mr. Lewis in his "Reformation Settlement" (published by Elliot Stock) observes, "We have also the deprivation by the Delegates, on May 22nd, 1617, of M. Mady, rector of Blagdon, for grave crimes and excesses ; on April 29th, 1619, of J. Eaton, Vicar of Wickham Market, for heresy (nonnullus et varios errores, falsasque opiniones) : on February 13th, 1623, of J. Newton, parson of Havordstocke, for non-conformity (inconformem regimini et ritibus Ecclesiae Anglicanae incorrigibilem) just Bp. King's case ; and in 1624, of Samuel Earle, rector of Thoydon Garnon" (pp. 284, 300, 365). Nevertheless, this unhistorical assumption is not only the most important portion of the Blue-book issued by the Commissioners, but is being made the basis of attempts at reactionary legislation.

Now, the assumption that two independent sources of jurisdiction co-exist side by side involves the idea that the Church is a "Kingdom" OF THE SAME KIND WITH (though differing in its objects from) the other "kingdoms of the world." The words "Render unto Cæsar," &c., are sometimes urged as though they were designed to exempt the clergy from the control of law, whereas it was "Cæsar" who, in this department, was entitled the "Minister of God ;" and it was in rebuke of theocratic

* "There was no proper provision for appeal in the Secular Laws."—
Stubbs' Historical Appendix, p. 23, col. ii. Compare Finlason, pp. 2, 37, 71.

pretensions on the part of a divinely-accredited clergy that the words were originally uttered. Can any arrogance, therefore, be more unseemly than to allege that "render unto God" means "render to the clergy the things that are God's"?

Some men seem to fancy that the voting power of clerical majorities will, in some supernatural way, enable us to command an inspired judgment. Yet how slender is the security thus afforded as witnessed by Mr. Berdmore Compton himself.

"Q. 2845. Then it might happen in a Synod that the arguments would be on one side, and votes on the other? Yes.

"Q. 2846. And do you think the general effect of such a judgment as that decided by a small majority against what would appear to be the weight of argument would carry satisfaction with it? No."

Confusion arises from forgetting that litigation in courts cannot possibly determine the truth or falsehood of dogma.

Courts as courts, and judges as judges, can never be the ultimate referees in the region of metaphysics. Would anyone alter one iota of his creed in consequence of the findings of any "court," even if it consisted of the five Ecumenical Patriarchs? If not, why not? The answer to that question will show that courts, however, entitled "spiritual," can deal only with the temporal accidents of spiritual things—benefices, endowments, freehold tenure of Church buildings, parochial limits, exclusive powers of officiating in given edifices and within given areas, &c. These, and all such things as these, though called "spiritual," are really "secular," belonging, that is, to the material world and to this present life, and by divine right, therefore, under the dominion of the civil ruler. If our minds get clear on this point, we shall see, I think, that ALL jurisdiction belongs from its very nature* to "Cæsar." The Church militant (like its Divine Master, when He trod this earth) has, and can have, no protection from injustice, and no exclusive privileges within the limits of the world of sense, except such as are granted by, and are dependent upon, "Cæsar." By "Cæsar" I mean, of course, the civil ruler, whether crowned or not; for, as St. Peter tells us, the *form* of government is a mere "ordinance of man." To the "powers that be" (*i.e.* to the *de facto* ruler) "jurisdiction" belongs by a right every whit as "divine" as though it were wholly supernatural. It is time that we should seriously reconsider the whole question of Church Reform, without troubling our heads as to a pedantic following of precedents, or as to the "historic continuity"—upon which the Commissioners insisted (when it happened to suit their immediate purpose)—with times wholly *unlike* our own. Whether we regard the monopoly of learning by the Clergy, the social conditions

* Jurisdiction is the power (*juris dicendi*, *i.e.*) of defining those correlative rights and obligations which are the creations of law. Even Mr. Finlason (*before* he joined the Church of Rome) recognised this. Pp. 3, 32, 74, &c.

resulting from our complex civilisation, or the received beliefs and practices of our people, the last three hundred years have witnessed changes as vast and vital in the Church of England as in any other institution. Is it not unreasonable, therefore, to perpetuate a system of Canon Law which in the sixteenth century was formally declared by the Convocations, the Parliament, and the King, to be "much prejudicial to the King's prerogative royal, repugnant to the laws and statutes of the realm, and overmuch onerous to the King's Highness and his subjects."* Yet the Royal Commissioners in their Report (1883) did not so much as hint at the existence of an evil which successive Royal Commissions under three of our monarchs tried in vain to grapple with! If I mistake not, an attempt to enforce this Canon Law by means of Clerical Courts, duly graduated from "Sacred Synods" down to Archdeacons' "Visitations," is now being organised. The Evangelical Clergy will do well to open their eyes to the fact that their only hope of continued "liberty of prophesying" lies in a close alliance with the laity, from whom alone they can hope to obtain a fair hearing, and any real help in the day of battle. Students of the Epistles of Clement of Rome—the first Pope, they say, and therefore an infallible guide (?)—or that of Polycarp, or the newly published "Teaching of the Apostles" (Cap. xiv., xv.) will not fail to perceive, what Tertullian also witnesses, that Church discipline in primitive times was not regarded as "residing in the Bishop," but as residing in the Church.† For, as Hooker (Eccl. Pol. viii. vi. 3) reminds us, "Those persons excepted which Christ Himself did immediately bestow such power upon, *the rest succeeding have not received power as they did*, Christ bestowing it upon their persons; but the power which Christ did institute in the Church, they *from the Church* do receive."

The voice of the "Church" can never be heard while the laity are unheard. No mere Canons, though passed by both Convocations, can ever "bind" the laity *in foro conscientiae*, because based on the fundamental falsehood that the clergy are the "Church," and that they alone have "the mind of the Spirit."

* 25 Henry VIII. c. 19, sec. 1. Cf. Report. Hist. App., pp. 71 and 92.

† The passages are given at length in "Liberalism in the Priests' Craft," by the writer of the paper. (Marlborough & Co., 51, Old Bailey. Price 3d.)

RESERVATION OF THE HOST.

AN EXAMINATION OF THE REPLY

OF THE

“CONFRATERNITY OF THE BLESSED SACRAMENT,”

TO THE

UNANIMOUS RESOLUTIONS

OF THE

UPPER HOUSES OF CONVOCATION,

AT

CANTERBURY AND YORK,

1885.

BY

J. T. TOMLINSON,

Author of “The Legal History of Canon Stubbs.”

LONDON :

CHURCH ASSOCIATION, 14, BUCKINGHAM STREET, STRAND, W.C.

J. F. SHAW & CO., 48, PATERNOSTER ROW, E.C.

J. KENSIT, 18, PATERNOSTER ROW, E.C.

No. CXII.]

"Are we anxious to make an offering for *others besides ourselves*? No single Eucharist can be celebrated anywhere without affecting the well-being of the whole Church, since it is the offering of the merits of Him who died not for a favoured few but for all.

"Do we desire to make atonement for past sin? Here we may offer before the Father the blood of the Victim whose death has made a perfect expiation for the sins of the whole world.

"Are we troubled about those who in the shadow of death are awaiting the judgment? The blood of the Sacrifice reaches down to the prisoners of hope, and the dead as they are made to possess their old sins in the darkness of the grave, thank us as we offer for them the Sacrifice which restores to light and immortality."—"The Priesthood of the Laity." A paper read by the Hon. C. L. Wood (President of the English Church Union), at the 18th Anniversary of the C.B.S., 1880.

RESERVATION OF THE HOST.



N 1885 the Bishops of both Convocations unanimously resolved that "no reservation of the Sacrament for any purpose is consistent with the rule of the Church of England."

After two years of preparation a reply was issued on the part of the C.B.S. by one of its members, the Rev. J. W. Kempe,¹ who explains that "some requests there are which have the imperative nature of commands;" and dedicates his book accordingly to Canon Carter, the Superior of the Confraternity, who has written a preface to the Manifesto. As Mr. Carter was made a Canon by his Bishop, and has been three times sheltered from prosecution by the episcopal veto, the Bench of Bishops ought assuredly to feel the responsibility laid upon them by this official pronouncement.

Mr. Kempe explains his standpoint as one of regret that

"External intercommunion between ourselves and the rest of Catholic Christendom has been unhappily suspended," also that "men's minds should be biassed by *insular* considerations," so that "English Christianity has drifted into a form of religionism which is in marked contrast with that faith and worship . . . which in its leading characteristics has become traditional throughout the greater part of the Christian world" (p. 2). For, the Church of England is only "entitled to our allegiance in virtue of her *organic unity* with the Church of God throughout the world" (p. 183).

It is obvious therefore that unless the Church of England conforms herself to the rest of Western Christendom (*i.e.* to the Church of Rome), her 'insular' position releases Mr. Kempe's conscience from even the pretence of loyalty. He boasts that (in despite of the Anglican Bishops) "reservation is unobtrusively but widely practised" (p. 100). There is only one point on which he at all demurs to the practice of the Church of Rome, viz. the denial of the cup to the laity at *public* celebrations in church, and in those few cases in which he would still tolerate²

¹ "Reservation of the Blessed Sacrament for the Sick and Dying, by the Rev. J. W. Kempe, M.A.: with Preface by the Rev. T. T. Carter, M.A." (G. J. Palmer.)

² So Mr. Blunt in his "Annotated Prayer Book," p. 290, teaches that "the celebration of the Holy Communion in a room used for ordinary living, and on a table used for meals, or other domestic purposes, is a practice which it is difficult to guard from irreverence and from dishonour towards so holy a sacrament." The "Carpenter's Son" is supposed to shrink from the "domestic" life of the poor as though it "defiled the man." Mr. Kempe (p. 15) further insists upon "vessels of precious metal, and *at least* a surplice and stole" as essential to a private celebration, though the First Prayer Book of Ed. VI. provided that "in all other places, every minister shall be at liberty to use any surplice, or no."

celebrations in private houses. But he is very careful to argue that reservation of the wafer alone, without any wine, is even now binding by law in every parish church (p. 184), "so that all graces necessary to salvation may be conveyed to all" by the wafer alone (p. 116). He thinks this half-communion is "primitive" and "really coeval with Christianity itself" (p. 118), insomuch that

"It was *only exceptionally* administered to the sick under the species of wine, viz. in cases where, by reason of infirmity, the sick were unable to swallow the consecrated bread. Thus, the Fourth Council of Carthage ordained that 'the Eucharist be *poured* into the mouth' of any who may be afflicted with frenzy" (p. 118).

He declares that this half-communion "continues to be authorised under the established order of this Church and Realm" (p. 126).

"And therefore that the canonical rule of reserving 'the Sacrament of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ . . . in a decent Tabernacle, over against the High Altar,' as enjoined by Bp. Tunstall, in conformity with the Provincial Constitution (*sub panis latibulo*), under the species of bread, still holds good, as expressing the ecclesiastical law of England" (p. 185).

He repeats this, p. 129. The words "*sub panis latibulo*" (i.e. "under covert of the bread") are variously paraphrased by Mr. Kempe as "under the species" and "in His Sacrament;" as though even Mr. Kempe were ashamed of the naked indecency of speaking of "the King of Glory" as lurking in a processional wafer.

Nevertheless he quotes, as binding, a Constitution of the Minorite Friar Peccham (whom the Pope made Abp. of Canterbury), ordering a light and a bell to be borne before the stoled priest who carries the Host to the sick in order that the people may prostrate themselves "wherever the King of Glory happens to be carried about under his lurking place of the bread" (*ad prosternendum se ubicunque Regem Glorie sub panis latibulo evenerit deportari*)! And this precious Constitution, Mr. Kempe thinks, is binding now both in law and conscience upon every priest of the Church of England (pp. 23, 54, 94). It accounts for the Royal Injunction of 1549 relating to the Prayer Book of that year—"That going to the sick with the sacrament the minister have not with him either light or bells."³

* * *

What concerns English Churchmen more than the Popish beliefs and practices of members of the C. B. S. is their habit of tampering with evidence, of misrepresenting 'authorities,' of garbling quotations, and of giving strained and non-natural interpretations to rubrics written "for the better direction of them that are to officiate in any part of Divine service." With examples of each of these literary offences Mr. Kempe's book

³ Cardwell, Doc. Ann. i.-65.

swarms. To make this point clear, it will be convenient to classify some of Mr. Kempe's references.

I. THE FIRST PRAYER BOOK OF EDWARD VI., 1549.

Of this Mr. Kempe says—"the ancient order of the Sarum Mass was for the most part retained" (p. 27). That is not true. Not more than two out of the twenty-three closely-printed pages of Mr. Maskell's reprint are to be found in the Sarum Missal. "If we compare it with the Canon according to the use of Sarum, we find that by far the greater part of it is *new*," says Prebendary Sadler.⁴ Canon Estcourt has printed the two side by side, showing that "the Canon is so mutilated that *only here and there* do the words in the two books agree."⁵ Yet the 'Canon' is precisely that part of the Mass in which the invisible miracle and the supplementary 'sacrifice' were supposed to take place.

Ridley in his Visitation Articles, June, 1550, asked "Whether the minister or any other doth reserve the sacrament, and not immediately receive it?"⁶

But the C. B. S. have a further device for "depraving the Book of Common Prayer." Speaking (at p. 128) of the sanction supposed to be given by the First Prayer Book to Half-Communion (viz. in wafers only), Mr. Kempe says "it is clearly stated in this book, as we have before observed, that '*in each of them*' is received the whole body of our Saviour Jesus Christ." This is a double misrepresentation. The words "*in each of them*" do *not* relate, as Mr. Kempe pretends, to the bread and *wine*, but to the separate particles of the bread, which in 1548 was (for the first time) ordered to be 'broken' with a view to the distribution of its fragments to the people. And the words "*the whole body*" do not include the 'blood,' as Mr. Kempe's argument would necessarily imply.

Mr. Kempe further speaks (p. 166) of the words of distribution as a "time-honoured formula:" whereas they were taken from Abp. Herman's Consultation, a Lutheran production devised by Bucer. The words used by the minister to each communicant "which *was* given *for thee*" had no place in the "time-honoured formula" which Mr. Kempe quotes at p. 105. It was not the "body now given *to thee*," but the body once for all "*given for thee*" (1800 years ago), to which the new Protestant formula of the first Prayer Book (and of our own) was thus made to relate.

II. OUR PRESENT PRAYER BOOK

fares no better at Mr. Kempe's hands. He builds a vast edifice upon the rubric which directs that

⁴ "Church and the Age," p. 305.

⁵ "Anglican Ordinations," p. 321. It can be seen also in Tract CXIII., "The Sarum Mass and the First Prayer Book," price 2d.

⁶ Ridley's Register, fol. 305.

"When all have communicated, the Minister shall return to the Lord's table, and reverently place upon it what remaineth of the consecrated elements, covering the same with a fair linen cloth."

The object of thus covering the elements was to mark the close of the sacramental 'action,' and to withdraw the "fragments that remain" from the contemplation of the worshippers. In John Alasco's liturgy, the unconsecrated "white bread usual to be eaten" was similarly ordered to be "covered with a fair linen cloth," *cibarius panis albus mundo linteo contegitur.* Before our present rubric was introduced, Mountagu, Bp. of Norwich, asked, in 1638—

"Have you . . . a napkin of fine linen, to cover the bread consecrated which cannot all at once be contained in the patten, and to fold up what is *not* used at the communion?"⁷

And in the same year, the Archdeacon of Worcester asked, "Have you . . . a plate for the bread, and a towell to lay over it?"⁸ This was doubtless suggested by the Scotch rubric of the previous year, which directed that

"When all have communicated, he that celebrates shall go to the Lord's table, and cover with a fair linen cloth, or corporall, that which remaineth of the consecrated elements."

But that this was not intended as an order for any wine or bread to be 'reserved' is shown by another rubric (then also added), that

"If any of the bread and wine remain, which is consecrated, it . . . shall not be carried out of the church. And to the end that there may be little left, he that officiates is required to consecrate with THE LEAST, and then IF there be want, the words of consecration may be repeated again, over more, either bread or wine," &c.

It is clear that the thing here guarded against was the Puritan practice of using unconsecrated elements; yet, at the same time, any possibility of 'reservation' was provided against with equal care.

The entire rubric as inserted in Laud's Scotch Liturgy of 1637 was:—

"And if any of the Bread and Wine remain, which is consecrated, it shall be reverently eaten and drunk by such of the communicants only as the Presbyter which celebrates shall take unto him, but it shall not be carried out of the Church. And to the end there may be little left, he that officiates is required to consecrate with the least, and then, if there be want, the words of consecration may be repeated again, over more, either bread or wine: the Presbyter beginning at these words in the prayer of consecration (our Saviour in the night that he was betrayed, took, &c.)."

Bp. Cosin, in his "Notes on the Prayer Book," says, "If he be careful, as he ought to be, to consecrate no more than will suffice to be distributed to the communicants, none will remain."⁹ He urged, therefore, that

⁷ Rit. Rep. 580-10.

⁸ Rit. Rep. 586-23.

⁹ Works, v.-356.

"The priest may be enjoined to consider the number of them which are to receive the Sacrament, and to consecrate the bread and wine in such near proportion as shall be sufficient for them; *but if* any of the consecrated elements be left, that he and some others with him shall decently eat and drink them in the church before all the people depart from it."¹⁰

It is clear that there was no intention to 'reserve' any particle of the consecrated elements, which, indeed, could only be left unconsumed by (an involuntary) miscalculation of the number of intending communicants. To guard against any notion of bread-worship, or of propitiatory oblation, our Reformers transposed the "Prayer of oblation," so that it might only be used in the post-communion, after the consecrated elements *had been consumed*. As a further precaution, an *alternative* prayer was provided, so that the "prayer of oblation" need never be read when any portion of bread or wine happens to be left. Yet upon these facts Mr. Kempe finds an amazing series of fanatical statements. He says—

"We learn from Pope Gelasius and others that the familiar custom of reserving the remaining part of the consecrated elements until the end of the Mass, *now enjoined* in our English rubric, was regarded as an ancient custom . . . and consequently may be reckoned among those liturgical usages which are derived from the holy Apostles themselves." "The post-communion rubric distinctly *enjoins* the liturgical usage of reservation" (p. 35). "The solemn liturgical blessing is now given by the bishop, or in his absence by the priest, *in presence of the Eucharist*. . . The principle of reserving the Lord's body for Eucharistic intercession, worship, and benediction, in union with the oblation of the holy Sacrifice, is thereby intrinsically recognised" (p. 45). "These rubrics, when regarded in the light of Catholic antiquity, *direct* the priest, according to the present English rite, in the first place to reserve the Blessed Sacrament at every celebration" (p. 102). "The *immediate object* of this rubric was to provide for the reservation of the Eucharist until after the blessing, *in order that* the propitiatory sacrifice of Christ's death and passion might be pleaded, His Godhead worshipped, and His blessing bestowed, in union with the Oblation of His holy mysteries" (p. 144).

All this marvellously complete doctrine of the Mass is built by Mr. Kempe upon the two facts that some bread or wine might possibly be left, and that the clergyman *might* possibly use the "Prayer of Oblation" at that time. If that be not a "non-natural interpretation," it is not easy to understand what could possibly merit such an appellation.

III. THE ACT FOR THE "SUBMISSION OF THE CLERGY" (A.D. 1534) (25 H. 8, c. 19, sec. 7) is relied upon by Mr. Kempe as giving *statutory* force to the pre-Reformation Canon Law. That would be "strange, if true," since, as he himself observes (p. 54), "No edition of the Constitutions was issued from the time of Abp.

Warham until 1677 :" and (as he fails to observe) the very next year—A.D. 1535—Henry VIII., by Royal decree, put an end for ever to the study of Canon Law in both Universities.¹¹ But Mr. Kempe further fails to observe that by the words of the Statute no new or additional force was given even to such canons as for the time were to continue. They were only to be "still used and executed as they were BEFORE THE MAKING of this Act." That left to them merely their non-Parliamentary, 'spiritual' (*i.e.* clerical) authority. The Statute conferred no immediate authority, but merely exempted certain of them, provisionally, from virtual repeal by the earlier sections of the Act until they should obtain the "authority of Parliament" by being reissued "under the Great Seal" of England, as provided in section 2 of the Act; and this issue "under the Great Seal" has never yet taken place.

Mr. Kempe also urges their validity as Canon Law. But he forgets that forty years of disuse repeals the binding force of mere Canons: that reception by the Church (*i.e.* the laity) is needed to validate all acts of the clergy: that the English bishops have formally repudiated this particular Constitution of his; and, above all, that "as to these Constitutions . . . they must be taken, if of force at the time of the passing of *any* of the Acts of Uniformity, to have been repealed by those Acts."¹² If Mr. Kempe chooses to rely upon Statute Law, he must allow Her Majesty's judges to decide as to its meaning. And they have decided unmistakably against him.

IV. BP. OVERALL

is misrepresented by Mr. Kempe. At pp. 12, 31, and elsewhere, the "First Series of Notes" (wrongly) attributed to Bp. Cosin, are assigned by Mr. Kempe to Overall, though they speak of Overall in the third person as "my lord and master," whom the writer "had heard preach a hundred times." Bp. Overall's real teaching was that the Eucharistic presence of Christ is only "in the right *use* of the Sacrament, and to worthy recipients, not by transubstantiation nor by consubstantiation, but by the Holy Spirit working by faith—*Spiritu Sancto per fidem operante*." Now, working "through faith" is not a working in bread or in wine, as even Mr. Kempe must perceive.¹³

Mr. Kempe says "these Notes of 1619 are undoubtedly in the handwriting of Cosin." That is not so. Canon Meyrick has pointed out that the writing is very *unlike* Cosin's, and that no one till 1840 ever attributed it to Cosin. Mr. James Parker

¹¹ See Dibdin's "Church Courts," p. 57. Strype, Eccl. Mem. I. i.-324, 382. Wilkins, iii.-812.

¹² Judgment of Her Majesty in Council, in *Martin v. Mackonochie*, p. 26.

¹³ The passages are given in full in Dean Goode's "Nature of Christ's Presence," ii.-829, and the Report of Master Brooke's Committee, p. 104. See also Tract XCVIII., "The Misprinted Catechism," p. 9.

has shown that an obscure clergyman named Hayward was probably the author of them.¹⁴

V. BP. COSIN

is Mr. Kempe's next victim. At pp. 38 and 87, he attributes to Cosin the very same Notes he had just before fathered upon Overall, thus polling his witness twice over. At p. 80 he again attributes them to "this illustrious divine," but he is careful to suppress Cosin's retractation (on the very next page of the edition from which he is quoting), which the editor says was "added at a later time," and which showed that Cosin outlived the mistake made by the unknown author of these "Notes" which, by that time, had come into Cosin's possession.¹⁵

Mr. Kempe is further careful not to quote from the same volume and from Cosin's *genuine* 'Notes' such passages as the following—

"Yet if for lack of care they consecrate more than they distribute, why may not the Curates have it to their own use . . . for though the bread and wine remain, yet the consecration, the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, do not remain longer than the holy action itself remains for which the bread and wine were hallowed; and which being ended, return to their former use again?"¹⁶

A similar passage (of course *not* quoted by Mr. Kempe) occurs at page 481. And (what is of far more value than any of these unpublished private 'Notes') Cosin says, in his *published* "History of Transubstantiation"—"We also deny that the elements still retain the nature of sacraments when not used according to Divine institution, that is, given by Christ's ministers, and received by His people; so that Christ in the consecrated bread ought not, *cannot* be kept and preserved to be carried about, because He is present only to the Communicants."¹⁷

It is doing a gross wrong to 'Bishop' Cosin to cite him as one who shared Mr. Kempe's notions.

VI. BP. SPARROW

is said by Mr. Kempe to 'advocate' (p. 106) and to 'direct' (p. 160) that "the priest SHALL RESERVE [*sic*]—at the open Communion—so much of the sacrament of the body and blood as shall serve the sick person."

The only foundation for this scandalous misrepresentation is

¹⁴ Hist. Revis. p. 325.

¹⁵ Cosin's Works, v.-43.

¹⁶ Works, v.-356.

¹⁷ Brewer's edit., p. 61, cf. pp. 12, 29, 57. In contrast with this teaching of Bp. Cosin's, the *Church Review* of April, 1887, may be quoted as to the impiety of "washing the cup and platter," and drinking the rinsings, "after the Communion instead of after the blessing. Considering *how short a time we have our Lord's sacramental presence with us*, we are loth to curtail the time by a single moment. As it now stands, the *Gloria in excelsis* is a grand hymn of adoration to our Saviour *there* and then present *on* the Altar; the Prayer of Oblation is rendered all the more vivid by the priest being able, as it were, to point to the Sacrifice when he mentions it in that prayer."

that, in his 'Rationale,' Bp. Sparrow noted that the Jacobean Prayer Book then in use failed to specify clearly "how much of the Communion Service shall be used" in Visitations of the Sick.¹⁸ To clear up that point he referred to the service as prescribed in the older Liturgy of 1549. "Now the direction formerly," he says, "was this." He then quotes *verbatim* the Rubric from the first Prayer Book of Edward, but interpolates into it the following important words (which Mr. Kempe *carefully omits* from his economical half-citation on page 154), viz. "And so proceeding in the Communion Service *to the end of the consecration and distribution.*"

These words were inserted by Sparrow into the Rubric of 1549 in order to make that precedent applicable to the altered use of his own day. Had Mr. Kempe honestly quoted Bp. Sparrow's addition he would have proved that so far from 'directing' or 'advocating' reservation, the Bp. directed that 'consecration' be used afresh at *every* Communion of the Sick in private houses.

VII. THE UNAUTHORISED LATIN PRAYER BOOK OF 1560

is similarly misrepresented. Mr. Kempe pretends to think that it was of statutory authority 'co-ordinate' with the Prayer Book itself because, nine months *after* its issue, the Queen directed her Ecclesiastical Commissioners to take order lest the laity should be present at this Latin form of hers, which she intended only for scholars at Oxford, Cambridge, and the Colleges of Eton and Winchester, and for the *private* use of individual clergymen. Her Letters Patent of April 2, 1560, had directed that English service should be used 'Anglice' wherever uneducated laymen were likely to attend.

Strype says¹⁹ that order was taken accordingly by the commissioners : but the Order itself (if it ever existed) is lost. But it is clear that such an order as Mr. Kempe dreams of could not be authorised by the Act of Uniformity. And this is expressly stated by Mr. Kempe's two chosen authorities, Bp. Gibson and Bp. Sparrow. Gibson says,²⁰ "No provision was made for this liberty in the foregoing Act, Eliz. I, c. 2," and Sparrow, in 1661, says of this Latin service, "It is a translation of some private pen not licensed by authority as I guess."²¹

Heylin, who was no fanatical Puritan, points out that these fancy additions by Elizabeth "not being warranted by the statute of the year preceding, were therefore authorised with a

¹⁸ The obscurity was cleared up in 1662, by the addition of a new rubric, "*the Priest shall proceed according to the form before prescribed for the holy Communion, beginning at these words [Ye that do truly, &c.]*"

¹⁹ In his Annals (I.-338), and Life of Parker, I.-165.

²⁰ Codex, i.-279 n.

²¹ Rationale, p. 340 of Newman's Edition.

*non obstante.*²² It suits Mr. Kempe's polemical convenience to ignore the fact that Elizabeth issued this version (and its supplemental offices) purely by her own royal authority (*nostrâ autoritate et privilegio regali*), her Letters Patent saying expressly the Act of Uniformity "in contrarium non obstante."²³ Thus Mr. Kempe represents an "Act to the contrary notwithstanding" as equivalent to statutory authorisation by that very Act!

It is true that the new English Kalendar (which did come under the Act of Uniformity) was issued "by virtue of" Elizabeth's letter to her Ecclesiastical Commissioners, dated Jan. 22, 1561. But then, Abp. Parker and his fellow-commissioners were too wary to be misled into a breach of the Act of Uniformity. Their 'Order' of Oct. 10, 1561, which authorised the new Kalendar, *ignored altogether* the apocryphal Latin service. The 'Order' is printed in full in Miller's "Guide to Ecclesiastical Law," p. 35.

Mr. Kempe further states that "Art. 28 was revised by the very men who replaced the Rubric directing reservation in the Latin Prayer Book of 1560" (p. 19). That is utterly untrue. Elizabeth's Latin Prayer Book was a mere edition by Haddon of Aless' notoriously inaccurate version; and Haddon (a lawyer) was not a member of the Convocation which drafted the Thirty-nine Articles of 1562. The *Reformatio Legum*, published by Abp. Parker in 1571, stated, "Therefore we neither suffer this Sacrament to be lifted up, nor carried about through the country, nor to be reserved for the morrow, nor worshipped."²⁴

Again, Mr. Kempe says this Latin book was accepted "by the clergy." So far from being 'accepted,' the book dropped from the press stillborn. Strype says most of the colleges in Cambridge would not tolerate it as being "the Pope's dregges."²⁵

No second edition appeared,²⁶ but it was superseded by a different version more agreeable to the Book of Common Prayer. Hence, when Convocation in 1640 asked "ut liber publicarum precum, in latinum versus, reimprimatur," they had in their minds doubtless the Christ Church edition of 1615, from which Elizabeth's unauthorised fancy services had been excluded. For it is important to remember that these additional services, upon which Mr. Kempe builds, had a separate title-page, and formed no part even of Haddon's Prayer Book of 1560, which ended with "Finis libri publicarum precum" after the Communion.

In Mr. Kempe's bulky and elaborate pamphlet he is only able to adduce three authorities which are really in his favour.

The first is Peccham, the Minorite friar whom the Pope thrust into the See of Canterbury in despite of the unanimous election of

²² Hist. Ref. ii.-332.

²³ Clay's Eliz. Lit., Parker Soc., p. 301.

²⁴ *Nec conservari in crastinum* Hardwick's Thirty-nine Articles, p. 380.

²⁵ Life of Parker, p. 269.

²⁶ See Clay's preface to Elizabethan Liturgies, Parker Soc., p. xxxi.

another person by the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury. Of him Dean Hook wrote, "The worst heresies of Mediævalism were now prevalent, and Friar Peckham came to England destined to carry to the extreme the superstitions in fashion at Rome."²⁷ Collier²⁸ gives but a softened outline of Peccham's 'Constitutions.' Yet Mr. Kempe has the effrontery to say that they date "from a time anterior to the decay of religion" (p. 54). Bp. Gibson in his Codex²⁹ gives Peccham's Constitutions as "according to the Papists" in *contrast* with the Anglican rubrics, &c., "according to the Protestants."

Mr. Kempe's next authority is the Marian Convocation of 1559, who in their petition, presented by Bp. Bonner, affirmed the Pope's supremacy and that the 'natural' body and blood of Christ were "under the kinds of bread and wine." Mr. Kempe selects for special approbation that very article which even then was rejected by the two Universities.³⁰ Lastly, he cites as authoritative Tonstal's direction in Queen Mary's time, issued in obedience to the Legatine decree of Cardinal Pole the year before,³¹ that the host should be reserved in a tabernacle! Yet Pole himself is witness to the utter irregularity of his own acts, for he explained to Philip of Spain that the Abp. of Canterbury was then in prison, and that the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury could not act, since the Primate was "*neither condemned, nor deposed, nor was the See vacant.*"³²

Such are the vouchers by which Mr. Kempe seeks to make it

"Evident that this Catholic and primitive (*sic*) usage will in God's good time be restored among us, just as the ecclesiastical spirit among our clergy, and the discipline of spiritual life among our people, and the august solemnities of Divine worship have been, and are now being continually and with ever increasing perfection and beauty, restored to our communion."

²⁷ Eccl. Biog. viii.-28.

²⁸ Hist. ii.-579.

²⁹ I.-355-386.

³⁰ Card. Conf., p. 23.

³¹ Card. Doc. Ann. i.-146. Tonstal wrote "contra communicationem utriusque speciei." Parker, Corr., p. 106.

³² Venetian State Papers, vol. vi., A.D. 1555.



THE SARUM MASS

C O M P A R E D

WITH THE

COMMUNION OFFICE

OF

THE FIRST PRAYER BOOK OF EDWARD VI

BY

J. T. TOMLINSON.



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THE SARUM MASS

VERSUS

EDWARD VI'S "FIRST" PRAYER BOOK.



SIR ROBERT PHILLIMORE, when Dean of the Arches, said,* "The whole Prayer Book in fact, with very *inconsiderable* exceptions, consists of a translation of the Ancient Liturgies, and especially of that liturgy used by the Western Church." Hallam said,† "The liturgy was essentially the same with the Mass book." The editor employed by Messrs. Griffith and Farran to write a preface to their cheap edition of the Second Prayer Book of Edward VI, says, "The first liturgy of King Edward followed closely the ancient Canon, only it was in English."

On the other hand Prebendary Sadler tells us, "The Eucharistic service of the Church of England is substantially a *new* service. If we take even the Communion Office of 1549 and compare it with the Canon according to the Use of Sarum, we find that by far the greater part of it is new." "The office of 1549 occupies twenty-three closely-printed pages at the end of Mr. Maskell's 'Ancient Liturgies of the Church of England,' and of these not above two pages are to be found in the Sarum Missal." (*The Church and the Age*, p. 305.)

Canon Estcourt has placed this beyond controversy by printing side by side in parallel columns the Liturgy of 1549 and the Canon of Sarum, with the result of showing that "every expression which implied a real and proper sacrifice had been weeded out. The canon is so mutilated that only here and there do the words in the two books agree." (*Dogmatic Teaching of the Book of Common Prayer on the Eucharist*, pp. 16, 40.)

Such variations are of comparatively small importance in the Ante-Communion, though the Confession to "the Blessed Mary, all Saints, and you;" and the "praying holy Mary, all the Saints of God, and you" of Sarum (like the "Holy Mary, Mother of God, intercede for us" of the Hereford Missal) were struck out of this part of the Reformed Anglican rite. It is interesting to note that the absolution given to the Priest by the choir was, in 1549, put into the mouth of the Protestant Minister, while the distinctively sacerdotal absolution of the Sarum Use was omitted altogether.

* *Martin v. Mackonochie*, p. 53.

† *Const. Hist. I. 68.*

Minute ritual directions about censing, kissing, crossing, and hand-washing, and an endless variety of rules about clothes-wearing, with processions of candle-bearers, &c., were all got rid of. The Priest used to begin Mass at the SOUTH corner. But this was discontinued in 1549: and as if to destroy all "historic continuity" with the Ritual of the Mass, the Reformers in 1552 adopted the "NORTH" side for the corresponding portion of our own office. The number seven had been fixed by the Sarum rubrics as a limit in the matter of Collects of which Canon Estcourt gives a couple of samples for the sake of comparison.

Second Collect of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

Grant to us thy servants, we beseech thee, O Lord God, to enjoy perpetual health of mind and body, and by the glorious intercession of Blessed Mary ever Virgin, to be delivered from present sorrow, and to enjoy eternal gladness.

Third Collect of All Saints.

Grant we beseech thee, Almighty God, that by the intercession of holy Mary, Mother of God, and of all the holy Powers of heaven, and the blessed Patriarchs, Prophets, Apostles, Evangelists, Martyrs, Confessors, and Virgins, and all thine elect, we may everywhere have cause to rejoice; and while recalling their merits, may be sensible of their protection.

All such prayers disappeared, of course, in the Edwardian Prayer Book. In fact, beyond the Epistle, Gospel, Nicene Creed, Gloria, Kyrie, and the Psalm used as an 'introit,' the two offices have in this part hardly any feature in common. The sermon, homily, and 'Exhortation' (being addressed to the understanding) found, of course, no place in a service which was merely in Latin.

But from the Offertory onwards the doctrinal erasures become so numerous and so important that if the Sarum rite were free from error, they amount to an apostasy.

To facilitate comparison, Canon Estcourt's tabular arrangement is adopted, which will enable the omissions to be seen at a glance.

The Sarum Missal.

After the Offertory let the Deacon present the chalice with the paten and host (sacrificium) to the Priest: and kiss his hand each time. He receiving from him the chalice, places it carefully in its own due place on the midst of the altar: and with head bent for the moment, let him elevate the

**The Book of Common Prayer,
1549.**

Then shall the Minister take so much bread and wine as shall suffice for the persons appointed to receive the Holy Communion.

The Sarum Missal.

The Book of Common Prayer,
1549.

chalice with both hands, offering the sacrifice to the Lord, and saying this prayer :

Receive, O Holy Trinity, this oblation, which I, unworthy sinner, offer in honour of thee and of blessed Mary and all thy Saints, for my sins and offences, and for the salvation of the living, and rest of all the faithful departed. In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost be this new sacrifice accepted of Almighty God.*

This prayer having been said, let him replace the chalice, and cover it with the corporals, and place the bread decently upon the corporals, in front of the chalice containing wine and water, and kiss the paten, and let him replace it on the altar on his right, under the corporals, partly covering it.

[*After various censings and crossings (omitted for the sake of brevity)*]

Then the Priest goes to the right-hand corner of the altar, and washes his hands, saying :

Cleanse me, O Lord, from all defilement of mind and body, that being cleansed I may be able to fulfil the holy work of the Lord.

Then turning him about, and standing before the altar, with head and body inclined and

Laying the bread upon the corporas, or else in the paten, or in some other comely thing prepared for that purpose ; and putting the wine into the chalice, or else in some fair or convenient cup prepared for that use (if the chalice will not serve), putting thereto a little pure and clean water ; and setting both the bread and wine upon the altar.

* The words 'acceptum sit omnipotenti Deo hoc sacrificium novum' are not in Maskell ; but they are found in both the editions of 1515 and 1516, and in the Sarum Mass in Martene. (Estcourt.)

† Pre-Reformation chalices, being intended only for the Communion of the Priest, were too tiny to serve for the Communion of the Laity.

hands joined, let him say the prayer :

In the spirit of humility and in a contrite heart, may we be accepted of thee, O Lord, and may our sacrifice be so done in thy sight, that it may be accepted of thee to-day, and please thee, O Lord God.

Then standing erect let him kiss the altar on the right-hand side of the host, [sacrificium,] and bless first the host and then himself with the sign of the cross, saying :

In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.

Then let the Priest turn himself to the people, and say with a low (tacitā) voice :

Pray for me, brethren and sisters, that the sacrifice which is equally yours and mine may be accepted of the Lord our God.

Answer of the Clerks privately :

May the grace of the Holy Ghost illuminate thy heart and thy lips, and may the Lord deign to accept this sacrifice of praise at thy hands, for our sins and offences.

And turning again to the altar, let the Priest say the secret prayers, which are to be the same in number and order as [the Collects] before the Epistle.

Let us pray.*

O God, who by the perfection of one sacrifice hast fulfilled the variety of sacrifices of the law : accept the sacrifice offered to thee by thy devoted servants, and

* The collects for the Eighth Sunday after Trinity are here given from Estcourt by way of samples.

The Sarum Missal.**The Book of Common Prayer,**
1549.

sanctify it with thy benediction like the offerings of just Abel; that what they *severally* have offered in honour of thy Majesty, may profit them all together to salvation. Through our Lord, &c.

By thy propitiation, O Lord, and the intercession of Blessed Mary ever Virgin, may this oblation profit us to our perpetual and present prosperity and peace.

Be graciously pleased, O Lord, with the gifts offered unto thee; the blessed and glorious Mary, ever Virgin and Mother of God, interceding, with all thy Saints.

Protect us, O Lord, we beseech thee, in the service of thy mysteries; that by cleaving to divine things we may serve thee in body and soul.

O God, who wilt permit no terrors to overwhelm the people that believe in thee, vouchsafe to accept the prayers and sacrifices of the people dedicated unto thee, that in the peace which in thy pity thou dost grant, Christian lands may be made secure from all enemies. Through our Lord, &c.

[*A complex rubric here omitted for brevity's sake. Pater noster.*]

Which ended let the Priest say aloud:

For ever and ever.

Ans. Amen.

The Lord be with you.

Ans. And with thy spirit.

Here let the Priest raise his hands, saying

Lift up your hearts.

Ans. We have them to the Lord.

Let us give thanks to the Lord our God.

Ans. It is meet and just.

Preface. It is truly meet and just, right and salutary, that we

Then the Priest shall say:

The Lord be with you.

Ans. And with thy spirit.

Priest. Lift up your hearts.

Ans. We lift them up unto the Lord.

Priest. Let us give thanks to our Lord God.

Ans. It is meet and right so to do.

Priest. It is very meet, right, and our bounden duty, that we

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at all times, and in all places, give thanks to thee, O holy Lord, Father Almighty, Eternal God : through Christ our Lord. Through whom the Angels praise thy Majesty, the Dominations adore, the Powers tremble. The heavens and the heavenly Virtues, and the blessed Seraphim join with exultation to celebrate together. With whom we pray thee to grant admittance to our voices, in suppliant confession, saying,—

The Sanctus follows. While the priest is saying Holy, Holy, let him lift his arms for the moment and join his hands till the words, In the name of the Lord: then let him always sign himself on the face.

[And* therefore with Angels and Archangels, with Thrones and Dominations, and with all the array of the heavenly host, we sing a hymn to thy glory, repeating without end:]

Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Hosts. The heavens and the earth are full of thy glory. Hosanna in the highest. Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord. Hosanna in the highest.

[*The Sanctus was also sung by the Choir.*]

Then at once with hands joined, and eyes raised, and his body inclined until the words ‘and beseech’ the Priest is to begin the Canon.

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should at all times, and in all places, give thanks to thee, O Lord, Holy Father, Almighty, Everlasting God.

Therefore with Angels and Archangels, and with all the holy company of heaven, we laud and magnify thy glorious name; evermore praising thee, and saying :

¶ Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Hosts; heaven and earth are full of thy glory: Osannah in the highest. Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord. Glory to thee, O Lord, in the highest.

This the Clerks shall also sing.

¶ When the Clerks have done singing, then shall the Priest, or Deacon turn him to the people, and say :

Let us pray for the whole state of Christ's Church.

Then the Priest, turning him to the altar, shall say or sing, plainly and distinctly, this prayer following:

Almighty and ever-living God,

* This conclusion is not used in the common Preface, either in the Sarum or Roman Missals, but only in some of the proper Prefaces. (*Estcourt.*)

The Sarum Missal.**The Canon.**

Therefore, we humbly beg and beseech thee, O most merciful Father, through Jesus Christ thy Son our Lord [*here rising let him kiss the altar to the right of the sacrifice, saying*] to accept and bless

these gifts, these presents, these holy undefiled sacrifices, [*after making little signs upon the chalice let him raise his hands while saying,*] which we offer to thee especially for thy holy Catholic Church which vouchsafe to keep in peace, to guard, unite, and govern throughout the world,

together with thy servant our Pope N., and our Bishop N., and our King N.

and all orthodox professing the Catholic and Apostolic faith.

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which by thy holy Apostle hast taught us to make prayers and supplications, and to give thanks for all men :

We humbly beseech thee most mercifully to receive

these our prayers, which we offer unto thy divine Majesty, beseeching thee to inspire continually the universal Church with the spirit of truth, unity, and concord. And grant that all they that do confess thy holy name may agree in the truth of thy holy word and live in unity and godly love.

[All Bishops, Pastors, and Curates.]*

Specially we beseech thee to save and defend thy servant Edward our King, that under him we may be godly and quietly governed. And grant unto his whole council, and to all that be put in authority under him, that they may truly and indifferently minister justice, to the punishment of wickedness and vice, and to the maintenance of God's true religion and virtue. Give grace, O heavenly Father, to all Bishops, Pastors, and Curates, that they may both by their life and doctrine set forth thy true and lively word, and rightly and duly administer thy holy Sacraments; and to all thy people give thy heavenly grace, that with meek

* All passages in this column which have been transposed to facilitate comparison are enclosed in square brackets.

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Here let him pray for the living.

Remember, O Lord, thy servants men and women, N. and N.

And all those standing around, whose faith and devotion are known to thee, for whom we offer to thee, or who offer unto thee this sacrifice of praise, for themselves, and all that belong to them, for the redemption of their souls, for the hope of their salvation and safety: and who render their vows to thee, the everlasting, living, and true God.

Communicating with, and venerating the memory

in the first place of the glorious ever Virgin Mary, *Mother of our God* and Lord Jesus Christ:

as also of thy blessed Apostles and Martyrs Peter and Paul, Andrew, &c. &c., and all thy Saints; by whose merits and prayers mayest thou grant, that in all things we may be defended by the help of thy protection. Through the same Christ our Lord. Amen.

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heart and due reverence they may hear and receive thy holy word, truly serving thee in holiness and righteousness all the days of their life.

And we most humbly beseech thee of thy goodness, O Lord, to comfort and succour all them, which in this transitory life be in trouble, sorrow, need, sickness, or any other adversity.

And especially we commend unto thy merciful goodness this congregation which is here assembled in thy name, to celebrate the commemoration of the most glorious death of thy Son.

And here we do give unto thee most high praise, and hearty thanks, for the wonderful grace and virtue, declared in all thy Saints, from the beginning of the world:

and chiefly in the glorious and most blessed Virgin Mary, Mother of thy Son Jesu Christ our Lord and God, and in the holy Patriarchs, Prophets, Apostles and Martyrs,

whose examples, O Lord, and steadfastness in thy faith, and keeping thy holy commandments, grant us to follow.

[*The commemoration of the dead**

* The revisers of our Liturgy transposed this prayer, placing it before the oblation, perhaps for fear that it should give any countenance to the Romish error, 'that Christ was offered for the quick and dead.' (*Tracts for the Times*, No. 81, p. 11.) So Wilberforce, Doc. Euch., p. 380.

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Here let the Priest regard the Host with great veneration, saying :

This oblation therefore of our service, as also of thy whole family, we beseech thee, O Lord, favourably [placatus] to accept, and to dispose our days in thy peace, that we may be snatched from eternal damnation, and be numbered in the flock of thine elect. Through Christ, our Lord. Amen.

[*Here again let him look at the Host, saying :*] Which oblation do thou, Almighty God, we beseech thee, in all things vouchsafe to make bles + sed, adm + itted, rati+fied, reasonable, and accept-able,

that it may be
made

to us the Bo+dy and Blo+od of thy most beloved Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, [*here let the Priest raise himself and join his hands : and after cleanse his fingers and elevate the host, saying :*] who the day before he suffered, took bread into his holy and venerable hands, and with eyes lifted up to heaven [*here let him raise his own eyes*], to thee, O God, his Father Almighty, [*here let him incline himself and afterward raise a little, saying :*] giving

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follows here, but for the sake of brevity is transferred to the place corresponding with the Canon of the Mass.]

O God, heavenly Father, which of thy tender mercy didst give thine only Son Jesus Christ to suffer death upon the cross for our redemption, who made there (by his one oblation, once offered) a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction for the sins of the whole world ; and did institute, and in his holy Gospel command us to celebrate, a perpetual memory of that his precious death until his coming again :

Hear us, O merciful Father, we beseech thee, and with thy Holy Spirit and word vouchsafe to bl+ess

and sanc+tify these thy gifts and creatures of bread and wine

that they may be*

unto us the body and blood of thy most dearly-beloved Son Jesus Christ,

who, in the same night that he was betrayed, took bread [*here the Priest must take the bread into his hands*],

and when he had blessed, and

* These words being "mis-taken" by Gardiner, who argued from them that Christ's body was "in that order exhibited and made present unto us, by conversion of the substance of bread into his precious body," Crammer replied, "In the book of the holy Communion we do not pray absolutely that the bread may be MADE the body and blood of Christ, but that *unto us* in that holy mystery they may be so" ("On the Lord's Supper," p. 79); hence the change of language in the Consecration Prayer of 1552, which is that of our present prayer book, and suggests no such ambiguity.

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thanks to thee, he ble+ssed, brake [*here let him touch the host*], and gave to his disciples, saying, Take, and eat all of you of this [*These are the words of Consecration*].

For this is my Body.

And these words ought to be brought out with one breath and at one utterance, no pause being introduced. After these words let the priest [bow to the host and] elevate it above his forehead that it may be seen by the people: and reverently replace it in front of the chalice, making with it the sign of the cross. And then let him uncover the chalice and hold it between his hands not disjoining his thumb from his forefinger, save when he is giving the blessings, saying thus:

In like manner after supper, taking also this excellent chalice

into his holy and venerable hands [*here he bows, saying :*], also giving thanks to thee, he blessed it, and gave it to his disciples, saying,

Take, and drink of it, all of you; [*here let the Priest elevate the chalice for a moment, saying thus*] for this is the Chalice of My Blood of the New and eternal Testament,

the Mystery of Faith; which for you, and for many, shall be shed for remission of sins.

[*Here let him elevate the chalice, saying :*]

As often as you shall do these things, you shall do them in remembrance of me.

Here let him replace the chalice

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given thanks, he brake it, and gave it to his disciples, saying, Take, eat,

this is my Body, which is given for you: do this in remembrance of me.

Likewise after supper, he took the cup [*here the Priest shall take the cup into his hands*],

and when he had given thanks, he gave it to them, saying,

Drink ye all of this; for this is

My Blood of the New
Testament,

which is shed for you, and for many, for remission of sins:

Do this, as oft as you shall drink it, in remembrance of me.

The words before rehearsed are

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and raise his arms in the fashion of a cross, his fingers being joined, until the words Of thy gifts, saying on this wise :

Wherefore, O Lord,

we thy servants
and likewise thy holy people,
do offer to

thy excellent Majesty
of thy gifts and bounties, a pure
+ victim, a holy + victim, an
immaculate + victim, the holy +
bread of eternal life, and the
chalice + of everlasting salvation;
having in remembrance as well
the blessed passion of the same
Christ thy Son our Lord God, as
also his resurrection from the
dead, and likewise his glorious
ascension into heaven.

Upon which *things* (*quaæ*) vouchsafe to look with a propitious and serene countenance;

and accept them
as thou didst vouchsafe to accept
the offerings of thy just servant Abel, and the sacrifice
of our patriarch Abraham, and that which thy high priest Melchisedec offered to thee,
a holy sacrifice, an immaculate victim (*hostiam*).

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to be said, turning still to the altar, without any elevation, or shewing the Sacrament to the people.

Wherefore, O Lord
and heavenly Father, according
to the Institution of thy dearly-
beloved Son, our Saviour Jesu
Christ,

we thy humble servants,

do celebrate and make here
before thy divine Majesty,
with these thy holy gifts, the
memorial which thy Son hath
willed us to make:

having in remembrance his
blessed passion, mighty resur-
rection, and glorious ascension,

rendering unto thee most hearty
thanks, for the innumerable
benefits procured unto us by
the same, entirely desiring thy
fatherly goodness, mercifully
to accept this

our sacrifice of prayer and
thanksgiving: most humbly beseeching thee to grant, that by
the merits and death of thy Son
Jesus Christ, and through faith
in his blood, we and all thy
whole Church may obtain remis-
sion of our sins, and all other
benefits of his passion. And
here we offer and present* unto

* "Thus adding to the condemned doctrine of the Mass being only a sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, the other idea of the Christian sacrifice

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*Then let the Priest with body
bowed and hands crossed
(cancellatis) say :*

We humbly beseech thee, O Almighty God,
command these *things* (*hæc*) to be carried by the hands of thy holy Angel to thine altar on high in sight of thy Divine Majesty,

that as many of us as shall [*here raising himself let him kiss the altar on the right of the sacrifice*] by this participation of the altar,

receive
the most holy Body and Blood
of thy Son,
may be fulfilled with [*here let him sign himself on the face*] all heavenly benediction and grace, through the same Christ our Lord. Amen.

Here let him pray for the dead.

Remember also, O Lord, the souls of thy servants, men and women, N. and N., who have gone before us, with the sign of faith, and rest in the sleep of peace:

We beseech thee to grant unto them, O Lord, and to all who rest in Christ, a place of refreshment, light, and peace.

Through the same Christ our Lord. Amen.

consisting in the offering of ourselves as a reasonable service. Now these ideas, be it observed, were advocated by Luther, for the very purpose of denying that there is any priesthood under the Gospel besides that common to all Christians."—*Estcourt.*

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thee, O Lord, ourself, our souls and bodies, to be a reasonable, holy, and lively sacrifice unto thee:

Humbly beseeching thee, command these our prayers and supplications, by the ministry of thy holy Angels, to be brought up into thy holy Tabernacle before the sight of thy Divine Majesty];

that whosoever shall be partakers of this holy Communion, may worthily

receive
the most precious body and blood
of thy Son Jesus Christ,
and be fulfilled with thy grace and heavenly benediction,

and made one body with thy Son Jesus Christ, that he may dwell in them, and they in him.

[We commend unto thy mercy, O Lord, all other thy servants which are departed hence from us, with the sign of faith, and now do rest in the sleep of peace;

Grant unto them, we beseech thee,

thy mercy and everlasting peace,

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and that, at the day of the general resurrection, we and all they which be of the mystical body of thy Son, may altogether be set on his right hand, and hear that his most joyful voice: Come unto me, O ye that be blessed of my Father, and possess the kingdom, which is prepared for you from the beginning of the world; grant this, O Father, for Jesus Christ's sake, our only Mediator and Advocate.]*

Here let him strike his own breast once, saying :

To us sinners also thy servants, hoping in the multitude of thy mercies, vouchsafe to grant some part and fellowship with thy holy Apostles and Martyrs: with John, Stephen, &c., with all thy Saints, into whose company do thou, we beseech thee, admit us,

And although we be unworthy through our manifold sins

to offer unto thee any Sacrifice; yet we beseech thee to accept this our bounden duty and service, and command these our prayers and supplications, by the ministry of thy holy Angels, to be brought up into thy holy Tabernacle before the sight of thy divine Majesty; not weighing our merits, but pardoning our offences, through Christ our Lord:

not as a weigher of merit, but as a bestower of pardon, through Christ our Lord.

Through whom, O Lord, thou art ever creating good things, [*here the Priest shall sign the cup thrice, saying :]*] sanctify, give life to, bless, and bestow them on us.

[*Here let the Priest uncover the chalice and make a little cross with the host, five times: first, over the chalice on either side; second, level with the chalice; third, at its foot; the fourth being like the first one; the fifth, in front of it.*]

By + him, and with + him,
and in + him, in the unity of the

by whom, and with whom,
in the unity of the Holy Ghost,

* Transposed from the place previously noted in p. 10.

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Holy Ghost, all honour and glory is unto thee, O God the Father Almighty [*here let the Priest cover the chalice, and hold his hands on the altar until Pater noster is said, saying :]*] world without end. Amen.

Admonished by salutary precepts, and formed by divine instruction, we are bold to say, [*here let the deacon receive the paten and hold it high on the right of the priest, with outstretched arm, until 'bestow peace.' Here let the Priest raise his hands, saying :]*]

Our Father, &c.

Choir. But deliver us from evil.

The Priest, privately, Amen.

Deliver us, we beseech thee, O Lord, from all evils, past, present, and to come ; and the blessed and glorious Mary, ever Virgin and Mother of God, and the blessed Apostles Peter and Paul, and Andrew and all the Saints, interceding ; [*here let the deacon give the paten to the Priest, kissing his hand : and the Priest shall kiss the paten : afterwards put it to his left eye, and then to his right : afterwards making a cross with the paten above his head, and then replace it in its own place, saying :]*] graciously bestow peace in our days ; that, assisted by the help of thy mercy, we may be both ever free from sin, and secure from all perturbation. [*Here let him uncover the chalice and, bowing, take the Body, transferring it into the hollow of the chalice, and retaining it there between his thumbs and forefingers, let him break it into three parts, while he says :]*] Through the same our Lord, Jesus Christ, thy Son. [*At the second breaking]* Who with thee liveth and reigneth in the unity of the Spirit, God.

[*Here let him hold two of the broken pieces in his left hand : and the third in his right*

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all honour and glory be unto thee, O Father Almighty, world without end. Amen.

Let us pray. As our Saviour Christ hath commanded and taught us, we are bold to say,

Our Father, &c.

The Answer. But deliver us from evil. Amen.

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*hand at the top of the chalice,
saying with a loud voice :]*

World without end. Amen.

End of Canon.

The Priest. The peace of +
the Lord be + always with +
you.

Choir answers. And with thy
spirit.

[*At the singing of the Agnus
let the deacon and sub-deacon
both approach the right hand
of the priest: the deacon nearer,
and the sub-deacon further off,
and say privately :]*

Lamb of God, that takest away
the sins of the world, have mercy
upon us.

Lamb of God, that takest away
the sins of the world, have mercy
upon us.

Lamb of God, that takest away
the sins of the world, grant us
peace.

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Then shall the Priest say: The
peace of the Lord be alway with
you.

The Clerks. And with thy
spirit.

The Priest. Christ our Paschal
Lamb is offered up for us, *once for
all, when he bare our sins on his
body upon the cross;* for he is
the very Lamb of God, that taketh
away the sins of the world:
wherefore let us keep a joyful
and holy feast *with the Lord.*

[*In the communion time the
Clerks shall sing,*

ii. O Lamb of God, that takest
away the sins of the world: have
mercy upon us.

O Lamb of God, that takest
away the sins of the world:
grant us thy peace.

*beginning so soon as the priest
doth receive the holy Com-
munion, and when the Com-
munion is ended, then shall
the Clerks sing the post-
Communion.]*

*Here while making the sign
of the cross let him place the
third particle of the Host in
the sacrament of the blood,
saying :*

May this most sacred + com-
mixture of the Body and Blood of
our Lord Jesus Christ be made
to me and all who receive it
salvation of mind and body; and
a wholesome preparation for de-

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serving and obtaining life eternal
Through, &c. Amen.

*Before the pax is given, let the
Priest say :*

O Lord, Holy Father, Almighty,
Everlasting God, grant me so
worthily to receive this sacred
Body and Blood of thy Son our
Lord Jesus Christ; that I may
deserve by this to receive remis-
sion of all my sins; and to be
filled with thy Holy Spirit and
to have thy peace; for thou art
God, and besides thee there is
none other; whose glorious king-
dom abides for ever and ever.
Amen.

*Here let the Priest kiss the cor-
porals on the right and top
of the chalice, and afterwards
kiss the deacon, saying :*

Peace to thee and the Church.

Ans. And with thy spirit.

[After a long rubric about giving
the Pax,]

*Then the Priest, holding the
Host in both hands, says pri-
vately before communicating
himself :*

O God the Father, fountain
and origin of all goodness; who
moved with mercy didst will thine
Only-begotten to descend for us
to the lower world and to take
flesh; *the which I, unworthy, here
hold in my hands:*

*Here he inclines himself to the
Host, saying :*

I adore thee; I glorify thee;
I praise thee with all the inten-
tion of my heart; and pray that
thou desert not us thy servants;
but pardon our sins; that with a
pure heart and a chaste body, we
may merit to serve thee the only
true and living God. Through
the same Christ our Lord. Amen.

O Lord Jesu Christ, Son of
the living God, who, by the will
of the Father and the coöperation
of the Holy Ghost, didst give life.

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to the world by thy death; deliver me by *this* thy most holy Body and *this* thy Blood, from all my iniquities and from all evils: and make me ever to obey thy commandments, and never permit me to be separated from thee, who with God the Father and the same Holy Ghost livest and reignest God, world without end. Amen.

May the sacrament of thy Body and Blood, O Lord Jesus, which I, though unworthy, receive, be to me not for judgment and condemnation; but by thy pity may it profit to the health of my body and soul. Amen.

To the Body, let him say, bowing down before reception:

Hail for evermore, Most Holy Flesh of Christ; to me before all and above all things sovereign sweetness. The Body of our Lord Jesus Christ be to me a sinner the way and the life. In the name + of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.

Here let him take the body, first making a cross with the body itself, before his mouth, and then say to the blood, with great devotion:

Hail for ever, Heavenly Drink, to me before all and above all things sovereign sweetness. The Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ profit me a sinner for an everlasting remedy unto life eternal. Amen. In the name + of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.

Here he receives the blood, after which, bowing himself, let the Priest say with devotion, the following prayer:

I give thee thanks, O Lord, Holy Father, Almighty, Everlasting God who hast refreshed me with the most holy Body and Blood of thy Son our Lord Jesus

*The Sarum Missal.**The Book of Common Prayer,*
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Christ, and pray that this sacrament of our salvation which I an unworthy sinner have received may not come to me to judgment and condemnation for my deserts; but to the advancement of the salvation* of my body and soul to eternal life. Amen.

Here the Priest shall turn him toward those that come to the Holy Communion, and shall say :

You that do truly and earnestly repent you of your sins to Almighty God, and be in love and charity with your neighbours, and intend to lead a new life, following the commandments of God, and walking from henceforth in his holy ways; draw near and take this holy Sacrament to your comfort, make your humble confession to Almighty God, and to his holy Church here gathered together in his name, meekly kneeling upon your knees.

When any are to be communicated, a white cloth is to be held before them by the Accolytes, and the communicants are to repeat the Confiteor.

I confess to God, to the Blessed Mary, to all Saints, and to you, father, that I have sinned grievously, in thought, word, and deed, by my own fault; I beseech Holy Mary, all the Saints of God, and you, father, to pray for me.

Then shall this general confession be made in the name of all those that are minded to receive the holy Communion, either by one of them, or else by one of the Ministers, or by the Priest himself, all kneeling humbly upon their knees.

Almighty God, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, maker of all things, judge of all men, we acknowledge and bewail our manifold sins and wickedness, which we from time to time, most grievously have committed, by thought, word, and deed, against thy divine Majesty, provoking most justly thy wrath and indignation against us; we do earnestly repent and be heartily sorry for these our misdoings; the remembrance of them is griev-

* The word *salutis* is given here in the old editions, but is not in Maskell.
(*Estcourt.*)

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ous unto us, the burden of them is intolerable: have mercy upon us, have mercy upon us, most merciful Father, for thy Son our Lord Jesus Christ's sake, forgive us all that is past, and grant that we may ever hereafter serve and please thee in newness of life, to the honour and glory of thy name: through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Then the Priest says:

Almighty God

have mercy upon you, and pardon you all your sins, deliver you from all evil, preserve and confirm you in good, and bring you to everlasting life.

Ans. Amen.

The Priest. The Almighty and merciful Lord grant you absolution and remission of all your sins, time for true penance and amendment of life, the grace and consolation of the Holy Ghost.

Ans. Amen. (*Estcourt.*)

*Then shall the Priest stand up,
and turning himself to the
people, say thus:*

Almighty God, our heavenly Father, who of his great mercy hath promised forgiveness of sins to all them that with hearty repentance and true faith turn unto him: have mercy upon you, pardon and deliver you from all your sins, confirm and strengthen you in all goodness, and bring you to everlasting life: through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

. Then shall the Priest also say :

Hear what comfortable words our Saviour Christ saith to all that truly turn to him. [Four passages of Scripture recited.]

*Then shall the Priest, turning
him to God's board, kneel down,
and say in the name of all
them that shall receive the Com-
munion, this prayer following:*

We do not presume to come to this thy table (O merciful Lord) trusting in our own righteousness, but in thy manifold and great mercies: we be not worthy so much as to gather up the crumbs under thy table:

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but thou art the same Lord whose property is always to have mercy. Grant us therefore (gracious Lord) so to eat the flesh of thy dear Son Jesus Christ, and to drink his blood in these holy Mysteries, that we may continually dwell in him, and he in us, that our sinful bodies may be made clean by his body, and our souls washed through his most precious blood. Amen.

Then shall the Priest first receive the Communion in both kinds himself, and next deliver it to other Ministers, if any be there present (that they may be ready to help the chief Minister), and after to the people. And when he delivereth the Sacrament of the body of Christ, he shall say to everyone these words:

The Body of our Lord Jesus Christ, which *was* given for thee, preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life.

"There is no form of giving Communion in the Sarum Missal, nor in the Manuale, or in any other of the liturgical books." (*Estcourt.*)*

And the Minister delivering the Sacrament of the Blood, and giving everyone to drink once and no more, shall say:

The Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, which *was* shed for thee, preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life.

Which said, let the Priest go to the right [south] corner of the altar with the chalice in his hands, the fingers joined still as before; and let the sub-deacon go to him and pour into the

* Scudamore says (Not. Euch. p. 738) that there were no words of administration in the Mass because communions were rare. The words, "was given for thee" (not to be mistaken for 'is given to thee'), are unknown to any ancient Liturgy, being taken from a form drawn up by Bucer for the Elector of Cologne. The words are a *Prayer* (called in the Scotch Liturgy of 1637, a 'Benediction'); hence, the rubrics belonging to them were translated by Aless, "utatur hac forma orationis," and "sic orabit." Hence, also, the direction to 'kneel', in 1552.

chalice wine and water; and let the Priest rinse his hands lest any relics of the body or blood remain on his fingers, or in the chalice.

After the first ablution this prayer is said:

May we receive with a pure mind, O Lord, what we have taken by the mouth; and of a temporal gift may it become to us an eternal remedy.

Here let him wash his fingers in the hollow of the chalice with the wine poured in by the sub-deacon, which having been drunk, follows the prayer:

May this communion, O Lord, purify us from crime, and make us to be partakers of a heavenly remedy.

After receiving the ablution let the Priest place the chalice on the paten, so that if aught remain it may drain: after which, let him say, bowing:

We adore the sign of the cross, through which we have received the Sacrament of Salvation.

Then let him wash his hands: the deacon meanwhile folding up the corporals. After the Priest has washed his hands and returned to the right corner of the altar, let the deacon hold the chalice to the mouth of the Priest, if perchance aught of the poured in (wine) remain to be again taken.

After which, with his Ministers, let him say the 'Communion.'

Taste and see that the Lord is sweet: blessed is the man that hopeth in him.

Sentences of Holy Scripture, to be said or sung every day one, after the Holy Communion, called the Post-communion.

If any man will follow me, let him forsake himself, and take up his cross, and follow me, &c. &c.

The Sarum Missal.

Then having made the sign of the cross on his face let the Priest turn him to the people and with arms a little raised and hands joined, say:

The Lord be with you.

And turning again to the altar let him say:

Let us pray.

Then let him say the post-communion: according to the number and arrangement of the prayers before the Epistle. The last of these being finished and the cross signed on his forehead, let the Priest turn himself again towards the people and say:

The Lord be with you.

Then the deacon (turning to the altar):

Let us give thanks unto the Lord.

At other times is said (turning to the people):—

Go! It [the Assembly] is dismissed.

* Having received, O Lord, these helps to our salvation, grant, we beseech thee, that we may be ever protected by the patronage of Blessed Mary ever Virgin, in veneration of whom we have made these offerings to thy Majesty.

Heavenly Sacraments have we received, O Lord, while celebrating the memory of Blessed Mary, ever Virgin and Mother of God, and of all thy saints; grant, we beseech thee, that what engages us in time, we may, by the aid of their prayers, obtain in the joys of eternity.

The Book of Common Prayer, 1549.

Then the Priest shall give thanks to God, in the name of all them that have communicated, turning him first to the people, and saying:

The Lord be with you.

Ans. And with thy spirit.

Priest. Let us pray.

Almighty and ever-living God, we most heartily thank thee, for that thou hast vouchsafed to feed us in these holy Mysteries, with the spiritual food of the most precious body and blood of thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ, and hast assured us (*duly receiving the same*) of thy favour and goodness toward us, and that we be very members incorporate in thy mystical body, which is the blessed company of all faithful people, and heirs through hope of thy everlasting kingdom, by the merits of the death and passion of thy dear Son. We therefore most humbly beseech thee, O heavenly Father, so to assist us with thy

* These are two out of the five Post-Communion collects given by *Estcourt*, as a sample of their character.

The Sarum Missal.

*Let the Priest, with bent body
and joined hands, say before
the midst of the altar, in a
low voice :*

Let the homage of my service
be pleasing to Thee, O holy
Trinity, and grant that this sacri-
fice which I, unworthy, have
offered to the eyes of thy Majes-
ty, may be acceptable to thee,
and by thy mercy, be a propitiation
for me, and for all for whom
I have offered it. Who livest,
&c. Amen.

The Priest. In the Name +
of the Father, and of the Son,
and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.

**The Book of Common Prayer,
1549.**

grace, that we may continue in
that holy fellowship, and do all
such good works as thou hast
prepared for us to walk in:
through, &c.

*Then the Priest, turning him to
the people, shall let them
depart with this blessing:*

The peace of God (which pas-
seth all understanding) keep your
hearts and minds in the know-
ledge and love of God, and of his
Son Jesus Christ our Lord. And
the blessing of God Almighty,
the Father, the Son, and the
Holy Ghost, be amongst you and
remain with you alway.

*Then the people shall answer:
Amen.*

It will be seen that while the First Book differed enormously from the Missal, its language was ambiguous as to a presence "IN those holy mysteries," an expression which recurred three times, and has been, in each instance, carefully expunged. Still more objectionable was the declaration at the end that "men must not think less to be received in part than in the whole, but *in each* of them the whole body." (See Cranmer *On Lord's Supper*, p. 64.) By placing the Invocation *before* the words of Institution, it departed from the order of the "Ancient" liturgies, and so far was favourable to the Romish view. The use of sacrificial language, and of the Agnus after the consecration and prior to consumption of the elements, coupled with the retention of the word "Altar," evidences the divergent sentiments of the compilers. So soon as the Romish prelates Bonner, Gardiner, Day, Heath, Reps, Voysey, and Tunstall had been got rid of, Cranmer and his colleagues were enabled to give effect to their own wishes by adopting the Second Prayer Book. Only two bishops voted against that book: whereas eight voted against the First Book, and five against the Ordinal of 1550. Compared with the Missal, the First Book was a highly Protestant production: yet it was, after all, "a compromise which satisfied nobody."

HOLY SCRIPTURE

VERSUS

THE EASTWARD POSITION.

GOD'S MINISTER IS REPRESENTED

BY THE GOSPEL*

TO BE

AN AMBASSADOR FOR CHRIST

TO RECONCILE

MEN TO GOD,¹

Offering TO His people Means of Grace

IN

A SACRAMENT:²

HENCE LIKE

A "Wise Steward"³ at His Master's Table

HE DISTRIBUTES

The "Broken" Loaf & Outpoured Wine

AT

THE EUCHARISTIC⁴ FEAST⁵

SHOWING THAT

BY THE SIN-OFFERING FINISHED⁶

And Accepted⁷ 1800 years ago,

GOD AND MAN

ARE NOW IN

"HOLY COMMUNION."

THE STEWARD

THEREFORE

Takes the Head of the Supper-Table

MINISTERING TO HIS

MASTER'S GUESTS

Whom He bids⁸ to the Covenant "Feast"
of the New Testament,

And "serves" (like his Lord⁹) at the
"Lord's Table."¹⁰

BY THE "OTHER"¹¹ GOSPEL

TO BE

AN AMBASSADOR TO GOD

TO RECONCILE

GOD TO MEN,

Appeasing God's Wrath by offering FOR

THEM

A SACRIFICE:¹²

HENCE LIKE

A Jewish or Heathen Priest

HE OFFERS UP

The Magically re-produced Body¹³ & Blood¹⁴

OF

A SIN-OFFERING¹⁵

SHOWING THAT

"YE ARE YET IN YOUR SINS"¹⁶

AND NEEDING TO HAVE A

SIN-OFFERING

EKED OUT "FOR EVER" FROM¹⁷

"MASS" to "MASS."

THE PRIEST

THEREFORE

Turns his back on the Congregation

AS HIDING

A MIRACLE

Which the Senses disprove: (the
creature creating his Creator,¹⁸ and
"offering" Him to Himself!)

Standing (unlike his Lord¹⁹) at a so-
called "Altar."

(* For Scripture references, see other side.)

1 "We are ambassadors for Christ . . . we pray you in Christ's stead be ye reconciled to God." (2 Cor. v-20.)

2 "The bread which we break is it not the COMMUNION or the body of Christ." (1 Cor. x-16.)

3 "Who then is that faithful and wise steward, whom his Lord shall make ruler over his household to give them their portion of meat in due season?" (Luke xii-42.)

4 i.e., Thanksgiving.

5 "Our Passover also hath been sacrificed even Christ: wherefore let us keep the Feast." (1 Cor. v-8, revised version.)

6 "He died unto sin, once." (Rom. vi-10.) "His one oblation of Himself once offered [was] a FULL, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction for the sins of the whole world."—*Prayer Book*.

7 "If when we were enemies, we were reconciled by the death of his Son, much more, being reconciled we shall be saved by his life." (Rom. v-10.)

8 "As many as ye shall find, bid." (Matt. xxii-9.)

9 "Whether is greater, he that sitteth at meat, or he that serveth? . . . but I am among you as he that serveth." (Luke xxii-27.)

10 "Partakers of the Lord's Table." (1 Cor. x-21.)

11 "Though we or an angel from heaven preach any other Gospel unto you than that which we HAVE preached unto you, let him be accursed." (Gal. i-6, 8, 9.)

12 "Thou, *on earth*, both Priest and Victim

In the Eucharistic Feast."—*Hymns A. & M.*, No. 316.

("If He were on earth, He should not be a priest."—Heb. viii-4.)

"Sacred flesh, and precious blood.

Thee we offer, Thee adore," . . .

"Pleading for the sinful people [Nos. 184, 382.]

With the atoning Eucharist."—*People's Hymnal*, by Dr. Littledale,

13 "This is my body which is broken for you." (1 Cor. xi-24.)

14 "This is my blood of the new testament which is shed for many for the remission of sins." (Matt. xxvi-28.)

15 "Would they not have ceased to be offered? because the worshippers once purged should have had no more conscience of sins." "By one offering he hath perfected for ever them that are sanctified." (Heb. x-2, 14.)

16 "If Christ be not raised, your faith is vain; ye are yet in your sins." (1 Cor. xv-17.)

17 "Who needeth not daily, as those high priests, to offer up sacrifice . . . for this he did once, when he offered up himself." (Heb. vii-27.)

18 "Without contradiction the less is blessed of the better." (Heb. vii-7.)

19 "Every priest standeth daily ministering and offering oftentimes the same sacrifices, . . . But this Man, after He had offered one sacrifice for sins for ever, sat down." (Heb. x-11, 12.)

King Edward VI. and His Altar-Lights.

RITUALISTS make capital out of the names of well-known Protestants (such as Cranmer, Queen Elizabeth, or King Ed. VI.), by bringing forward instances in which, at one time of their lives, they adopted some Romish practice. "See," they say, triumphantly, "Even your own leaders used these things without any squeamishness. Why can't you?"

Now it is undoubtedly true that Ed. VI. did issue an Injunction which, while it swept away all the other image-lights, made an exception in favour of "two lights upon the high altar, before the sacrament, which, for the signification that Christ is the very true light of the world, they shall suffer to remain still." These words, however, were even then merely permissive—as Richard Hilles, in 1542, wrote of the precisely similar Injunctions then given by Henry VIII.:—

"For, I am neither, I told them, a bishop nor a churchwarden; nor supposing I held any office of the kind, do these orders enjoin me to *Maintain* your lights, but only *not to remove* them from the Church, which I do not attempt to do." (Orig. Letters, i. 231.)

But the point to observe is the date of the Injunction, which was issued July 31, 1547, just a twelvemonth after the burning alive of Anne Askew with three others. (Foxe, v.-550.) On Feb. 10, 1547, the churchwardens of St. Martin's, London, were ordered to restore their crucifix, while the curates were committed to the Tower for taking part in its removal. (Froude, iv.-275.) Dr. Harley, afterwards Bp. of Hereford, was committed for "heresy" by the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford during the following Lent. And on June 19, 1547, a mass of requiem for the soul of Francis I. was sung in all the London churches, the Bishops taking part "in their richest pontifical habits." (Collier, v.-208.) At that time not only were the services in Latin, and the 'seven' sacraments universally administered, but the bloody act of the "Six Articles" made a denial of any part of the Romish doctrine punishable with Death. The mere accession of the boy-King could not, of course, alter the law of the land: and the Council of Regency then contained many staunch Papists: so that the continued burning of two lights before the host merely testified to the then *publicly received* doctrine of transubstantiation. Hence in Foxe (viii..715) we have the case of William Hastlen, the gunner of Boulogne, occurring in April, 1547, who, under the "Six Articles Act," was asked "How he did believe of the Sacrament of the altar?" Foxe continues the story:—

"I asked him whether he meant that that was in the pix, or no? And he said, 'Yea, even that in the pix.' And I said, that since I had knowledge of the Scriptures, I did not believe it to be the body of Christ, but a bare piece of bread; nor by God's help will I ever believe it otherwise to be. Then he said, I was a heretic, and asked me what I made of the Sacrament: and I said, if it were duly ministered according to Christ's institution, that then I did believe that the faithful communicants, *in receiving* that blessed Sacrament, did receive into their *inward man or soul*, the very body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ. Then said he, 'Dost thou not believe it to remain the very body of Christ after the words of consecration pronounced by the priest?' And I said, No."

" Surely if I had not appealed to the Council of England I had been burnt in Boulogne ; for it was told me of them that knew much in that matter that it was already determined shortly to have been accomplished, if I had not appealed : for the which deliverance I give praise to the ever-living God."

But poor Hastlen's escape was due rather to the influence of the Protestant Members of the Council of Regency than to the actual state of the law. For on April 13th of that same year (1547) a Royal Commission was issued under the Six Articles Act, followed by a Royal brief to Bonner, Bp. of London, and by a similar commission and brief dated April 19th, 1547 (Foxe, Vol. V., App. No. xx.). We read also of one, Thomas Dobbe, " who, in the beginning of this King's reign was apprehended and imprisoned for speaking against the idolatry of the Mass, and in the same prison died." So too, in the same year, John Hume was " apprehended, accused, and sent up to the Abp. of Canterbury " by his master and mistress for these articles :—

" I. First, for denying the sacrament (as it was then called) of the altar, to be the real flesh and blood of Christ.

II. For saying that he would never veil his bonnet unto it, to be burned therefor.

III. For saying that if he should hear Mass, he should be damned."

So real was the terror inspired by these proceedings in " the first year of King Ed. VI." that, even in November, 1547, the Canterbury Convocation was afraid to discuss the reform of the service books until the Six Articles Act had been repealed (Blunt's Annotated Prayer Book, p. xxi.). That repeal, however, was not effected until December 24th, 1547, when the Royal assent was given to 1 Ed. VI., c. 12, which not only swept away the murderous statute in question, and all the older " Heresy Acts " like unto it, but repealed also the " Proclamation Act of Henry VIII.," under which a certain authority of *Parliament* had been conferred upon merely royal Injunctions. Hence, during the " second year of Ed. VI.," which began January 28th, 1548, the Injunctions rested merely upon the Royal prerogative, and had no " authority of *Parliament*. "

The First Prayer Book of Edward did not come into use until June 9th in 1549 (*i.e.* the *third* year of Ed. VI.), and along with it were issued a *fresh* set of royal Injunctions (printed by Wilkins, Burnet, and Cardwell), and given in our " Tract XCII," upon " Altar-lights " (p. 8), which prove uncontestedly that " lights upon the altar " ceased with the Mass, and were not recognised or perpetuated under the " First Prayer Book of Ed. VI.," which most persons (including Mr. James Parker), consider to be the " authority of *Parliament* " referred to in the so-called " Ornaments Rubric." For it is not Christ in Heaven, nor Christ in the heart, but Christ on the altar *within* the sacrament—to be worshipped as being *there*, and offered in sacrifice *there*—" for the signification of " whom altar-lights are now being replaced " before the sacrament. "

LUTHER'S RITUALISM.



SEVERAL correspondents of the *Times* have been urging that as Luther made use of altars, crucifixes, vestments, lights, eastward position, &c., and as Luther was (beyond all other men) the typical "Protestant," no one need object on "Protestant" grounds to the bringing back all the ritual apparatus which our own English Reformers cast out of the Church of England.

But Luther has left us in no sort of doubt as to his real mind on all these questions. His wise tenderness in educating by slow degrees a nation steeped in idolatrous habits was explained by himself in a short paper in which (A.D. 1526), speaking of the Sunday Service for the laity, he says—"We allow the Mass dresses, altar, lights, to remain, until they all disappear, or it pleases us to alter them; but whoever will do otherwise herein we let him. *But in the true Mass, among simple Christians, the altar must not remain so, and the Priest must always turn to the people, as without doubt Christ did in the Supper. Now let that wait its time.*" [Daniel, *Codex Liturgicus*, ii.-105.]

Again, he said—"For Christ in his Last Supper, when he was instituting this sacrament, and arranging the Testament, did not offer Himself to God the Father; nor did He perform a good work on behalf of others, but sitting at a table He propounded the same Testament to each, and exhibited [its] sign. Now the nearer and the more like a modern Mass is to the first Mass of all which Christ performed (*fecit*) at the Supper, so much the more Christian is it. But Christ's Mass was most simple, without any pomp of vestments, chants, and the other ceremonies; where, had it been necessary that it should be offered as a sacrifice, would not He have instituted that fully?"—[Cited in Hebert on Lord's Supper, ii.-297.]

Those are the best and truest followers of the mind of Luther who seek to restore the celebration of Holy Communion to its pristine simplicity, abandoning the adulterations of doctrine which the so-called "ancient" liturgies (in their existing and garbled forms) have unhappily embodied. Daniel, in his *Codex Liturgicus*, ii.-6, says: "Thus in some parts of Germany, especially in the provinces of Saxony, many altars face you, not contiguous to the wall of the Church, but altogether so arranged that the Priest standing at the back of the Altar may celebrate all rites toward the congregation."

But Luther's followers were from the first safe-guarded from that bondage to "spiritual" persons which Archdeacon Denison is seeking to bring back, not merely by the prominence given to the fundamental doctrine of "Justification by (individual) Faith," and by the denial of *any* "Apostolic succession" of priests supposed to derive their authority from the Apostles *independently of the Church* (i.e. the Laity), of which they are the "Ministers": they were taught by Luther himself to cut at its very root the

lucrative superstition of "sacrifices for sin." In his treatise „On the Abrogating of the Private Mass," Luther wrote:—

"In the New Testament there is *no* visible and external priesthood except that which is erected by Satan through the lies of men. Our one and *only* priesthood is that of Christ, by the which He offered Himself for us, and all of us with Him. His priesthood is spiritual and common to all Christians. For with the same priesthood that Christ hath, are we all priests, that is, sons of Christ the High Priest. Nor have we need of any other priest and mediator than Christ." "Christ offered Himself once, but WILLED NOT TO BE OFFERED OVER AGAIN BY ANY ONE, but willed a memorial of His sacrifice to be made." [Works, ii.-259, 261, ed. 1546.] Even Luther's quasi-Roman doctrine of the "real" (*i.e.* local) presence differed from the Ritualistic theory (not merely by abolishing the intervention of a "priest," and by denying the possibility of *any* offering of it to God in sacrifice, but) by limiting the "presence" to the sacramental action.

"It hath naught of the nature of a sacrament apart from the use (*extra usum*) instituted by Christ, or outside of the action divinely instituted. . . . And, inasmuch as apart from that use, the bread in the Popish Mass is not distributed, but is either offered up, or shut up, or carried about, or put forward for worship, it is *not to be recognized for a Sacrament*, just as also the baptismal water, if employed for the baptism of bells, or the cure of leprosy, or offered for worship, hath none of the nature (*rationem*) of a sacrament." [Formula Concordiæ, sec. 84.]

It is clear then that our monitors who advise us to conform to the example of Luther, do not realise what that example involves. Luther's disciples were groping their way out of Popery into the noonday light of the Gospel which at first dazzled their unaccustomed eyes. As Bp. Fitzgerald remarks, "the same concessions to Romish taste which were safely made in the early part of Edward VI.'s reign, when the ruling tendency was towards Protestantism, and the object was to carry on the mass of the people in that direction, were pregnant with danger in Charles I.'s, when the current was running all the other way. It is one thing to slacken sail for the sake of a tardy companion, when wind and tide are bearing us gallantly forward, and quite another to rest upon our oars when the elements are conspiring to drive us back." But transitional changes, however salutary at one time, become noxious when we are in "peril of false brethren" seeking to restore priestly rule by means of mediæval superstitions which place the English layman at the mercy of would-be "Father" Confessors claiming to hold "his God in their priestly hand, and his wife at their priestly feet."

THE PLACING OF THE LORD'S TABLE.



WHILE Sir Walter Phillimore was arguing in defence of the "eastward position" from the alleged (but unproved) "facts" that Tables were placed lengthwise at the time when our rubrics were framed, and that the word "side" was then *designed* to prevent any recourse to the end of a table erroneously supposed to have been always oblong in shape, there was sitting close to his elbow the Rev. T.W. Perry, the ritual "expert" employed by the E.C.U. to draft their published "Case for the Opinion of counsel." Now Mr. Perry is a witness to the entire absence of any proof "that either by design or in fact, the tables set up in Edward's reign were to any great extent, much less generally, placed with their ends East and West." (*Perry on Purchas Judgment*, p. 350.) Mr. Perry combats at length the theories on this head of Messrs. Walton and Scudamore (pp. 342, 375 *et seq.*), and he is supported herein by Mr. J. Fuller Russell, the editor of "*Hierurgia Anglicana*," who gave evidence on behalf of the ritualists before the Ritual Commission. Writing in the *Church Times* of January 22nd, 1884, Mr. Russell denied the alleged "historical fact" that when the rubric was enacted the holy table stood with its ends East and West.

On the Protestant side, too, Dean Howson testifies that he "cannot discover any conclusive evidence at all" of this alleged "fact," and expresses his conviction that the following statements of Archdeacon Harrison are "quite correct," viz. that

"The words *before the table* have no reference to the longer or shorter sides of the Table; nor does it follow that, because the Table at the time of the communion was brought from the place where the altar stood, at the East end of the chancel, it was therefore necessarily placed lengthwise . . . there was no order of the Church, as seems now very generally supposed, for a lengthwise position of the table in the body of the church." (*Howson's Position of the Priest*, p. 19.)

When learned experts like Canon Perry and Mr. Russell on the one side, and Dean Howson and Archdeacon Harrison on the other agree that no evidence is forthcoming, and that in fact no such general custom existed during the first thirty years of

Elizabeth's reign, it ought not to be assumed *without proof* that any such meaning attached to the word "side" as is now alleged by counsel on behalf of Bp. King.

In our "Tract 88" on "*The North Side of the Table*" will be found a succinct summary of the evidence on this subject, accompanied in each instance by reliable vouchers.



(1) From "Acts and Monuments," 1583.

The danger of trusting to vague or generalised statements is illustrated by the fact that Abp. Benson quoted in Court during the trial of Bp. King a letter stating that at St. Bartholomew's Hospital, Sandwich, the Table remained "lengthwise until 1863."

This alleged "fact" might have passed into what is called "History" but for the circumstance that the Rev. Horace Gilder, Rector of St. Peter's, Sandwich, chanced to read the *Guardian's* report and wrote in that paper (April 20th, 1890) as follows:—

"I have had a thorough knowledge of that chapel since 1851 to the present time. I officiated there on the feast of St. Bartholomew, 1851, and on several occasions up to the fourth Sunday after Trinity, 1860. I have never seen the 'holy table' otherwise than 'altarwise' during Divine service; in fact I much doubt if the old arrangement of the seats could have permitted a 'lengthwise' arrangement. I have celebrated the holy eucharist there more than once, and the 'hospitalians' remained in their seats, leaving a vacant 'pew' between each row for the officiant to enter and administer to them in their respective 'pews.' Hence, perhaps, the notion mentioned above."

Another fallacy needs to be guarded against in the shape of pictures. Abp. Benson referred to several engravings in devotional works exhibiting (not any actual church *in rerum naturâ*, but) an ideal representation of a service conducted in accordance with the individual writer's notions of the abstract fitness of things. Several of those published after the Great Fire of London (or while the influence of the Duke of York, afterwards James the Second, was in the ascendant) exhibit a pagan altar reproduced in accordance with the revived "Classical" taste of the period. But it is very noteworthy that while in several the officiant stands awkwardly sideways, in no single instance is a priest depicted as celebrating with his back to the people. This could not have happened had the "eastward position" been then practised by anybody. The engravings reproduced in the present Tract are of especial value as showing (*plate 1*) that the Elizabethan Table was detached and nearly "four-square." John Fox who had lived through the reigns of Edward and Elizabeth (having been ordained by Bp. Ridley) published the woodcut on the opposite page in his folio edition of 1570, if not earlier.* In the lower left-hand corner was a plate of Ed. VI. receiving the Holy Bible at the hands of his reforming bishops. At the top of the page the "papists" loaded with ornaments no longer legal are seen trooping off to their ships after the death of Mary. In the lower right-hand corner is the compartment of the picture here reproduced. A church is drawn so as to exhibit the preaching of the Word and the ministration of the two Sacraments as described in our 19th Article. In order to do this, the lower half (lengthwise) exhibits a congregation consisting of women sitting under the pulpit, while the men stand further off, as the custom was before pews or seats had become universal. Parallel with this, another section displays the

* It is found in the folio editions of the "Acts and Monuments" of 1570, 1576, 1583, 1596, 1610, and 1632.

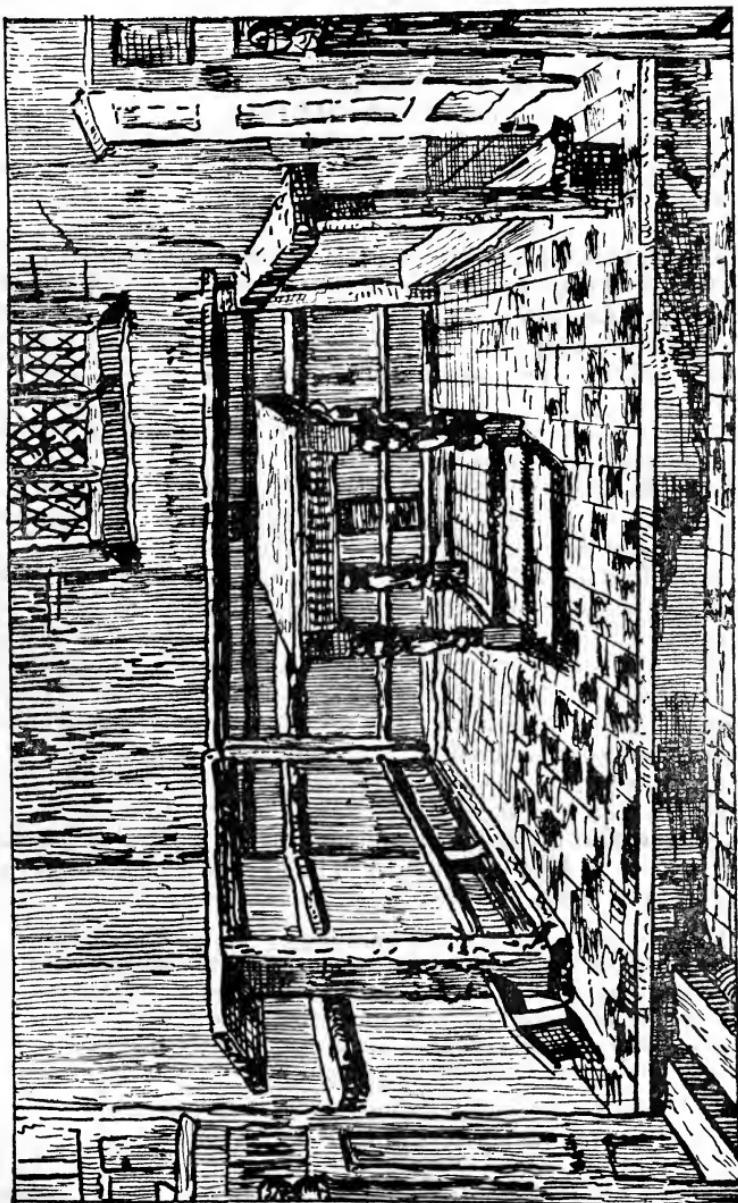
font as used at a baptism, the clerk in his rochet, and the clergyman in his surplice, while "the people with the children" stand around. Near the upper end of the church, though *not* marked off from "the body of the church" by any screen or raised



(2) From Burnet's *History of the Reformation.*

platform, is "the Communion Table" (as the label indicates) showing its "frame" (the legs of which are joined together by horizontal bars of wood), the table-cover being apparently an old altar-cloth adapted for its new purpose as shown by retaining

its vertical markings. The table stands free of the east wall separated by a space in which stand two tall flagons. The



(3) From the *Anastatic Society's Report.*

"bread" is a round loaf such as St. Paul describes as being "ONE" (1 Cor. x.-17). No celebration is going on, and the table,

ready for use, stands detached and arranged (apparently) "lengthwise."

(2) The next (*see p. 4*) in point of date is taken from Bp. Burnet's *History of the Reformation*, and shows a (possibly contemporary) picture of Edward VI. preparing to receive the holy communion at the hands of a bishop occupying "the North side of the Table." This was published in 1683.

(3) Langley chapel, in Shropshire, retained its "Communicants' seats" until quite recently. The drawing on p. 5 was made by Miss T. H. Allen for the now defunct "Anastatic Society," who published it in their Transactions for 1857. The table at that time happened to stand lengthwise; but

(4) A drawing taken from Bloxam's *Companion to Gothic Church Architecture*, (*see p. 7*) shows the same table arranged crosswise, and illustrates very well how entirely distinct and independent of one another are the two questions of (1) "A detached movable Table," and (2) the "lengthwise" placing of that table. The former was enforced by law; the latter was matter of variable and accidental convenience.

For, after all, the ultimate object of all these arrangements was, as the 82 Canon expresses it, that "thereby the minister may be more conveniently heard of the communicants in his prayer and ministration, and the communicants also more conveniently, and in more number, may communicate with the said minister." For this purpose, even so "High-church" a prelate as Wren allowed in several instances the table to stand without and beneath the rails (as at Yarmouth, St. Edmundsbury, Lavenham, &c.) "upon any due occasion, for more convenient hearing and communicating."^{*} Similarly Cosin, though upon one or two occasions he consecrated on the western side of the table at Durham Cathedral, because that table (erected surreptitiously, without the knowledge of the Diocesan, and before Cosin's time, in 1617), happened to be of exceptional length, yet he insisted that—

"Many of the communicants, kneeling as they used to do, very near to the table within the rails, on either hand of the defendant, whose back was not then toward more of the people than it would have been, if he had for that small space of time stood still at the North side of the table whereunto he always returned immediately after distribution was made by him to the communicants at their several forms."[†]

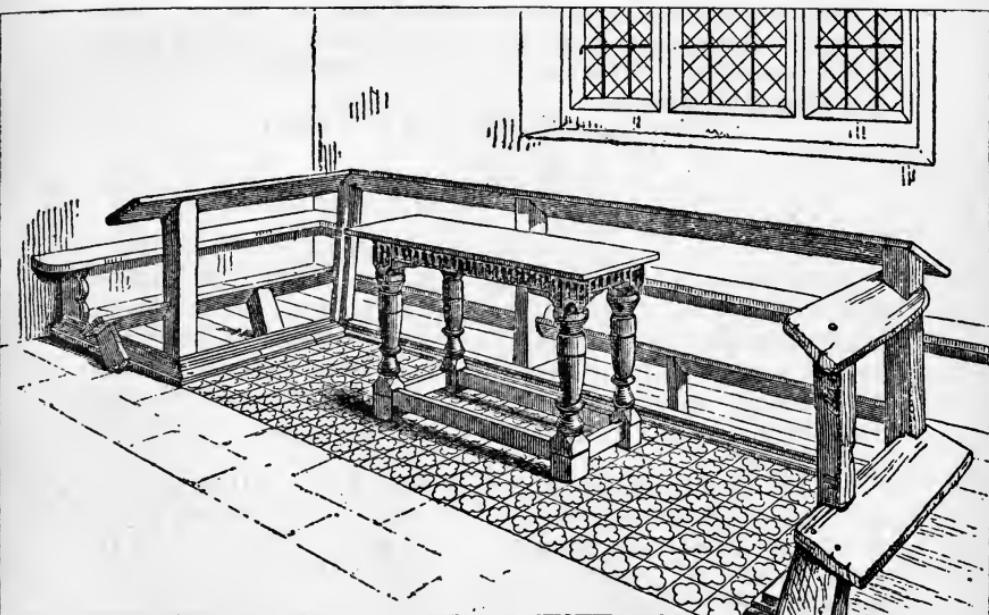
Long before he became "bishop," however, Cosin spontaneously gave up this irregular practice; as did Bp. Charles Wordsworth in our own day.

In his Visitation articles for 1662 Wren recognised that the

* Wren's *Parentalia*, p. 80.

† *Acts of the High Commission Court of Durham*. Surtees' Soc. p. 218.

rails might in some cases be advantageously "made with the ends returning unto the east wall" (*Fourth Report Rit. Com.*, p. 557, note) as at Manchester Cathedral they still are. Many of the opponents of Laud erected rails "four-square" round the table, the communicants kneeling round each of its "sides," the officiating clergy being within the enclosure. This was the case at Ermington, and Dartmouth in Devonshire; at Lyddington, Rutlandshire; and Beckington in Somersetshire; Winchcombe, Gloucester, and at St. Austin Friars, London, where, according to Bloxam (p. 173), the seats for the communicants on the



(4) From Bloxam's *Companion to Gothic Church Architecture*.

eastern side of the table remained so late as 1733. At Sackville College, "the bench on which the communicants used to sit existed till lately, pinned into the eastern wall." So, too, at Shotswell, Warwick, and St. Peter's, Deal, Kent. (*Handbook of Ecclesiology*, p. 48. Bloxam, p. 174.)

The Caroline Puritans who remembered, or who discovered that the foreign Protestant refugees (who at Canterbury, Glastonbury and elsewhere were allowed to set up separate churches under Edward and Elizabeth) placed their tables just as we have them, "North and South," learned to discern that the differentia between a mass—"altar" and the Table of the Lord did not turn upon the direction in which its longer axis (if it had

one) happened to be placed. Mr. Chancy of Ware, one of Laud's victims who for a time yielded to the oppressor, but afterwards published his "Retraction" in 1637 on the eve of quitting England, said (p. 8)—"By all this it may appear how extremely they are befooled and deluded which account no tables to be altars but such as be dresser-wise." While Durel, the friend and executor of Bp. Cosin, said, "Not that I think it of the least moment in what place, or which way the Communion table standeth, so the public order of the church be not violated." (*View of the Government and Public Worship of God in the Reformed Churches*, published 1662, p. 30.)

The Broad-church party were prepared then, as now, to condone breaches of the law as shown in Christopher Harvey's poem, "*The Synagogue*" (of which a second edition appeared in 1647) who thus said or sung :

"Nor would it trouble me to see it found
Of any fashion
That can be thought upon—
Square, oval, many-angled, long or round ;
If close it be,
Fixt, open, movable, all's one to me."

But the Gallios never yet guided the current of events in either Church or State : and like some modern Deans, often mistook the love of personal ease and promotion for superior breadth of culture and sentiment. Even these men never doubted that the "North side" rubric was intended to regulate the position of the clergyman, and *not* to prescribe either the form or the position of the Table.

Dr. Lewis, Prebendary Sadler, and Mr. Pugin, tell us that the Edwardian tables were, in fact, *square*, and frequently rested merely upon trestles : the square shape being intended to increase their unlikeness to the oblong altar-slabs in use before the Reformation.

Dr. Stephens in his "Notes on the Book of Common Prayer," published in 1850, says : "No form of table has been prescribed by the statute, and therefore it may be square or of any other rectilinear figure, or even circular, where of course you cannot have any 'side' in the sense which it is contended 'side' here bears. The meaning of 'at the north side' therefore seems really to be simply 'to the north' of the table" (p. 1125).



By the same Author. Price Twopence.

"THE NORTH SIDE OF THE TABLE,"
*An Historical Enquiry as to the Origin and Meaning of the Fourth Rubric
in the Communion Service.*

To be obtained at the Office of the CHURCH ASSOCIATION, 14, Buckingham Street, Strand, W.C., at 3s per 100.

2nd Thousand.]



ADDITIONAL EVIDENCE RESPECTING THE ORNAMENTS RUBRIC OF 1662. PART III.

UNDER the above title, the Visitation Articles of nearly every bishop who sat on the bench at the time of the last revision of the Prayer Book were printed in the *Church Intelligencer* for 1887, and this evidence has since been reprinted in "Tract LXXXIX." But at that time there were four links missing from the chain of evidence, viz. Sterne, Bp. of Carlisle, Roberts, Bp. of Bangor, Ferne, Bp. of Chester, and Warner, Bp. of Rochester. Thanks to the resources of the British Museum, several of these missing links can now be supplied.

Chester diocese is sufficiently represented by Bp. PEARSON, himself a leading member of the Revision Committee, whose Articles of 1674 were cited in Tract 89.

From Carlisle diocese, we can produce (B. M. "5155. b.") the Visitation Articles of Bp. RAINBOW. As Dean of Peterborough he had taken part in the Revision, and signed the MS. Prayer Book in 1661. As Bp. of Carlisle he asked in 1666 for "the Canons" of 1604, and a "surplice for the Minister to wear at ALL times of his public ministration." Again, "Doth he make use of THE surplice when he reads Divine service, or administer the Sacraments" (plural).

* * *

Bp. Warner, of Rochester, was succeeded by DOLBEN, who (as Proctor for Christ Church, Oxford) had also been an active

reviser in 1661. In 1664, being then Prolocutor, Dolben was one of those appointed by Convocation to translate the new Prayer Book into Latin. His "primary" Visitation Articles as *Bp. of Rochester* in 1668 are therefore of the first rank as evidence (B. M. "5155. c. 61"). He, too, asks for "the book of the Canons," and whether the minister "doth read the Canons once a year as directed." Also, "Doth he perform *all* his ministrations with decency, gravity, and reverence, wearing his surplice *with a hood* (if he be a graduate in the University) as he is directed by authority and the laudable customs of the Church?" Clearly Dolben had no idea that the 58th Canon had ceased to be law.

* * *

Though we have no Articles for the Archdeaconry of *Durham*, those of the Archdeaconry of *Northumberland*, printed by T. Garthwaite, 1662, are in the B. M. ('698. b. 27'). Archdeacon ISAAC BASIRE had been appointed by Bp. Morton, and took part in the Convocation-revision. His Visitation Articles vouch also for the Use of the diocese of *Durham* under the vigilant régime of Bp. Cosin. Hence their peculiar value as evidence. Several times he refers to "the late Act of Uniformity." He asks (*Tit. I. 2*) for "THE surplice and other ornaments appointed according to his degree in time of officiating." Those last words are important as explaining the "&c." in Cosin's original draft of the Rubric. See p. 9 of our Tract 89. Again (*Tit. I. 16*) "Doth he . . administer the holy sacraments publickly, in his surplice and habit, with such rites and ceremonies as is prescribed by the Book of Common Prayer, according to the late Act of Uniformity?" As regards books, he inquires (*Tit. II. 1*) for the "Common Prayer as is enjoined by the late Act of Uniformity, with the book of Homilies, and Bp. Jewel's works; together with a book of the Canons."

* * *

Another of the Revisers was Archdeacon BENSON of *Hereford*, who in 1678 asked for "the surplice," describing it as "comely and large," to be used at "*all* times in his public ministrations" (Bloxam's *Companion to Gothic Architecture*, p. 269).

* * *

None of the above were given in the Report of the Ritual Commission: and it may be added that of those which were so

given the evidence is even stronger than was always allowed to appear.

For example, the articles (B. M. '5155, c. 47') of Franck, archdeacon of *St. Albans* (who took part in the revision of 1661), are collated at p. 615 of the Report. But the following important words in Titul. I. 6 are not there printed, viz. "a Book of Common Prayer lately published, anno 1662 . . and a book of canons and constitutions ecclesiastical, and a decent surplice and hood." These omitted words are important as showing (1) that the visitation was *subsequent* to the issue of the new Prayer Book: and inasmuch as Bp. Cosin's articles of 1662 were printed by the same printer, with the same date, this is worth noting, (2) the canons of 1604 are regarded as authoritative, and the mention of the "hood" explains what was intended by "&c." or by "other ornaments" in the similar context of contemporary documents.

* *

The articles of Archdeacon LAYFIELD, 1662, are given by the Ritual Commissioners (p. 621), but the following articles from his Visitation of 1672 (B. M. '5155, c. 67') are new.

Tit. I. 4 asks for "a book of canons and constitutions ecclesiastical, and a decent surplice and hood."

Tit. III. 5, "Doth your parson, vicar, curate, or lecturer, if you have any, perform his office in all things according to the rubrick of the Book of Common Prayer, lately established, and the Act of Uniformity published therewith, without either diminishing in regard of preaching, or in any other respect, or adding anything in the matter or form?" The final direction to churchwardens is also interesting as an illustration of Canon 20. Tit. VII. 3. "You are further to understand that according to your office, you are to provide against every communion appointed in your church or chapel, a sufficient quantity of fine white bread, and of good wine, according to the number of communicants."

He refers (Tit. III. 6) to Canons 14 and 58, *jointly*, as prescribing "a surplice and hood during Divine service": and the articles of the Archdeacon of *Colchester*, "given anno Domini 1664," not printed by the Rit. Commissioners, but in the

British Museum ('5155, c. 57'), also give "Canon 58" in the margin as requiring "at Divine service, a surplice and hood."

* * *

To appreciate the cumulative force of the above evidence it must be borne in mind that the documents cited were the official interpretation of the Ornaments Rubric of 1662, given at the time by the very men who had taken part in the recent framing of it. By the Rubric of Edward's First Prayer Book it would have been *illegal* for the celebrant (unless he were a bishop) to wear a surplice: yet the surplice (often described as "large" and with "large sleeves") was required as compulsory from ALL the clergy. No "distinctive dress" for holy communion is ever hinted at; "both the sacraments" are put in this respect on the same footing. The hood is required as a dress of *ministration*, yet the combination of hoods with chasubles would be too absurd for even ritualists to attempt. If Bp. King's interpretation of the Ornaments Rubric of 1662 were correct, it would operate as a repeal *pro tanto* of the Canons of 1604 which had no "authority of Parliament," and were earlier in date. Yet every Ordinary required the Canons of 1604 to be procured, directed them to be read, and adduced them as binding *precisely where they conflict with* the rubrics of 1549. It is simply impossible to imagine a more complete consensus of authoritative opinion by men who combined the authorship of the rubric with the administration of its earliest application in practice.

The actual President of the Convocation of 1661 (Abp. Juxon being too old) was Sheldon, then Bp. of London, and Master of the Savoy.

To him, as Archbishop of Canterbury, was dedicated a work in defence of the Church of England, by Wm. Falkner, entitled "*Libertas Ecclesiæ*." The second edition, 1674 (Bk. II., c. 4, secs. 1-9) thus vindicates the received use of the surplice:—

"And since the degeneracy of the Romish Church, though they still use the surpless, it is none of their proper Massing garments, being never worn by the Priest who consecrateth (or their conficient priest) at the Mass, as is manifest from Durandus, Durantus, and the Roman Missal in its *præparatio ad Missam*. But his Massing attire is made up of these six

vestments according to their ordinary description [*Benedict. divers. sec. usum Sarum.*], the amictus, alba, cingulum, stola, manipulus, and casula, all of which are far different from the surpless: and these six garments only are accounted the holy garments used by their priests, and all of them have their particular consecrations, as the surpless even in the Roman Church hath not; and therefore this garment hath been far less abused among them than either churches, communion cloths, or other things, which by reason of their manifest convenience or decency, are ordinarily admitted to be of lawful use."

* *

All the above relate to the last revision; but the following Elizabethan articles (which, like them, escaped the notice of the Ritual Commission, and have not before been reprinted) will also be found suggestive. The meaning of "rites and ceremonies," for example, in connection with the administration of the Sacraments throws light upon the recent contention of the counsel of the Bp. of Lincoln. The title of these printed articles is "*Articles to be enquired of by the Churchwardens and Sworn men, within the [Deanery of Shoreham] with peculiar answer to every article. Anno Domini [1597] and in the [39th] year of the reign of our most gracious, &c. &c. London : Printed by Felix Knighton 1597.*" (B. M. "698. g. 29.") The square brackets in the above represent blanks filled in with pen and ink insertions in a contemporary handwriting. Evidently these articles were a "common form."

The second article shows that the Rubric of 1552, enacted by Parliament in the 1 Eliz. c. 2, continued to be enforced as law in despite of the printed fraud-rubric as to the "*accustomed place,*" the history of which has been repeatedly given in the *Church Intelligencer*. It ran:—

"2. Whether your *Minister* so turn himself and stand in such place of your church or Chauncell as the people may best hear the same: and whether the holy Sacraments of the Lord's Supper and Baptisme be duly and reverently ministered, and whether your Minister in the administration of them doth use the order and ceremonies prescribed and set forth in the Books of Common Prayer, and by the laws of the Realm, without any kind of alteration or omission. . . . Whether you have a decent

and comely Surples, and whether your Minister useth ordinarily to wear the same in time of Divine Service or no ?

“ 3. Whether you have in your Church or Chapell all things necessary and requisite for common prayer and administration of the holy Sacraments, specially the Book of Common Prayer, the Psalter, the Byble of the largest volume, the Homelies both first and second tome, a comely decent Table, with furniture thereto belonging, viz. a comely carpet, being no hearse-cloth or pall for burials, a comely linen Table cloth with handsome Communion Cuppes, and a decent paten of silver, to minister the Lord’s bread upon, and also two comely pots of silver or pewter to fetch wine to serve for the Lord’s table, reserved and kept clean to that use only being no Tavern pots ?

“ 6. Whether . . . doth any preach in your Church usually, who doth not there once in the year at the least administer the holy Sacraments wearing *the surples?* ” (Asks if Injunctions are read openly, quarterly.)

“ 7. Whether . . . any not being at the least a Deacon do solemnise Matrimonie . . . or deliver unto the Communicants the Lord’s cup? ” (Asks if licence be shown to the churchwardens.)

“ 10. (Asks whether Parson, &c., ‘have made any innovations in the church.’)

“ 14. (Asks for catechising ‘at the least every second Sunday and every Holy day openly in the church,’ and mentions ‘Maister Nowell’s Catechism.’) Ages of catechumens ‘above 5 and under 20.’ ”

* * *

A still earlier witness is “ *A Confutation of a Sermon pronounced by M. Jewell at Paul’s crosse, the second Sondaie before Easter (which Catholics do call Passion Sondaie), Anno Dni. M.D.LX. by John Rastell, M. of arts, and student in divinity.* ”

This was published at Antwerp in 1564, the Royal licence for printing it being dated, “ Brussels, November 17th, 1564.” (B. M. “ 3936, bk. 45.”)

A few extracts may serve to show what an Oxford student of the Popish persuasion noted as most objectionable in the Reformed Church of England.

(p. 21.) “ Let me begin at Sarum Church, and doth that agree in all points with the Queen’s Chapel? ” That was a

very clever stroke. Queen Elizabeth, as "Supreme Governor" claimed to be above law, and did in fact violate the Act of Uniformity in her private chapel, as detailed in our "Protestant Booklets."* The Royal Chapels were never subject to the jurisdiction of any Ordinary. Rastell well knew how inconvenient it would be for Jewel to even seem to cast any slur upon the autocratic Sovereign whose tortuous State policy it was so difficult to defend upon any merely logical or religious grounds. Bp. Jewel (unlike the Queen) was liable to correction; and therefore his "Sarum Church" was ordered in accordance with the recent Act of Uniformity which Jewel, as one of the Royal Visitors, had been appointed to enforce.

(p. 30.) "First of all, you should turn your face toward the East in common prayer. . . . And why therefore is not the order expressly kept in the Communion book but *expressly* rather it appointeth the priest to stand at the north side of the table? . . . if you say the standing maketh no matter: suppose it to be so, and wherefore then did you not let things stand when they were well? . . . Then, first, thus ye stood not rightly, no more do ye in the rest accordingly. For where is the water which you should mingle together with the wine in consecrating the chalice? Why keep you not this ancient approved and received order?"

(p. 123.) "The English order having wine only and not water."

(p. 35.) "Furthermore in the primitive Church goodlye tapers and lights were used: how read you the old doctors? Were they not? If they were, how be you not ashamed of the darkness, which is *generallie* in you and your communion?" The old meaning of "generally" (*i.e.* universally) must not here be overlooked.

(p. 36.) "Now if in all other things, no odds between you and the true Church might be espied, yet the praying for the dead, was in the primitive Church so laudable, and *in your Church is so hated*, that, except before judgment be given, you alter in that point your communion, no reason can bear it to be apostolique."

The very extract from Jewel which had been pounced upon

* See *Queen Elizabeth's Crucifix, its secret history and real meaning.*
Price One Penny. (J. F. Shaw.)

by Dr. Littledale as sanctioning Ritualism, in *Newbery's Magazine* (see the *Church Intelligencer*, VI.-184), Rastell denounces (p. 64) as containing "open blasphemy."

"In the primitive Church altars were allowed amongst Christians, upon which they offered the unbloody sacrifice of Christ's body; yet, your company, M. Jewell, to declare what followers they are of antiquity, do account it even among one of the kinds of idolatry, if one keep an altar standing. . . . Now if ye be of no affinitie with the Donatists, answer, for the putting down of altars, what spite it was which moved you thereunto?"

(p. 146.) "Then to come to the Apostles—where did you ever read that in their external behaviour they did wear frocks or gowns, or four-cornered caps or rochets? . . . or that at their prayers they sate in sides, or *looked towards the South?*"

Of course the above quotations are made, not because Rastell was right in attempting to palm off the customs of the Middle Ages as those of the "primitive" Church, but because, as an adversary, he is an unexceptionable witness to matters of fact within his own knowledge as to the received usages of the Church of England in his own day.

BY THE SAME AUTHOR.

Additional Evidence respecting Ornaments Rubric. *Part 1.* *Part 2.*

Advertisements of Queen Elizabeth.

Altar Lights: their History and Meaning.

"Hearing Mass," or, Non-Communicating Attendance.

Mixed Chalice.

"Spiritual Presence" as taught by Ritualists.

Teaching of the Catechism as to the Lord's Supper.

The Placing of the Lord's Table.

Price One Penny each.

ALSO,

"North Side of the Table." *Price Twopence.*

Canon of the Mass and the First Prayer Book compared.

Price Fourpence.

London : J. F. SHAW & CO., 48, PATERNOSTER ROW, E.C.



THE Coronation of Queen Victoria.

RITUALISTS are very fond of the Coronation Service. For one thing, it retained the word "altar" after that word had been entirely expelled from the Prayer Book; and it has been supposed also that this State service lends some sanction to their theory that "the north side of *the Table*" means the West side of the Table, or some ideal section of it. There cannot be much in the first point. For "the very learned Lathbury," as the Lambeth Judgment calls him, observes (*Hist. Convocation*, p. 394) "this form was never authorised by the Church, so that it is competent for our Sovereigns to use the old form, or to appoint a new one, by virtue of the supremacy." Mr. Maskell tells us that on each occasion "an Order of Council is directed to the Archbishop of Canterbury, who, according to his own judgment, prepares a 'Form and Order.'" Thus the wish of the Sovereign becomes paramount, and this State service is purely "Erastian" in its authority. It deserves notice too that in "the book of the Coronation of Q. Victoria," published by the Queen's printers, a copy of which is in the British Museum ("605. b. 44") the first time the word "altar" occurred, it was accompanied by an explanatory footnote, viz. "The Communion Table."

But the "north side" question might conceivably be affected (as matter of evidence, though not of law) if it could be shewn that the term was there used either in the sense of the northern *half* of the West front (as Dr. Littledale held), or of the outside *third* of the West front (as Mr. Blunt and Archdeacon Freeman pretended), or of a mere *fifth* of the West front (as Dr. F. G. Lee confidently affirmed). The first of these theories was trotted out again by the ingenuity of Counsel in the Lambeth trial, but it was at once set aside by his Grace (*Guardian*, February 26th 1890).

"The Archbishop. With regard to all these instances that are quoted in the Coronation Service, may it not be said that in both cases, or in the three cases, the chairs and other things which are said to be on the 'north side' are north of the North end, and those that are spoken of as on the 'south side' are south of the South end?

Sir W. Phillimore. That is true in a sense.

The Archbishop. No, not "in a sense," but absolutely true. The northern ones are more north than the North end, and the south more south than the South end."

And though the advocate persisted, the Judgment finally disposed of this contention in the words—

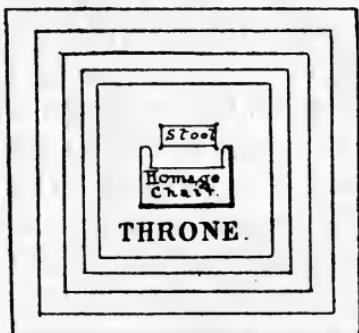
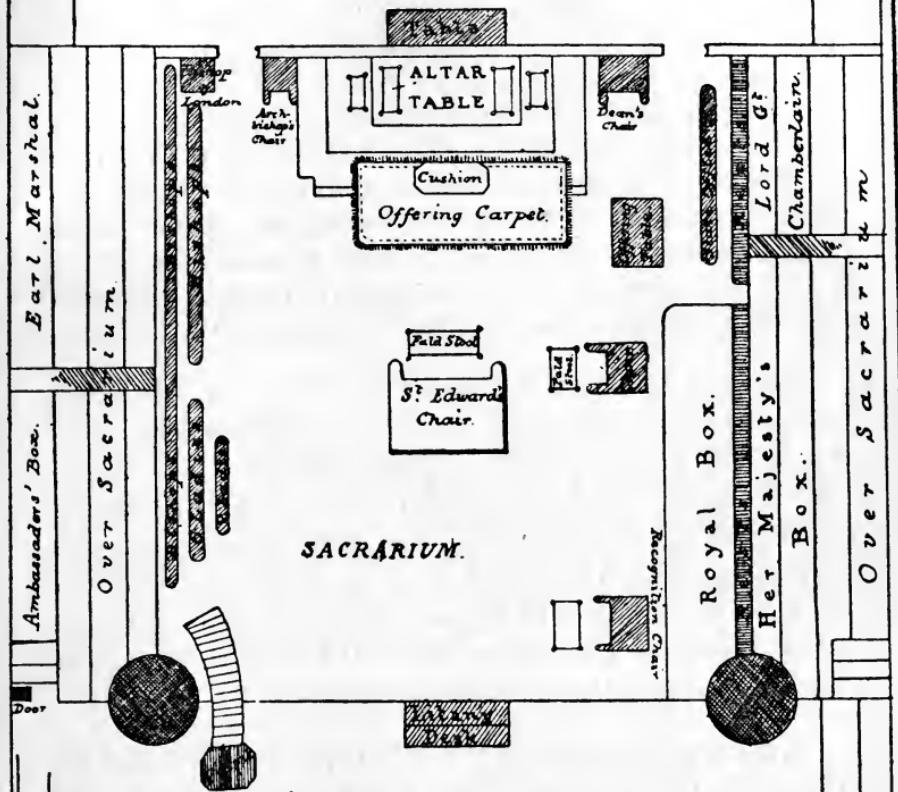
"Neither to Heylin, nor Bp. Williams, nor Wren, nor Cosin in explaining 'north side' did it occur to find it in the west front. If the lawfulness of the position depended on that plea it must fail." (Lambeth Judgment, p. 42.)

Nevertheless, Canon MacColl knowing that the spiritual Court had been mistaken in supposing that the Table was placed lengthwise in 1552 and 1559, when the "north side" rubric was introduced, refused to adopt the reasoning of the Lambeth Judgment, in order to safeguard the conclusion which he desired. He differs therefore from all the above-named writers, and chooses to think that the corner of the table (*cornu*) where the Gospel was formerly read is the point indicated in the rubric as the "north side." "Even so, these false witnesses agreed not together" as to what shall be alleged to be the "catholic"

EAST

Table

S^T EDWARD'S CHAPEL.



WEST

practice. Canon MacColl asserts in the *Spectator* (August 22nd, 1891):—

“There is abundant evidence that ‘side’ retained this meaning after the Reformation. The Coronation Service is an instance. The Queen listened to the sermon sitting in her chair ‘on the south side of the altar.’ But a rubric which immediately follows says:—‘On the south ~~side~~, east of the Queen’s chair nearer the altar, stands the Dean and Prebendaries of Westminster.’ Here ‘south side’ clearly means in front of the south-west corner of the altar, and a picture of the Coronation in our possession puts the matter beyond a doubt.

“The argument of the Lambeth Judgment on this point seems to us the only weak point in that most able and most learned document.”

It is very amusing to notice how these “experts” contradict one another, each confidently assuring us that *his* novelty is the “only correct card.” But the very fact that four or five differing and inconsistent explanations have been successively invented many years after the date of the rubric, is in itself a presumption of their unreality in the face of the solid, consistent, and uniform tradition of the Church of England which since the recent death of Bp. Wordsworth has been set aside at Lincoln Cathedral under the extraordinary plea of “historic continuity”!

In the British Museum (“1862. c.”) is preserved a plan of the Coronation in a collection of papers thus described in the Catalogue: “The Ceremonies to be observed at the Royal Coronation of . . Q. Victoria, &c. Regulations to be observed, &c. Summary of the service, . . for the use of the . . Archbishop of Canterbury,” &c., &c., 1838. Several large plans are included, and among them the drawing, a facsimile of a portion of which is given on page 3, but reduced in size one-third. On comparing this plan with the rubrics given below, it will be seen that the Dean and Prebendaries (who did not officiate at all in the Communion Service, save that the Dean administered the cup) were merely listening to the sermon, the parts of Epistoler and Gospeller having been taken by two of the Bishops. No fewer than three seats (in addition to “the Throne”) were allotted for

the use of the Queen, the one used by her at sermon time being the "Recognition Chair"; King Edward's chair "over against the altar" was used at the investiture and anointing; while the chair some distance to the south of it was occupied by her Majesty at the Litany and other acts of worship before the "Anointing." It will be seen, therefore, that the chair actually used at sermon time was far away from the "altar," being several feet more to the South as well as many feet to the West of (the south end of) the Table, and not at all in front of it, as Canon MacColl pretends. Dean Stanley, when applied to on this point, wrote to Mr. Elliott, "There are no other seats on this, the south side of the altar; and, therefore, the whole of that side of the area is sufficiently designated by the 'south side.'" (Elliott's "*North Side of the Table*," p. 30.) Indeed in Tyas' "Book of the Coronation" the Queen's seat is described as "on the south side of *the area*" (B. M. "606. a. 26."), and the Earl Marshal's directions (B. M. "1861. b.") speak of it as "on the south-east side of the theatre" or "of the area" (pp. 8, 10, 11).

The official direction given to the Dean of Westminster by the Earl Marshal was worded thus—

"Then the dean will retire to his station with the prebendaries in the south-east angle of the area between the box of the Royal family and the entrance to St. Edward's chapel." "The Litany is then read: then the beginning of the Communion Service will be read: then the sermon; during all which the Dean will remain at his said last mentioned station."

On comparing this with the plan it will be easy to see in what sense they were "on the south side, east of the queen's chair, nearer the altar."

The rubrics relating to the Sermon are as follows:—

"*At the end of the Creed one of the Bishops is ready in the pulpit, placed against a pillar at the north-east corner of the Theatre, and begins the sermon, which is to be suitable to the great occasion; which the Queen hears sitting in her chair on the south side of the altar, over against the pulpit.*

On her right hand stands the Bishop of Durham, and beyond him on

the same side, the Lords that carry the swords : on her left hand the Bishop of Bath and Wells, and the Lord Great Chamberlain.

On the north side of the altar sits the Archbishop in a purple velvet chair : near the Archbishop stands Garter king of arms : on the south side, east of the Queen's chair nearer the altar, stands the Dean and Prebendaries of Westminster."

It may be added that Sandford's plan of the Coronation of James II. was reproduced by Canon Selwyn in 1874, shewing the "chair and faldstool for the Abp." placed just as in the present plan, the directions being, "The Archbishop of Canterbury sate in a purple velvet chair on the north side of the altar."

In "Baker's Chronicles," the account of the Coronation of Charles II. describes a *gallery* "on the north side of the altar": and a rubric in the Queen's Coronation office directs her Majesty to "pass on through the *door* on the south side of the altar into King Edward's chapel." It would defy even the ingenuity of Canon MacColl to invent a plausible explanation of these directions on his own theory of the meaning of "north side," which the plan nevertheless renders perfectly clear.

The late Dr. Littledale fancied he had discovered a hidden meaning in two other rubrics of this State office. At the "first oblation" the Archbishop standing on the north side is directed to receive from the Queen, who is "kneeling upon the steps," the offerings "one after another, the pall to be reverently laid upon the altar, and the gold to be received into the bason, and with like reverence put upon the altar." "Here," remarks Dr. L., "it is plain that the Archbishop is not at the north end, because then he would be too far off from the kneeling Queen. But if at the north-west side, there he can without change of posture, receive her offerings."

But, as Mr. Elliott observed in reply, "Unless the Queen moved from the steps to the altar (about 8 ft. according to Sandford's plan) the Archbishop must have moved from the altar to the steps." And this common sense inference is demonstrated to be true by the later rubric at the "second oblation" when the Queen "*kneeling as before*" offers a purse of gold,

"and the Archbishop, coming to her, receives it into the bason, and placeth it upon the altar." To stand at the Table and perform the several acts prescribed "without any change of posture" would have puzzled even Dr. Littledale himself, expert '*Ceremoniarius*' though he were.

But Dr. Littledale had a third "proof." At the anointing, the Queen sat

"In King Edward's chair placed in the midst of the area over against the altar, with a faldstool before it . . . and the Queen kneeleth down at the faldstool, and the Archbishop standing at the north side of the altar, saith this prayer or blessing over her."

"How over her," exclaims Dr. Littledale, 'if she be in the middle and he at the end?" On a reference to the plan, it will be seen that King Edward's chair was some feet distant from the western margin of the Table, so that "over" had no such mechanical or literal application. In the same way when a Bishop is consecrated the whole congregation are said to sing the Hymn "over" him, though of course many of those "that are present" are far away from the kneeling candidate.

These far-fetched and non-natural inferences of the Ritualists, absurd as they seem to us, are continually revived from time to time as though they had never been refuted. It is convenient, therefore, to have at hand the official ground plan of the Abbey as the shortest way of exploding all such fallacies hereafter.



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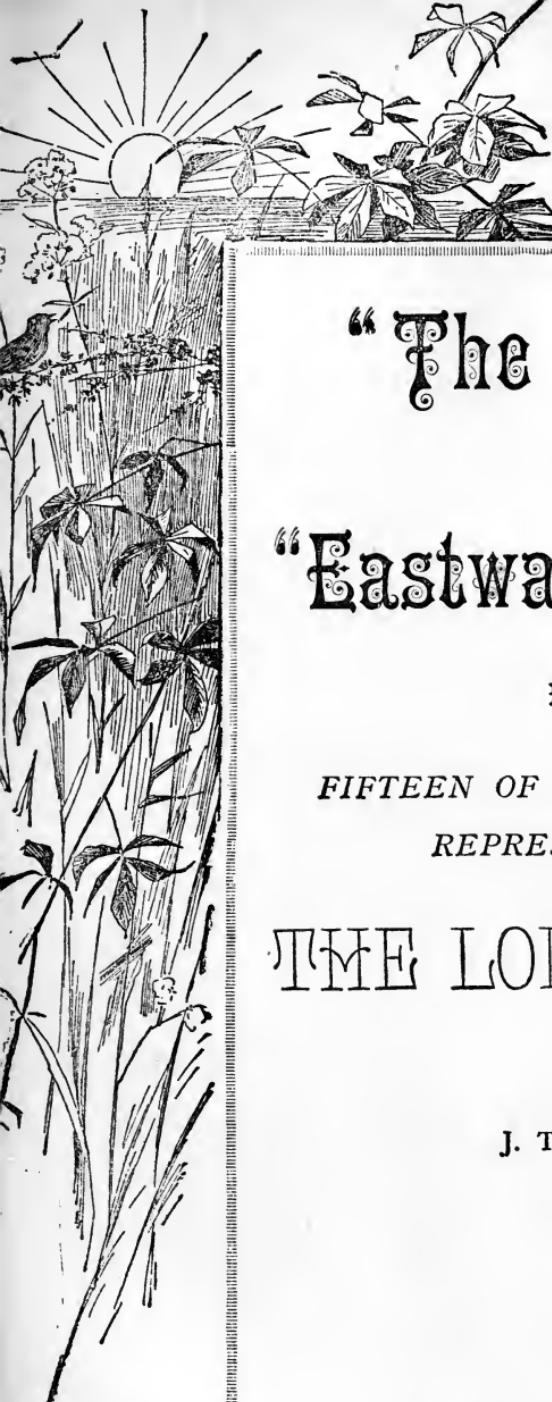
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“The Liturgy”

AND THE

“Eastward Position”

Illustrated by

FIFTEEN OF THE OLDEST KNOWN
REPRESENTATIONS OF

THE LORD'S SUPPER.

BY

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THE "LITURGY"

AND

THE "EASTWARD POSITION."



NE of the arguments borrowed by English Ritualists from their Roman guides is the fancy that Acts xiii.-2, "as they ministered to the Lord" (in the original, "as they were *liturgizing*"), really means "as they were *sacrificing*." If so, it is contended that the Mass is at once placed upon a scriptural basis. So large a superstructure needs to have a solid foundation. Let us see how much this foundation will bear.

Of course, etymologically, the word Liturgy means (*lai-ton Meaning of ergon*) "the work of the people," or laity; our English word "Liturgy," "laity" coming directly from the same root, and *ergon* meaning "a work" of *any* kind, even though exclusively secular, or even profane. Hence, in Romans xv.-27, 2 Cor. ix.-12, and Phil. ii.-25, 30, the word 'liturgy' is used for the ministrations of the laity to the clergy; in Romans xiii.-6, of the public services of the tax-gatherer or civil ruler; and in Heb. i.-14, of the services rendered to men by angels as their "ministering spirits." Even where sacrificial allusions come in (whether by way of metaphor or otherwise), the word "liturgy" had, in itself, no sacrificial meaning. For example, St. Paul describes himself (Rom. xv.-16) as the "liturgist of Jesus Christ *to* the Gentiles"—language exactly opposed to any such words as "liturgist of the Gentiles *to* Jesus Christ," which might have inferred the alleged sacrificial idea. While the High Priest was officiating, no inferior priest might dare to intervene. Compare Levit. xvi.-17 with Heb. vii.-24, *margin*. In Romans xv.-16, St. Paul compares himself to a Levite waiting upon the heavenly Priest by preparing for Him a sacrifice, which through "sanctification of the Spirit," might become "acceptable" by the mediation of the High Priest himself to whom Paul was thus ministering. Just so in Numbers xvi.-9, Korah and his fellow Levites are said in the Septuagint to have "Liturgized the liturgies of the tabernacle," though as the immediate context shows, no priestly offering of incense or of sacrifice was ever included among their duties. Even in the two passages wherein "liturgy" is employed of priestly ministrations it is, in both, carefully distinguished from

the “offering sacrifice” which is *separately* mentioned along with that word. In the Old Testament the Hebrew word *cahan*, “to minister the priest’s office,” is only once translated in the Septuagint by “liturgize,” viz. in 2 Chron. xi.-14, where it was expressly intended to cover the ministrations of the Levites. Joseph is said to be the “liturgist” of Potiphar (Gen. xxxix.-4), as afterwards to the prisoners in Gen. xl.-4. What Joshua was to Moses, Samuel to Eli, and Abishag to David, is expressed in the LXX. by the same word. A ministry to *men*, of a public nature (whether by laymen or others is immaterial), was the ordinary meaning of the word, which explains why “Prophets and teachers” (*not* priests) were described in Acts xiii.-2 as “liturgizing.” Even the Vulgate, Rhemes, and Douay translate it in that verse “ministering” to the Lord. For all Christians are priests; and Christian priests ought not, need not, and indeed *cannot* “offer for sin:” nevertheless, they must be continually offering spiritual sacrifices of praise, thanksgiving, and of loving self-surrender to the Master’s use. The clergy are regarded in the N. T. as those who “serve” or “minister” to these lay-“priests,” and therein to the Lord Jesus, by whose mediation alone the oblation of the souls and bodies of His people can become “accepted in the Beloved.” From this point of view, then, St. Paul describes himself as the server who waited upon Christ* while He was engaged in offering the Gentiles to the Father; the “ministry,” or “liturgy” of the clergy consisting in labouring that the Gentiles might to this end be “sanctified by the Holy Ghost,” (*not* ritually of course, but) “in their inner man.”

Bengel says on Rom. xv.-16:—

“This is allegorical. Jesus is the priest; Paul the servant of the priest; the Gentiles themselves are the oblation: (ch. xii.-1. Isaiah lx.-7, lxvi.-20:) and that oblation is very acceptable, because it is sanctified (John xvii.-19) along with [as well as] its gifts, ver. 31 [*i.e.* their contribution to the saints at Jerusalem is also acceptable, ver. 26], ‘in the Holy Spirit’ whom the Gentiles receive by the gospel of God.”

This interpretation of a Greek word is that given by the Greek Fathers. Theophylact comments on the same text, “My knife is the word; ye are the sacrifice.” Origen on the same text says—“To announce the Gospel is a sacrificial work;” and Chrysostom on the same text says—“The offering of the Gentiles, that is, the souls of them who are taught in order to their acceptance with God.”

Once, by a yet bolder figure, the Apostle describes himself as a libation poured out by the hand of the High Priest over “the sacrifice and liturgy of their faith” (Phil. ii.-17). No one

* Compare Num. xviii.-2: “they shall liturgize to thee.”

surely can mistake this for a priestly *act* of "sacrificing" by the apostle, who never speaks so of his own work. "*Hierourgein*," the word used by him in Romans xv.-16, is not to be confounded with "*hierateuein*" in Luke i.-8: the former means to perform a sacred work; the latter, a priestly work. Hence the revised version *erroneously* puts a "sacrificing work" in the margin: for though sacrifice is of course a "sacred" work, yet many sacred works were non-sacrificial. To this very day the Greek Ordinal speaks of "ministering the word of truth," using, in that connection, the word *hierourgein*, alongside of the sacrificial language which is applied directly to the Eucharist. See Report of Master Brooke's Committee on the Revision of the Irish Prayer Book. (Hodges, Foster & Co., Dublin, 1871, p. 123.)

Two of the best known Greek writers in the earliest stage of the Christian dispensation were Clement of Rome, and the writer of the "Teaching of the Apostles." Both use the word "Liturgy" to express the *manward* ministrations of the clergy. Clement in his first epistle, chap. 8, says: "The liturgizers of the grace of God have, by the Holy Spirit, spoken of repentance :" Bp. Lightfoot's note on this being, "i.e. the prophets; though they are not so called in the LXX. or N.T." Yet, as we have already seen, Acts xiii.-2 does apply this very word "liturgize" to their work. And the "Second Epistle of Clement" (cap. xliv.) speaks of Presbyters chosen by the whole Church as "Liturgizing to the flock." The *Didachè*, chap. xv., similarly speaks of bishops and deacons as "Liturgizing to you the liturgy [i.e. public service] of the prophets and teachers." Nobody contends that these passages should be rendered "offering sacrifice to you," or "offering sacrifice to the flock." It is clear, therefore, that the word "Liturgy" at that time had no sacrificial meaning whatever, and even so late as the sixth century it continued to be used of the evening service, as well as of preaching, which was always the special function of "prophets and teachers." "Liturgy," said the late Professor Hatch, is used "of a bishop's administration, e.g. [by] Eusebius, Hist. iii.-22; v.-28-7; vi.-11, 1; vi.-29-1. It was the common word for public duties; ex. gr. for the duty which at Rhodes the citizens discharged at their own cost rather than at the cost of the State, of providing for the needy poor" (Bampton Lect., p. 42).

In primitive times, then, and according to scriptural usage, a *manward* ministration and the public service of "the laity," as such, was the only idea involved in this word "Liturgy." Holy Communion as a public service was, of course, one of such "liturgies," but it was only one. And no subsequent change in the use of the term should blind us to its original import.

* * *

Viewed in this light, the word "Liturgy" was most appropriate

*Manward nature
of Sacramental
acts.*

to the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. Sacraments are essentially "signs given *to us*" by God, according to the definition of the "word" Sacrament as laid down in the Catechism. (See the C. A. Tract, No. 98.) Hence they may be regarded as *manward* acts symbolical of the grace offered and sealed to believers under the terms and conditions of the New Covenant. Every part of the sacramental action is thus strictly "liturgical" in the original sense of that word, and the minister who sets apart the elements to a sacred use (for man's benefit), and who afterwards distributes or administers *to men* the same consecrated gifts, is a "Liturgist." True it is that at such a time, the minister of God to man will give expression *also* to man's thanks, and to man's "blessing" of the Most High: and hence it is that prayers and doxologies surround the Eucharistic administration. But this is a merely human service and is altogether subordinate and incidental; whereas the "doing this" (viz. which Christ did), is the very object of their "coming together" (Acts xx.-7) and of the very essence of the sacrament.

It was from forgetfulness of this fact that Mr. C. Wordsworth in his apology for the Lambeth Judgment (reviewed in the *Church Intelligencer* for August, 1891), allowed himself to speak of the "celebrant being supposed to be ministering to the people," at the recital of the Institution, as "*most deplorable*," and to give Acts xiii.-2 as a proof that Holy Scripture teaches otherwise! There is no hint of "celebration" in that passage, and the teaching God's people might well be accounted a "ministry to the Lord," as being done in the sight of God, and the most acceptable service to Him.

*Origin of "West-
ward" Celebra-
tion*

Though our Lord used *before* the distribution words of "thanksgiving" (or "blessing" God) by means of which the viands of the Supper were seen to be "consecrated," or set apart to their higher use, not one of the inspired writers has preserved the record of His "prayer of consecration." Similar "blessings" and "thanksgivings" had (Matt. xv.-36, John vi.-19) previously been pronounced by the Son of Man before the distribution of bread to His followers, but in no case does He seem ever to have turned away from the disciples during such dedicatory prayers. Nor did the custom of the Paschal feast, which included such "blessings," suggest that the master of the feast should turn his back upon his guests, or "comrades." So undoubtedly was this the case that through long centuries of the Church's history the celebrant stood behind the holy table facing the congregation, the more effectually to "do this" which his Lord had "done." By the courtesy of M. Rohault de Fleury, and the liberality of his publishers (Morel & Cie., Paris), we are enabled to reproduce, though only in outline, from his magnificent and costly work in

8 vols. quarto, *La Messe, Études archéologiques*, some illustrations of the traditional view of the Institution as preserved by ancient artists. M. de Fleury, like his father, is an ardent votary of the Roman Church, so that no suspicion of Protestant bias can attach to these representations.

They show that the position of the celebrant in front of the table with his back to the people is neither primitive, nor "catholic." Down to the thirteenth century, in the East at least, the officiant stood facing the people who approached to communicate on the North and South "sides" of the table. Over the table was frequently erected a canopy to keep off dust and insects, which were also driven away by fans used by attendants who, in some of these allegorical pictures, are depicted as angels. *The front of the table was unused.* In the Cathedral Church of the Armenian Patriarch in Jernsalem, visited by Bp. Blyth on July 20th, 1890, "the altar was approached by steps on either side, but not in front." (*Guardian*, August 13th, 1890.) In the time of Chrysostom a veil hung between the two front pillars of the canopy to hide from non-communicants the "mysteries."

What were these "Mysteries"?

"It is worth observing that the passages in the ancient writers "*The Mysteries.*" of the Church which seem to favour the doctrine of Transubstantiation are generally taken from their popular discourses, intended for the ears of unbelievers and catechumens, and that the point which they carefully reserve from such persons is *not* the mysterious and supernatural grace, but the *true nature of the emblem* by which it was supposed to be represented and conveyed. Thus, for example, Chrysostom, in one of his* Orations, speaking of the altar, exclaims, 'There lies the Lord's Body, covered all round by the Holy Spirit. The initiated know the meaning of what I say.' Here you see there is no reserve at all about the strongest possible form of the figurative language; the sign is boldly called by the title of the thing signified. But what is reserved is the *real nature of the Sign*. Still more remarkable, and indeed decisive of the whole question, is a passage from Theodoret, which occurs in a dialogue between two interlocutors—*Eranistes* and *Orthodoxus*. *Eranistes* represents an Eutychian who is endeavouring to prove that the humanity in Christ was swallowed up, as it were, in the Divine glory. *Orthodoxus* endeavours to refute him by pointing out that the symbols in the Eucharist would be unmeaning if there were not a real Body and Blood of which they are the images. This illustration *Eranistes* endeavours to turn the other way by observing that these symbols undergo a change by the benediction of the priest, and he proceeds thus:

"'What do you call the gift offered before the priest's invocation?' *Orthodoxus* replies, 'This must not be said openly, for

* The heathen were allowed to be present at Sermon time.

some of the uninitiated may be present.' 'Answer, then,' says *Eranistes*, 'in hidden terms.' 'We call it,' proceeds *Orthodoxus*, following his advice, 'an aliment made of certain grains.' 'And how do you call the other symbol?' 'We give it a name that denotes a certain beverage.' 'And after the consecration, what are they called?' 'The Body and the Blood of Christ.' (*Dial. I. Immutabilis*, p. 53 (24), Migne.)

"Here, then, you see plainly that the figurative, or as we should call it, 'mystical' name, the Body and Blood of Christ, was precisely the thing that was openly mentioned in the presence of the catechumens. The fact that this Body and Blood were bread and wine was the secret reserved from their knowledge." (*Bp. Fitzgerald's Lectures on Eccl. History*, i.-183).

When the non-communicants were dismissed (at the end of the "ante-communion" service, as we should call it) "the prayer of the veil" was used because then,* as the Syriac Liturgy expresses it, "the veil is taken away," and what the catechumens had been rhetorically taught to regard as the "Body and Blood of Christ" was exposed to the view of "the initiated" as mere bread and wine. This was the "mystery" which, to avoid profane caricatures by the heathen, was so carefully concealed from the unbaptized.

The Manward Ministrant. It was physically impossible to approach many of the "altars" in front; and access could be gained to them only by flights of steps at the North and South "sides." In Rome itself many of the ancient churches show an altar lifted up high above the heads of the people and quite inaccessible in front, as depicted in Bunsen's plates of the churches of St. Maria Maggiore, St. Praxedē, St. Clemente, St. John Lateran, St. Mary beyond Tiber, and many others. (*Die Basiliken der Christlichen Roms.* Pl. x, xxi, xxxiii, xxvi, xxxviii, &c.)

Figure 4, on page 8, is from the Church of Nekresi, supposed to have been founded A.D. 393-405 by King Tirdat-Chosroides, who is depicted in one of the frescoes as holding in his hand a model of the church. Plate 258, in the same volume of M. de Fleury's work, is taken from Pitsounda, a Basilican cathedral on the Caucasian shore of the Black Sea, built by Justinian A.D. 558, and gives a similar representation; but our Lord is there standing behind the table, and giving with His right hand a fragment broken off from the loaf in His left hand to a standing communicant who approaches the table on (what we should call) the South side.

* Mr. Badger, in his *Nestorians and their Ritual*, p. 20, shews that with them the veil is still drawn aside at this point in the service. And Mr. Gally Knight, describing the ancient type of service at S. Clemente, Rome, says "the veil of the sanctuary was then drawn aside. The bishop advanced from his seat, and, with his face turned towards the people, began his sacred office" (*Eccl. Architecture of Italy*, plate 2).

In the plate figured below, the left hand group at the top is from a psalter of the ninth century, preserved at Mount Athos: the group on the right being copied from the apse of the Cathedral* of St. Sophia at Kief, A.D. 1037, and there is a very similar one at St. Michael's, Kief, A.D. 1108, figured also by M. de Fleury, in his plate 260. Prince Gagarine says that the same representation is common to all the churches of the Caucasus, Greece, and Asia Minor, which are older than the thirteenth century. One such of the thirteenth century is figured in plate 261, taken from the wall of the apse over rows of

Fig. 1.

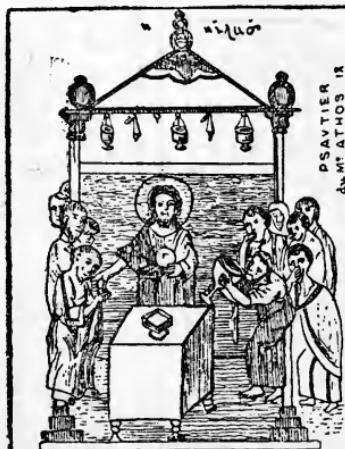


Fig. 2.



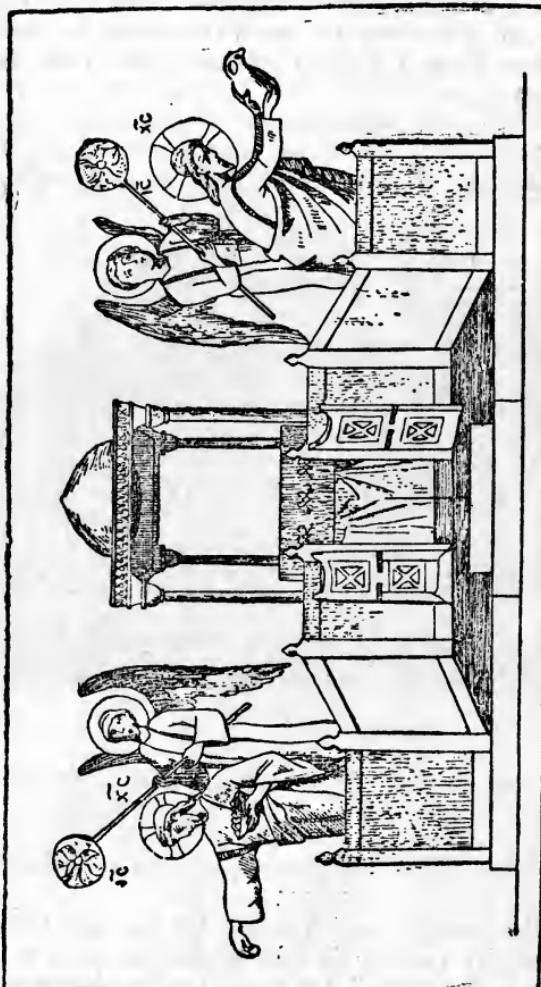
Fig. 3.

benches for the clergy which are still placed behind the altar. The practice (shown in two of the representations) of the communicant "taking" the cup, was probably based on St. Luke, xxii.-17, and it was both early and general. See the C. A. Tract 102, pp. 5-7. The larger erect figures at the extreme ends of the lowest plate represent Abraham and Melchisedec, to the former of whom wine was "brought out" for his sacramental refreshment, as Josephus witnesses.

* Neale (*Hist. Eastern Church*, i.-270) calls these "the only ancient frescoes in Russia." The vessels hanging overhead in Figure 1 are probably chalices. See Smith's *Dict. Christian Antiq.*, i.-341

It should be remembered that, in Europe at least, the primitive churches *faced* East, so that the holy table was then at the West end, and the celebrant standing behind it so as to face the congregation, necessarily faced East.* This explains the language of Pope Leo I., who complained

"That the rising sun is worshipped from the high places by some of the more foolish people; which some Christians even suppose



NEKRESI.—FRESQUE dans l'Abside de L'EGLISE

Fig. 4.

themselves to be observing so religiously, that before they quite come to the basilica of the blessed Apostle Peter, dedicated to the one living and true God, having mounted the steps of the ascent of the Upper Court, they *turn themselves back* towards the rising sun, with bowed necks, in honour of that splendid orb." (Sermo. vii. in Nativitate Domini. *Migne*, p. 218.)

* See Dr. Harrison's *Eastward Position unscriptural, and not primitive and catholic* (Longmans).

The story of Durandus that Pope Vigilius first ordained that "the priest at the altar and in Divine services ought to pray toward the East," if in any sense true, would seem to shew that the Gentile influence, against which Leo struggled, had in the interval begun to prevail. At certain points in the service the deacon bade the congregation also "turn to the East," so that they must, in some churches, have turned their backs on the altar during those prayers. (See Figures 9, 10.)

Another witness preserved at the Vatican is the richly embroidered Dalmatic (see Fig. 5), erroneously attributed to St. Leo III., to whom one of the Eastern emperors is said to have given it on the occasion of his coronation. It is of Byzantine work, and dates from about A.D. 1200. On the shoulders of this dress are embroidered two separate repre-



Fig. 5.

sentations of the Saviour distributing Holy Communion "in either kind" to His disciples. Each shews the celebrant standing "Westward"; in each the communicants approach what Archbishop Benson calls the north and south "ends" of the Table. The "cup," a two-handled vessel, resembling the "grace-cup" in use at the colleges of Oxford and Cambridge, is being handed by one handle to an apostle, who, with veiled hand, is about to "take" it.* M. de Fleury observes (iv.-17)

* This is shewn much more clearly in Valentini's *Basilica Vaticana*, Vol. II., plate 74; and in Bock's *Kleinodien de Heil-Römischen Reiches*, p. 98. In the Syriac Liturgy of Ignatius we read: "Take and drink each from one another's hand" (*Notit. Euch.*, p. 630). In St. Chrysostom's the clergy "seem to have passed the paten and chalice to each other" (Swainson's *Greek Liturgies*, p. 147). The earliest known chalices were of this two-handled pattern. See Smith's *Dict. Christian Antiq.*, i.-338.

that in both representations "the altars, like the offering tables actually in use in the Levant, are sustained by one foot only." The inscription in Greek, "Drink ye *all* of it," as well as the evidence of communion in *both* kinds, maintain their silent protest within the Vatican itself against two corruptions of

• XIII. BIBL. NAT^e MS • F° 9561 f° 161 •



Fig. 6.

the Latin communion which are actually more modern than is this ancient dress.

Another illustration (Fig. 6), of the 13th century, is taken by M. de Fleury (Vol. VIII., pl. 623), from a MS. in the Bibliothèque

Nationale. It shews the folly of arguing for an "eastward position" from the existence of a footpace (for use at the offertory) in front of the table, as was done in the recent Lambeth Judgment. There are several other illustrations in M. de Fleury's book shewing the *manward* ministration of the celebrant. Others might be adduced from Seroux D'Agincourt's *Sammlung von Denkmälern* (Tav. xcvi. 4); others again from Mr. H. Gally Knight's *Ecclesiastical Architecture in Italy*, Vol. I., plates 1, 2, 3, 11, 12, 25, and Vol. II., plate 8; and Hübsch *Die Altchristlichen Kirchen* shews many Basilican altars inaccessible

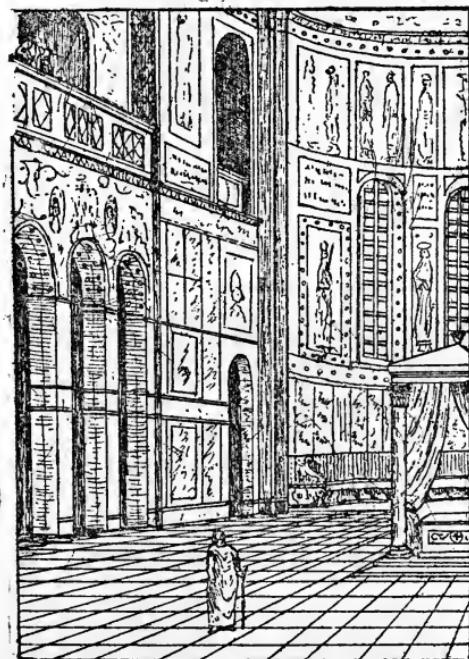


Fig. 7.

in front, approached by communicants at the north and south sides, and officiated at from behind by a celebrant who faced the congregation. Plates 12, 20, 23, 24, 30, 33, 37, 55, are excellent examples. A very small portion of plate xxxiii. fig. 4, shewing the Church of St. Irene at Constantinople of the 6th century, is here reproduced from Hübsch; sufficient to shew how the clergy sat behind the table, and how the "curtains" in front were disposed (Fig. 7).

Figure 8 is copied from a piece of carved ivory in the Public Library at Frankfort-on-the-Main, and represents an archbishop celebrating Mass. "This carving is probably of the ninth century," says Mr. Nesbitt, in Smith's *Dict. Christian*

Antiquities, p. 1572, from which, by permission of Mr. Murray, the publisher, the print is borrowed.* The size of the Com-



Ivory Carving. Archishop celebrating Mass.

Fig. 8.

munion cup suggests lay communicants, whereas just before the Reformation the chalice had dwindled into a tiny vessel intended only for the celebrant's use.

By the courteous permission of Messrs. Day & Sons, the

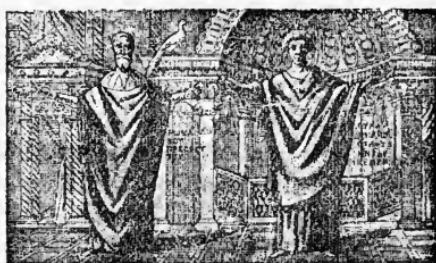


Fig. 9.

publishers of Texier and Pullan's *Architecture Byzantine*, drawings are here reproduced of two of the mosaics which decorate the vault of St. George's, Thessalonica, a church built

* A row of communicants faced this altar, which is depicted as of great height towering above their heads, in Plate ix. of M. de Fleury's book.

by Constantine the Great. Fig. 9 may be compared with the Nekresi drawing given above at p. 8, as both shew that the screen which separated the Holy Table from the choir was at first merely a dwarf erection, like our modern "communion rails." (See also Fleury, Plates iv.-7 and vi.)

In Oriental churches the screen is never placed between the nave and the chancel, but between the choir and the sanctuary, or apse in which the table itself actually stands. The huge modern "iconostasis," covered with imagery, which now blocks out the faithful from direct participation in "the mysteries," and excludes them from the table to which the laity originally had free access,* may be contrasted with these ancient drawings.

In Pusey's *Library of the Fathers*, the following translation is given, p. 165, of Cyril of Alexandria on John ii.-24:—

"Let the stewards of the mysteries of the Saviour hence learn, not suddenly to admit a man within the sacred veils, nor to permit to approach the Divine tables neophytes untimely baptized, and not in right time believing on Christ the Lord of all." (See also Chrysostom Hom. xx. on 2 Cor., p. 236, in the same "Library.")

Figure 10, another of the same series, has been chosen as



Fig. 10.

shewing well the "veil" described above at p. 5. This "veil" is figured also in Smith's *Dict. Christian Antiquities*, p. 65. In these, as in the other drawings given in the work named (which were also published by Mr. W. B. Marriott, in his *Vestiarium Christianum*, plates xviii.-xxi.), it will be noticed how the lay worshippers turned their backs during prayer on the "sanctuary," and also the illustration which they furnish of that "lifting up of hands" mentioned by St. Paul in 1 Tim. ii.-8.

* See Hatch's *Growth of Church Institutions*, The Chancel, p. 214; also *Church Intelligencer*, I.-78, and the C. A. Tract, No. 102, which gives the evidence of Dionysius of Alexandria, Clement of Alexandria, Basil, Gregory of Nianzum, and Chrysostom. Tertullian's "Ad aram Dei steteris" (De Oratione, c. 19) and Ignatius' ἐντὸς τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου (Ephes. 5) are still earlier. The veil is well shewn in Fleury's *Latran*, plate xviii.

*Melchisedec's
Feast.*

After Clement of Alexandria at the opening of the third century first broached the notion that a type of the Lord's Supper might be found in Genesis xiv.-18, many Christian writers adopted or modified that allusion. No direct warrant, however, can be found for it in Holy Scripture, a silence the more to be regarded in this instance because Melchisedec was the type of Christ's priesthood in those mysterious respects which contrast His ministry with that of any earthly priest. To be without any known "beginning of days or end of life," to have no successor ("without descent"), but to "abide continually" in a priesthood which is "intransmissible" (Heb. vii.-24), and to perform his priestly functions out of sight of this world (Heb. viii.-4), these are the points dwelt upon by St. Paul as typified by the Old Testament revelation of Melchisedec as a priest. The superiority of the priesthood of Melchisedec to that of Aaron (which was typical of Christ's priesthood in another aspect) was shewn, in the type, by Levi paying tithe to Melchisedec (Heb. vii.-9) and receiving blessing from him (verse 7). So that while Aaron typified the *transient* and, so to speak, preliminary work of the Redeemer in presenting "once for all" an offering for sin, which, as an act of offering, "ceased" long ago; on the other hand, the Melchisedeckian ministry of "Blessing" is now the *perpetual* function of our High Priest who "abideth continually."

It was not till the "one" sacrifice for sin had been accepted and had therefore "ceased to be offered" (Heb. x.-2, 10, 18), that our High Priest "received gifts for men, yea even for His enemies, that the Lord God might dwell among them" (Ps. lxviii.-18). And it was after His Ascension, when His sin-offering had been accepted as "full, perfect, and sufficient," that He "sat down" on His throne as the Mediator-King, and "gave gifts to men" (see Acts ii.-33; Eph. iv.-8; John vii.-39, xvi.-7). It was as "King of Salem," i.e. of peace, that Melchisedec brought forth bread and wine to refresh the warrior chieftain who is the type of the "faithful" in all ages. The Revised Version agrees with the Authorised as well as with the LXX., Syriac, and Arabic in rendering Genesis xiv.-18, "AND he was the priest." The Church of Rome, however, has changed this revealed testimony by substituting "FOR he was the priest," so as to suggest that the "bread and wine" might be a sacrificial offering to God. But this is refuted by the context. Josephus and Philo say plainly that the bread and wine were brought forth as an act of "hospitality" for Abraham's refreshment. Cardinal Cajetan, after careful study of the Hebrew, said, "there is no mention here of any sacrifice or oblation, but of bringing forth, or bringing out, which as Josephus says, was done to refresh the conquerors." Even in the Vatican itself this truth has been emblazoned by Raphael Sanzio, Melchisedec being depicted as presenting to Abraham

hampers of bread and jars of wine, no table of any kind being introduced, while the inscription below records how Melchisedec "offers" bread and wine "*to Abraham*." (*Valentini's "Basilica Vaticana," Vol. II., pt. ii., plate xii.*)

The picture here reproduced (Fig. 11) from M. de Fleury's work before mentioned (Vol. I., plate iii.) is a mosaic dating from A.D. 549, and still remaining on the wall of the choir of St. Apollinare in Classe, in the environs of Ravenna. It represents three allusive references to the sacrifice of the death of Christ, viz. the offering of Abel, that of Abraham, and the feast of Melchisedec. In the sixth century it had come to be the general belief that the so-called



Fig. 11.

"offering" of Melchisedec was a type of the Eucharist. It is noteworthy therefore in this connection that the "westward" position of the celebrant at a four-legged wooden table, draped tablewise, was then the received type of Eucharistic celebration. The higher we carry that symbolism, the more striking does this late witness become that the "eastward position" (i.e. with back to the people) was no primitive observance. Clement of Alexandria, the earliest to detect any Eucharistic reference in the story of Melchisedec, says, "For Salem is, by interpretation, Peace; of which our Saviour is enrolled King, as Moses says, Melchisedec, King of Salem, priest of the most high God, who

gave bread and wine, furnishing consecrated food for a type of the Eucharist" (Clark's *Ante-Nicene Library*, II.-214). Tertullian, the next in point of time, says, "Melchisedec offered bread and wine to Abraham returning from the fight." It was not until Cyprian, the founder of "catholic" Christianity, that we find the doctrine introduced which Jerome adopted, viz. that "Melchisedec offered bread and wine in type of Christ, and dedicated the Christian mystery in the body and blood of the Saviour." But it is obvious that even on the assumption that, in his capacity of *Priest*, Melchisedec offered to Abraham bread and wine, and on the further assumption that this "bread and wine" had been previously offered in sacrifice (by a "memorial") to God, yet even so, the "offering" to Abraham was not a ritual offering of sacrifice, but the subsequent feast or banquet upon viands furnished by a *by-gone* sacrifice. Moreover, "bread and wine" were not, by the symbolism of the Old Testament, proper materials for a sin-offering (Kurtz, *Sacrificial Worship of the Old Testament*,



Fig. 12.

p. 312; see also Levit. xvii.-10, 11; Heb. ix.-22). Those who wish to investigate the subject further will find it done ready to their hand in Waterland's *Doctrine of the Eucharist*, p. 464; Jewel's Works, II., 730; Vogan on the Eucharist, p. 596; Goode's *Divine Rule*, I., 341; Trevor's *Catholic Doctrine*, &c., p. 23.

North side
the Table.

When the original idea of a sacramental gift from God to man, administered by His "steward" as from His table, had given place to the purely human and ecclesiastical corruption of a "sacrificial offering" from man to God, the corresponding ritual changes seem to have gone through the "half-way house" stage of placing the celebrant, for a time, at "the north side of the table." The evidence is scanty, and the intermediate stage probably did not occur alike everywhere, or persist very long. Yet the following drawings seem to hint at its existence. Fig. 12 is taken by

the kind permission of Mr. John Murray, the publisher, from Dean Burgon's *Letters from Rome*, p. 258. The original is preserved on a small stone in the Museum Kircherianum. Readers of Foxe will be reminded of the story which he tells (Act. and Mon. vii.-288) of the parson of Adisham, Kent, who on September 3rd, 1553, after the accession of Mary, was threatened by a Popish parishioner, "If he say any service here again, I will lay the table on his face. And in that rage he with others took up the table, and laid it on a chest in the chancel, and set the *trestles* by it."

Figure 13 is taken from Gerbert's *Vetus Liturgia Alleman-*



*Ex missali Msc.
bibl. Barbarmæ Romæ*

Fig. 13.

nica, pt. i., p. 246. On comparing this with the mosaic at Kieff cathedral, figured above at p. 7, and observing which way the long axis of the table is turned, the change above mentioned seems clearly indicated. In his *Monumenta veteris Liturgiae Alemannicae*, pt. i., pp. 234-7, Gerbert gives from the 9th century Missal at St. Blaise three drawings, each of which shews the Priest standing at the N.-W. angle of the altar, and facing South.

But perhaps the best illustration (Fig. 14) is in the 11th century fresco still extant in the subterranean church of St. Clemente at

Rome. Mr. Marriott, to whose *Vestiarium Christianum* we are indebted for it, describes it as follows:—

“ St. Clement is standing at what would be the north side or north end of a square altar. He is in the act of benediction, and for this reason, with his face toward the people, exactly in the position which, till the last twenty years or so, was the all but universal position off English bishops and priests at the like time. On the altar itsel there is a chalice and paten, and a sacramentary, the latter being so



Fig. 14.

placed as to be ONLY LEGIBLE* BY ONE STANDING AT THE NORTH SIDE (or north end) of the altar.”

The ornament on the base of the “altar” proves that the northern boundary of the table stopped short at the foot of the

* The two salutations, “Dominus vobiscum” and “Pax Domini sit semper vobiscum,” though occurring at the beginning and end of the office respectively, are both there so as to explain Clement’s “turning to the people.”

celebrant. The absence from the table of either cross or lights is by no means peculiar to this fresco. In M. de Fleury's book, lights do not appear for nearly a thousand years after Christ, and then at first only as borne by an attendant, or as a single light intended *bond fide* to enable the office book to be used. The lamp-like vessels seen hanging from the ciborium (see No. 1, p. 7) according to Mr. Nesbitt, in Smith's *Dict. Christian Antiquities*, I.-343, were chalices suspended for occasional use, as at Easter, or "great feasts of receiving": and possibly they may represent the numerous vessels which had formerly been needed for a celebration of the love-feast which in primitive times accompanied the Lord's Supper. The two-handled cup is also seen in this drawing, as in Nos. 5, 8, and 11, at pp. 9, 12 and 15.

The cause of this change might be merely for convenience, as the "prothesis" was on the north side, and a "single-handed" celebrant who had to bring the elements from the prothesis, and afterwards, as we have seen, to communicate the people who "drew near" at the north (or south) side of the table, might prefer to remain at the spot which involved the fewest changes of position. Or, it might be from some fanciful idea that Christ being at the "right hand" of God, the "right hand" was the symbol of power. There is a passage in Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl. lib. x., c. iv.*) which might possibly be so understood. Speaking with Oriental rhetoric, of the consecration of the church at Tyre, he says—

"Noble and grand also, and unique is the altar. . . at which that great High priest of the Universe, Jesus, the only begotten Son of God, Himself *standing on the right,** receives the sweet incense from all, and the bloodless and immaterial sacrifices of prayer. . . and with extended hands bears them to the Father."

Such fanciful mysticism we know, influenced men who revelled in "symbolism."

Brett, a nonjuring bishop, advanced several reasons for thinking that the north side was thus used in the East. The entire passage, which is out of print, was given in the *Church Intelligencer*, VIII., 153, because the Lambeth "Judges" failed to recognize, that it was from this very letter by Brett, in 1717, that Wheatley had derived the theory which they quote from his third edition. Whether that theory were right or wrong, had

* "As in the Heathen basilica so in the Christian, the entrance portico, with the wall pertaining to it, forms the *antica pars*, or front of the building, the wall opposite, with its *absis* and *tribunal*, the *postica pars*; and 'right' and 'left' are always to be understood as having reference to one who is facing (as did of old the *Prætor* or other Magistrate) towards the *antica pars*, and with his back to that part of the building which corresponds structurally with our own 'East end.'" (Marriott.)

no bearing whatever upon the question of law or of fact which was before the Court, and their reference to it was made only with a view to get rid of Wheatly's inconvenient witness; as though an error of antiquarianism could vitiate his testimony to the contemporary usage of his own day.*

It is not probable that our Reformers in 1552, were conversant with the usage referred to: what is more likely is that when changing back the "sacrifice" into a sacrament, they unconsciously went through the same intermediate stage which had been passed through, centuries before, when the sacrament was being turned into a sacrifice. It might have been more logical to have reverted boldly to the Westward position behind the table, facing the people, a custom which the oldest churches in England shew to be demanded by "historic continuity," and which accords best with the Institution of the Supper, and with the nature of a sacrament. But the men with whom they had to work, *i.e.* the mass-priests who retained their livings in 1552, would probably be less hostile to the "north side" than to the eastern side, as clashing less directly with traditional usage: and Englishmen, we know, love compromises.

Of course, it will be understood that none of the drawings here reproduced, are at all trustworthy as evidence of what actually took place in any of the scriptural scenes depicted. Their value lies merely in the fact that they are among the oldest, if not the very oldest, Christian paintings in the world relating to the Lord's Supper, and the comparatively late date of some of them enhances the value of their testimony to the persistence of a Primitive Westward position, so exactly contrary in meaning and effect to the "sacerdotal position" for which our Ritualists crave. If "historic continuity" with the earliest and best times is to be sought rather than with the latest and worst, we are bound to deprecate and avoid a recurrence to the late mediæval innovation of the so-called "Eastward position."

* In the same "judicial" spirit Nicholls was alleged to have "*for the same reason* urged that the Consecration Prayer should be said 'kneeling'" (Lambeth Judgment, p. 34). Whereas, as Wheatly points out *loco citato*, Nicholls assigned a *totally different* reason. Thus Nicholls' error of judgment on one point was alleged inaccurately in order to invalidate his testimony to the belief and usage of his own day as to another point!



POSTSCRIPT.

A FRIEND suggests that fig. 14 on p. 18 was intended to show a celebrant standing behind the table, the figures on his right being the (tonsured) clergy in the apse behind the altar, while those on his left are supposed to be retreating towards the porch. On this view the picture represents a longitudinal section of the building, and the usual "Westward" position described above. To enable the reader to decide between these alternatives, the entire fresco is reproduced below (Fig. 15). A photograph of this fresco may be inspected at the South Kensington Art Library, portfolio 404. In Rohault de Fleury's book, Vol. i. pl. xii., another fresco from St. Clemente's shews Clement behind the altar saluting the people who are facing him.

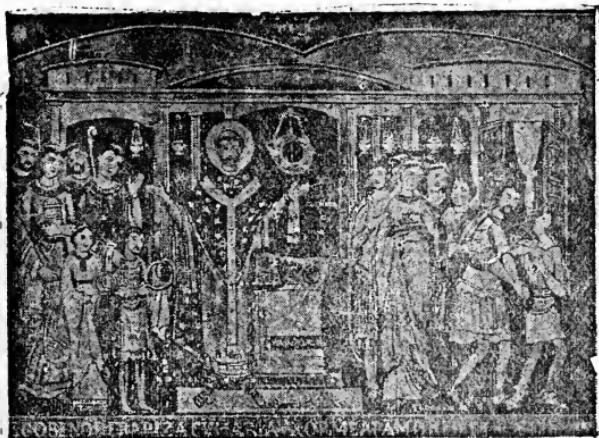


Fig. 15.

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(Speech by J. T. Tomlinson, Esq., at the Sheffield Church Congress, 1878.)



THE one paramount reason for the adoption of parochial councils is the necessity for limiting the powers now possessed by incumbents. I am not speaking of the parish priest, as such; nor of the moral influence of the individual clergyman; nor of that "ministering of the Word and Sacraments" peculiar to their office. I speak only of the legal powers and secular authority of the holder of a benefice, his "freehold rights," his patronage, and the like, which are of "the things of Cæsar," as being the creations of human law. No one pretends that there is any "divine right" of incumbents, yet they virtually monopolise the rights of the Church. "Church property"—so called—is vested in their freeholds. Convocation, so far as it is elective, consists of their representatives. An incumbent may be a young man of twenty-five, or an old man of seventy, or a don appointed by his college without reference to the wishes of the parishioners. However indolent or objectionable he may prove, he has for life the power to prevent any other views than his own from being heard in any pulpit in "his" parish, however extensive or populous that parish may be. He may change the ritual from slovenly nakedness to tawdry gorgeousness; the hymn-book from Bishop Colenso's to the "People's Hymnal"; the teaching from semi-Deism to Cis-Montanism; he may exchange livings with an incumbent who will reverse these processes; he may stamp out every organisation for charitable, educational, or other purposes connected with "his" church, or he may change them arbitrarily for unaccustomed ones; and the people for whose benefit both parish and incumbent have been created have, by law, no more power to mitigate what is called his "discretion" than the sheep on the common. There is practically no limit to this "One Man System" in the Church of England. Since the abolition of the High Commission Court the

bishops have lost the power of enforcing their injunctions; and the incumbent, like a feudal baron of the Middle Ages, is as independent of his titular sovereign as of his vassals. The control of the purse-strings passed away from the parish vestry with the abolition of church-rates. Neither bishop, vestry, nor churchwardens have the slightest control over any moneys collected by the incumbent in "his own church," except at what is called the offertory. Centralization is now almost complete. Hardly a single office can be held by a layman in any parish except as the nominee of the incumbent, and on sufferance during his good pleasure. Even the churchwardens are no exception to this statement, since the man chosen by the parishioners cannot act without the concurrence of a colleague chosen for that very purpose by the incumbent. It is just as though the Crown were to nominate one out of every two burgesses sent (from Sheffield, for instance) to the House of Commons. Nay, it is even more absurd than that, for it is the special duty of the churchwardens to "present" the incumbent for any breach of the ecclesiastical law, and to sue him for any misappropriation of the church furniture or other property of the parish. In the diocese of Manchester, for instance, an incumbent pawned the Communion plate, and the parishioners had actually to apply to the incumbent's own nominee, to sue for its restoration! I do not enter into the history of the successive encroachments by which this state of things has been brought about, which you may see in Toulmin Smith's book on "The Parish." It is enough that the present position of an English incumbent is unique, and has no parallel in any country in Europe. Now, of what possible use could be a "Voluntary Council" as a means of tempering the despotism of which I am complaining? Let us imagine a parallel case. Suppose that the master of a workhouse, or the house-surgeon of a hospital had a freehold right in the public lands and buildings, and had a fixed stipend reserved to him in perpetuity, irrespective of the results of his management. Would he not imperceptibly gather round him a sympathetic following, personal, partisan, or (to borrow a word which includes both) "congregational?" and would he not soon come to resent any suggestions from the general public as being an "impudent interference" with "his" affairs? Would he not naturally wish people to furnish money and assistance to carry out his plans without the "fuss and bother," as he would term it, of discussion or consultation? That, I suspect, is what an incumbent means when he talks of "lay co-operation." If it were wished merely to divert attention from his own monopoly of power, he might set up a "voluntary council," to consist of persons who should meet when he summoned them, but without any legal rights or ascertained position to state their views without having any definite responsibility, and be liable both individually and collectively to dismissal by him at any time, and to the over-ruling of their resolutions at his pleasure. Such a "voluntary" council has no element of reality; educated men will not care to play at council, "making believe very much," as the children say. If we seriously wish to engage the heart and mind, the wealth and influence of the whole Church, we shall take care that our "parochial council" (if we are to have one) shall be composed of communicants freely elected by the widest possible con-

stituency of those who "profess and call themselves" Churchmen. And we shall insist that its powers and duties be defined and guarded by law. Then with the sense of power will come the sense of responsibility, and men will no longer hesitate to tender advice which they will have a recognized right to urge. As to the powers with which the council should be invested they may be summed up briefly under two heads. 1st. Let all collections and disbursements of money be transferred absolutely to the council, whose accounts should be audited regularly with the utmost publicity. The incumbent would then cease to "serve tables"; and his pastoral visits would lose nothing of their spiritual efficacy if he no longer acted as relieving officer to the poor, and as mendicant friar to the rich. There is nothing "spiritual" about £ s. d.; "let them be handed over, therefore, to the secular arm." 2nd. Wherever a choice of alternatives as to ritual, music, school management, or any other matter affecting the parish, has been left by law to the "discretion" of somebody, let it be necessary for the incumbent to gain the consent of the parish council before acting upon his own individual discretion. Even where his judgment is riper than theirs it is better that he should have to wait until he has gained their confidence and convinced their judgments, before he makes alterations which, however desirable in the abstract, may be ill-suited to the condition of taste, education, or temper existing in the parish. And if he would feel it to be a hardship to forego what he conscientiously prefers, let him remember that the hardship would be no less keenly felt by those whose wishes he proposes to disregard, and that their ignorance (if it be so) is the reflex of the teaching which they have hitherto received. In the few minutes which are left to me, I will anticipate some objections likely to be raised in the discussion which is to follow. It will be asked, for instance, "What is a layman?" He is a person, not in holy orders, who has been admitted into the fellowship of Christ's Church by baptism. The very fact that he is capable of being excommunicated proves his membership. Again, "What is a parishioner?" In one of the most recent Acts of Parliament we have a definition which is more stringent than the franchise adopted by our own Church in Ireland and in the older colonies, viz. an adult male, resident in the parish for twelve months, who has signed a solemn declaration that he is a member of the Church. If that qualification suffices for matters affecting the whole National Church, it may serve well enough for the affairs of a parish. To those who would urge a communicant franchise, I would suggest the difficulty of defining "What is a communicant?" The old "Test and Corporations Act" proved that unworthy persons will receive the Holy Sacrament to obtain a vote. In some parishes it would disqualify earnest men, who are repelled by the slovenly negligence or the illegal rites with which the incumbent chooses to celebrate; for parishioners fear, not unreasonably, to be "partakers of other men's sins," by assisting at a celebration which they regard as profane, or as idolatrous. Moreover, in parishes where habitual confession is encouraged as a fit preparation for right reception, a majority of the communicants would be persons habitually under the "direction" of the incumbent. The "Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven" were never given to open the ballot-box. I say nothing of the unfair use which the

incumbent might be tempted to make of his power of "repelling any" whose views he disliked; nor of the danger that men would come to "abhor the offering of the Lord" if they saw the sacrament of love made the *tessera* of a party. It is sufficient to urge that every consideration which would dissuade us from excommunicating the whole mass of the laity who do not now "communicate at least three times in the year" is, if you examine it, equally a reason for letting their wants and wishes find legitimate expression. For, to use the words of Dr. Arnold,* "discipline never can, and indeed never ought to be restored till the Church resumes her lawful authority, and puts an end to the usurpation of its powers by the clergy." In the Established Church there is unhappily, as yet, no adequate recognition of that Democratic element which in the Acts of the Apostles and in the Epistle to the Corinthianst is called "the Church"—a recognition which imparts to Presbyterianism and Congregationalism a force quite disproportionate to the wealth and number of their adherents. We may be told that the existence of lay patronage secures the rights of the laity. How so? Though the patron be not a clergyman, he may, nevertheless, be a Jew, an Atheist, a Plymouth Brother, or what not. How, then, does he "represent" the faithful? The patron represents not the rights of the laity, but their wrongs, viz. that the "cure" of their souls may be sold by a man who never gave a penny to the Church, merely because his reputed ancestor centuries ago invested in an endowment which has served ever since to enrich his family, under pretence of giving money "to God and His Church." It is to the everlasting honour of Scotchmen that they obliterated this scandal. We shall hear that the Royal supremacy expresses the voice of the laity. But the "Royal supremacy" merely means the supremacy of the law as enforced by the civil executive over priests and laics alike. The "supremacy of the Crown" is, at least, as great in civil as in ecclesiastical matters, yet no one pretends that municipal or Parliamentary franchises ought to have been withheld. So, again, Parliament, which consists of Jews, Quakers, Papists, and others, cannot represent the faithful laity, as such; it contains many *ex-officio* clerical members; the clergy play an important part in county and borough elections; and ecclesiastical questions are dealt with by Parliament most reluctantly. There can be no pretext for saying that a Parliament elected for totally different purposes affords an adequate representation of the laity. Right reverend and reverend fathers of the clergy, what we laymen venture to ask of the clergy is this, "Hear the CHURCH."

* Preface to "Sermons on the Christian Life."

† Acts xv. 4, 22, 23; 1 Cor. i. 2; cf. Eph. iv. 16; 1 Tim. iii. 15.



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as they have done in
times past.”

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“The Chancels shall remain as they have done
in times past.”



THESE familiar words first entered the Prayer Book in 1552, near the close of the reign of Edward VI., when nearly all the fittings and furniture of the chancels had been changed from what they had been “in times past.” The altars, images, crucifixes, had all been swept away, and instead of them texts of Scripture (“as a stay to their heresies,” as Bonner* complained) were painted on the chancel walls. Nobody dreamed at that time of perpetuating the old mediæval fittings and furniture. Yet the chancels themselves were to “remain,” and an order was newly inserted into the Prayer Book to ensure their remaining. An explanation of all this may be found in the history of the period.

But first of all let us observe that the wording was not quite the same then as now. The rubric of 1552 ran thus:—

The Morning and Evening Prayer shall be used in such place of the Church, Chapel, or Chancel, and the Minister shall so turn him, as the people may best hear. And if there be any controversy therein, the matter shall be referred to the ordinary, and he or his deputy shall appoint the place, and the chancels shall remain, as they have done in times past.

Here it will be noticed that the bit about “chancels” was a mere dependent clause occurring in a general direction as to

* Cardwell, *Doc. Ann.* No. xxxiv.

“The order where Morning and Evening Prayer shall be used and said.” Accordingly the rubric was printed with that heading, not on a separate page as now, but as a prelude to “The order for Morning Prayer.” There was no reference then to “the accustomed place,” as in our present rubric; and for the very obvious reason that “the accustomed place” of pre-reformation times would not have enabled the people to “best hear.”

While the Second Prayer Book of Edward VI. was “in consultation” a powerful party, headed by Bucer and Bishop Hooper, advocated the abolition of chancels altogether. Bucer went so far as to call it “antichristian” to say service in the choir.*

Bishop Hooper, preaching at Court, on March 5th, 1550,† urged: “This I would wish, that the magistrates should put both the preacher, minister, and the people in one place, and shut up the partition called the chancel, that separateth the congregation of Christ one from the other.” The avarice of the courtiers who stripped lead from the roofs, and quarried the walls for building materials, under a pretended zeal for “Reformation,” added urgency to this question in 1552; yet Cranmer and his colleagues not only resisted the powerful pressure brought to bear upon them, but inserted a fresh rubric that the chancels should “REMAIN, as they have done in times past.” “Done” what? Why, “remained.” Neither in 1552 nor in 1559 was it deemed desirable to retain the furniture of the mediæval chancels; on the contrary, the fixed altars were supplanted by movable tables; the crucifix, with its attendant lights and images, was banished; and the Ten Commandments were put up on the east wall of the “church or chancel” over the holy table; the piscinæ, &c., were rendered useless. Thus though the chancels “remained,” their furniture was radically changed, and that, too, under the authority and inspection of the Ordinaries and Royal visitors‡ at the very date of the first issue of the rubric under consideration. The comma which then followed the word “remain” made its meaning perfectly clear and obvious, and

* “Ut enim chorus sit tam procul sejunctus a reliquo templo, et in eo tantum sacra represententur, quae tamen ad omnem pertinent populum, clerumque, hoc Antichristianum est . . . Ex formis antiquissimorum templorum atque scriptis S. Patrum satis cognoscitur, fuisse stationem cleri apud veteres in mediis templis, quae fere rotunda erant; ex eoque loco sic sacra divina populis esse exhibita ut exaudiri planè possent quae recitabantur, et intelligi ab omnibus, qui essent praesentes.” (*Scripta Anglicana*, ed. 1577, p. 457.)

† This was the day after Bp. Heath had been committed to the Fleet for refusing assent to the new Ordinal of 1550, immediately after which the revision of the Prayer Book was taken in hand. (Dasent’s *Acts of the Privy Council*, II.-379, Hooper’s Works, I.-492.)

‡ The vouchers for these statements will be found detailed in “The Crucifix at St. Paul’s,” and “Queen Elizabeth’s Crucifix.” Price One Penny each. (J. F. Shaw & Co.)

the blunders which have ensued upon its accidental omission are an instructive illustration of the value of "tradition."

The so-called "Ritualists," who affect a superior knowledge of the Prayer Book, quote the rubric as though the emphatic word were "*as*," and as though the "Ultra-Protestant" *Second* Prayer Book of 1552 (which they declare to have been spoiled by the predominating influence of Martin Bucer and "foreign" reformers), had deliberately enacted for the first time that no change should be made in the paraphernalia and housings which constituted the distinctive "properties" used on the parochial stage for the "display of the Romish Mass!" "See!" they say, "the chancels shall remain as they have done in times past."

True, the decision arrived at in 1552 by Cranmer and his colleagues was "The chancels shall remain." The use which they made of the chancel was to furnish a smaller meeting place into which the communicants might "draw near" so as to have hearty vocal congregational worship, notwithstanding their diminished numbers after the withdrawal of non-communicants. For this purpose, seats for the communicants were placed by the churchwardens within the chancel; and non-communicants were shut out* by screens and curtains so long as the Popish practice of "hearing Mass" lingered in the memories of the older generation.

The first step in Reform had been to abolish all side altars and all "low masses," and for this purpose the service was at first confined to "the chancel" and to the "high altar" within the chancel.

So early as September 22nd, 1547, the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury were enjoined "that henceforth all masses by note shall be sung within the choir at such times as heretofore they have been used to be sung in other places of the church."† Within a fortnight after the First Prayer Book came into use, the Privy Council directed an order to Bp. Bonner to suppress all celebrations "used in private chapels, and other remote places, and not in the chancel, contrary to the king's majesty's proceedings," and that "the holy blessed communion, according to the Act of Parliament, be ministered at the high altar of the church, and in no other places of the same"; even private communions being "executed at the Chancel."‡

According to the First Prayer Book each person present at the Communion time, was to go up into the Chancel and there drop his individual "oblation" into the poor men's box, which by the

* For detailed proof see Tract 87 on "Hearing Mass."

† Gasquet's *Ed. VI. and the Book of C. P.*, p. 56.

‡ Cardwell, *Doc. Ann.*, No. xvi.

Royal Injunction of 1547, had been placed "near unto the High Altar." * The Rubric of 1549 directed.

"Then so many as shall be partakers of the Holy Communion shall tarry still in the quire, or in some convenient place nigh the quire, the men on the one side and the women on the other side. All other (that mind not to receive the said Holy Communion) shall depart out of the quire, except the ministers and clerks."

At that time the choir screen was a high erection with lofty doors, and in cathedrals often consisted of a stone wall which effectually screened the communicants from observation.

Ridley in his first visitation of the diocese of London, in May, 1550, directed the churchwardens—

"To erect and set up the Lord's board after the form of an honest table decently covered in such place of the *quire* or *chancel* as shall be thought most meet by their discretion and agreement, so that the ministers with the communicants may have their places separated from the rest of the people, and to take down all other by-altars or tables." †

In the same Visitation he asked "whether any tarrieth in the quire after the offertory, other than those that do communicate except clerks and ministers?" †

The *Greyfriars' Chronicle* (p. 69) tells us—

"Item, the XXIV. day of the same month after, was the grates beside the high altar at Powle's closed up, that the people should not look in at the time of the Communion time, and the veil hanged up. And the XXVIII. day after was Easter even, and then was the Table removed, and set beneath at the veil north and south."

Wriothesley's Chronicle also mentions (p. 47) how Ridley, in March, 1551—

"After the creed, caused the vaile to be drawn that no person should see but those that receaved, and he closed the iron gates of the quire on the north and south side that non might remain in the quire."

Thus we learn that the object aimed at in directing the chancels to "remain" was to put a stop to solitary celebrations, and to exclude non-communicant attendants from "hearing mass."

In the reign of Elizabeth, Parliament re-enacted the rubric of Edward's second book as printed above. Unluckily, however, no manuscript or printed copy of the second Book of Edward was attached to the statute-roll of Elizabeth (as erroneously stated by Sir R. Phillimore, and by Bp. Forbes), and not one of the many printed books issued during the reign of Elizabeth (not even those of her first year) corresponded to the terms or answered the requirements of the statute. Indeed, no two issues of Elizabethan Prayer Books even agreed with one another!

* *Doc. Ann.*, I.-18. † *Doc. Ann.*, I.-83.

‡ *Foxe, Act and Mon.*, vi.-784.

With her lofty notions of the prerogative of the "Supreme Governour" of the Church, Elizabeth took upon herself to alter the text enacted by Parliament, and among other illegal changes she substituted the following version:—

Statutory rubric of 1559.

The morning and Evening Prayer shall be used in such places of the Church, Chappel, or Chancel, and the Minister shall so turn him as the people may best hear. And if there be any controversie therein, the matter shall be referred to the Ordinary, and he or his deputy shall appoint the place, and the Chancels shall remain, as they have done in times past.

Elizabeth's fraud-rubric.

The morning and Evening Prayer shall be used in the accustomed place of the Church, Chappel, or Chancel, except it shall be otherwise determined by the Ordinary of the Place: and the Chancels shall remain, as they have done in times past.

We can but conjecture as to the motives which led to this tampering with the text of the Prayer Book. The Queen, doubtless, desired to make the inevitable changes as little startling to the bulk of the nation as possible, and as power was reserved to the Ordinary to set aside her direction in this respect, the policy may have been as wise as it certainly was unscrupulous. The omission of all reference to the Ordinary's "deputy," doubtless, originated in a desire to restrict all discretionary power to a few well-known individuals selected by, and responsible to, the (then) executive government; while the slight change of punctuation (by substituting a colon for a comma) tended to give an independent importance to the concluding words, although the retention of the comma after "remain" still preserved the original sense.*

During Elizabeth's reign, the chancels continued to be used for the special accommodation of the communicants. Thus in 1565 the Chapter of Canterbury certified to Archbishop Parker that "None are suffered to tarry within the chancel but the communicants."† In 1591 the Archdeacon of Essex ordered a certain William Peacock to make public amends "when the whole company of communicants be gathered together in the quire, and before the Communion be administered."‡ In 1627 the Churchwardens of Thoydon Garnon were presented in the Archdeacon's Court for having "their chancel unseated."§ Special seats for communicants are mentioned in contrast with the

* I have shown elsewhere that not one of the Elizabethan prelates recognised Elizabeth's fraud rubrics. They constantly quote the *ipsissima verba* of the suppressed but nevertheless legal and binding rubric of Edward's Second Prayer Book, which had been enacted by the 3rd section of 1 Eliz., c. 2. See *The Historical Grounds of the Lambeth Judgment examined*, fifth edition, p. 22.

† Strype's *Parker*, i. 365.

‡ Hale's *Precedents*, Criminal Cases, p. 206.

§ Hale's *Precedents*, Church Rates, p. 55.

"common seats" by Archdeacon King, 1599, and later by Archdeacons Davenant, White, Sharp, and by Bishops Thorneborough, Bridges, Montagu, Juxon, and Cosin.* These seats still remain at Wimborne Minster, in Dorsetshire. In the Ridsdale case, the Dean of the Arches (Lord Penzance) held that the rubric as to the communicants being "conveniently placed" related to "a part of the church near the Lord's Table," and he adopted those words from a Judgment given in the Metropolitical Court of the Archbishop of Armagh, in 1852.

A clear proof that the Ritualistic gloss on this rubric had not been so much as imagined, is the fact that the Puritans never adduce it as one of their grievances. For example, in 1606 was published the *Survey of the Book of Common Prayer*,† where the objection raised was merely "whether this maintaining of chancels be not scandalous to many?" At the Hampton Court Conference no allusion was made to this rubric; and at the Savoy the complaint was merely as to the interpolation into the printed books of "the accustomed place" without any legal authority. The objectors said :—

"We desire that the words of the first rubric may be expressed as in the book established by authority of Parliament, 5 & 6 Ed. VI. thus :—"The Morning and Evening Prayer shall be used in such place of the church, chapel, or chancel, and the Minister shall so turn him, as the people may best hear, and if there be any controversy therein, the matter shall be referred to the Ordinary."

Not one word as to the chancels remaining "as" they had done. The bishops were in no mood to make concessions, but rejoined haughtily enough, "We think it fit that the rubric stand as it is, and all be left to the discretion of the ordinary,"‡ i.e. to themselves. Accordingly no further attention seems to have been bestowed on this point during the revision, since no amendment of this particular rubric was proposed either in Committee or in Convocation.§

But, so far as we can trace the opinions of the Rulers of the Church, the Ritualistic interpretation of the rubric had not as yet dawned upon the mind of anybody.

Queen Elizabeth in 1561 had issued an Order "for the comely keeping . . . especially of the upper part called the chancels."||

This "further Order" was enforced by Archbishop Parker, who asks "whether the rood-loft be pulled down according to the order prescribed, and the partition between the church and chancel be kept." Similar inquiries are made by Archbishop

* Appendix to Second Report of Ritual Commission, pp. 434-602.

† British Museum, 3406, b. 37, pp. 40, 72.

‡ Cardwell, *Conf.*, pp. 314, 351.

§ Parker, *Hist. Revis.*, p. 128.

|| Cardwell, *Doc. Ann.*, No. lv. It is printed in full in Miller's *Eccl. Law*.

Grindal, Bishops Aylmer, Sandys, and other Elizabethan ordinaries.*

And this very Order of Elizabeth was referred to in a side-note by Juxon, in 1640, as explaining the rubric, when he asked, “Do the chancels remain as they have done in times past, *that is to say*, in the convenient situation of the seats, and in the ascent or steps unto the place appointed anciently for the standing of the holy table?” These articles of Juxon’s were formally adopted by the Convocation of 1640 in their 9th canon; and his inquiry (*including the reference to Elizabeth’s Order of 1561*) is repeated verbatim in 1662 by Archdeacon Pory, the author of the *Prayer for the High Court of Parliament*.†

Now, as Juxon was Archbishop of Canterbury, and Pory a leading reviser of the Prayer Book in 1661, we have authoritative contemporary proof of the meaning of the “chancels remaining.”

In Archdeacon Hale’s *Precedents* relating to Church Rates, we have under date a judicial interpretation of “the chancels remaining,” on July 30th, 1561, when an order was made by the Consistory Court of St. Albans upon the churchwardens of Busshey, “that before the first day of September next *the rood loft be taken down*, and that the stalls in the quire, the communion table and the burdes of the churchyard be made and emended.”

Bp. Wren, the chairman of the Revision Committee of 1661, in his Notes published by Bp. Jacobson, says of the rubric in question :—

“ Set down when this Order was made. But who can tell now which place, when this Order was made, was the accustomed place? Also, who knows how the chancels were in those times past, so many having been demolished, and many disused? But what is now fit to be ordered therein, and to preserve those that are still in use, it would be set down in express words, without those uncertainties which breed nothing but debate and scorn.”

He then comments on the Ornaments Rubric (p. 55) and, on the fourth rubric before the Communion which specifies the place of the table “at the communion time,” he remarks (p. 74):

“ Many churches have now no chancels. And in the most that have, though the desk for reading the prayers doth stand in the body of the Church, yet they use to go into the Chancel to receive the Communion. Let it therefore be expressly here set down what is intended, *still keeping the use of the chancels*, where it may well be done.”

In his answer to the articles of impeachment, Wren said‡ of this rubric *the chancels shall remain*, “ meaning thereby (as the Defendant supposeth) that the chancels should not be

* *Rit. Rep. App.*, pp. 403-5, 417-38, 407-4, 418-4, 425-31, &c., &c.

† *Rit. Rep. App.*, pp. 589-3, 625-3.

‡ *Parentalia*, p. 74.

demolished or defaced, but should be preserved for the use of the parish."

Bp. Cosin, also a prominent reviser, has a similar note :

"And the chancels shall remain as they have done in times past. That is, distinguished from the body of the church by a frame of open-work, and furnished with rows of chairs or stools on either side; and if there were formerly any steps up to the place where the altar or table stood, that they should be suffered to continue so still, and not be taken down and laid level with the ground, as lately they have been by violence and disorder contrary to law and custom."*

But when, at a later time, Cosin came to embody the "considerations" which he thought needed attention at the forthcoming revision, he passed over this rubric in silence.†

From such comments it is clear that the idea of "retaining" the mediaeval fittings and furniture which had long disappeared from the chancels had not occurred to anyone. Neither in Committee, nor in Convocation was any amendment of the Elizabethan printed "rubric" proposed. But, from inadvertence, the (statutory) comma after the word "remain" was overlooked, owing to its having been dropped by the printers out of that folio copy of 1636 which was employed in Convocation for the purposes of the revision. The punctuation was taken over from this printed copy, save in one curious particular. In the MS. "annexed" to the Act of Uniformity, a full stop has been substituted for the printed colon of 1636, and the word "*And*" was made to commence with a capital letter so as to form, *for the first time*, an independent sentence. Hence, it might be argued by some intrepid Ritualist that in 1661 the emphasis was intentionally transferred to the word "*as*," and no longer rested as heretofore upon the word "*remain*." If so, we arrive at this grotesque result that the condition of the chancels during the twenty years of the Great Rebellion, which Wren and Cosin so manifestly deplored, was enacted in 1662 as the statutory model for future imitation! *Credat Judæus.*

The existing law as to chancels was laid down by Sir John Nichol in *Rich v. Bushnell* ‡ as follows :—"Though the freehold of the chancel may be in the rector, lay or spiritual, as by a sort of legal fiction, the freehold of the church is in the incumbent; and though the burden of repairing the chancel may rest on such rector, yet the *use* of it belongs to the parishioners for the decent and convenient celebration of the holy communion and the solemnization of marriage." This doctrine was adopted by C. J. Cockburn, in *Griffin v. Dighton*, § confirmed on appeal.

* Works, V.-228.

‡ 4 Haggard, 164.

† *Ibid.*, p. 507.

§ 33 L. J., Q.B., 181.

In 1731 was republished John Johnson's *Clergyman's Vade Mecum*, which went through many editions and was long the standard work of parson's law, in which it is observed (I.-179) : "Generally there are in every chancel pews fastened to the free-hold for the use of the people when they communicate." It is to these pews or benches that reference was intended by the rubric introduced in 1661, that the communicants should be "conveniently placed" during the interval after the close of the antecomunion service, and before the commencement of what used to be called "the second service." Where a chancel is sufficiently spacious to accommodate all the intending communicants this, no doubt, is the most rubrical way of providing for the administration. But when, as at Easter or other "great feasts of receivings,"* the numbers are too large to be accommodated in the chancel, the rubric provides for the bringing down of the table, so that (to use the words of the 82nd canon) "the communicants may more conveniently and in more number communicate with the said minister." The moving of the table was not only contemplated by the rubrics, but by the Injunctions of Elizabeth (of even date with her Prayer Book, in 1559) the "Interpretations" of the bishops in 1561, the Royal Advertisements of 1566, and the Canons of 1604. As the Privy Council stated in *Liddell v. Westerton*,

"The communion of the Lord's Supper was to be held at a table as distinguished from an altar, a table in the ordinary meaning of that term ; that as by the rubric the bread used was to be 'the ordinary bread eaten at table with other meats,' so the table was to be of the character of those employed on such occasions ; that *it was not only to be movable, but was from time to time to be moved.*" †

Two other points may be noticed. There is no ground for saying that the chancel is for the use of singers, any more than is the organ gallery ; singers have no legal right to be seated except at the discretion of the churchwardens. And the requirements of all the rubrics would be completely fulfilled even though no single communicant approached the rails. Rails did not exist in pre-reformation times, being an invention of Abp. Laud's. Yet even Laud consented to waive his preference for kneeling at the rails, if the communicants would but kneel in the

* "That the table be removed out of the choir into the body of the church, before the chancel door ; where either the choir seemeth to be too little, or at great feasts of receivings. And at the end of the communion to be set up again, according to the Injunctions." (*Interpretations and further considerations of the Injunctions* drafted by the bishops in 1561. Of this draft two copies exist, one at C. C. C. Cambridge, the other in the Petyt MSS. in the Inner Temple Library. They are printed by Cardwell and Strype, but do not appear to have ever been completed or published. Lord Selborne thinks they were "suggestions for future legislation," and they probably served as a basis for the Royal Advertisements of 1566.)

† Brooke, p. 71.

chancel.* And Bp. Montagu, a still "higher" churchman than Laud, published in a synod held on October 8th, 1639, at Ipswich, the following direction:—"That the communicants being entered, should be disposed of orderly in their several ranks, leaving sufficient room for the priest or minister to go between them; by whom they were to be communicated one rank after another, till they had all of them received."†

May not this direction furnish the best interpretation of the words "in order" which appeared *for the first time* in the rubric of 1661, relating to the delivery of the communion?

A custom referred to by several Ordinaries in their Visitation articles (*ex. gr.*, Juxon, Bostock, White, and †Pory) was that the first rank of communicants "drew near" to the table at the at the words "draw near" in the Exhortation, addressed exclusively to "them that come to receive." This custom still lingers in many churches, and when combined with the other plan of arranging "the communicants' seats" so that the officiating clergy may pass noiselessly from rank to rank,§ it enables the whole congregation to take part audibly in such portions of the service as belong to the people, such as the general confession, the Lord's prayer, and the *Gloria in excelsis*. Those who kneel at the rails need not quit their position, but will serve as leaders to the rest in making the prescribed responses, and in this way, without any change of position on the part of any save the officiants, a much more congregational rendering of the service is attained. The duty of "conveniently placing" the communicants belongs, of course, to the churchwardens; for the words "having placed *themselves*" were expressly altered|| to avoid any individual eccentricities or possible confusion. On these lines the whole of the rubrics receive a consistent interpretation, which is conducive to the seemly and orderly administration of the "Supper of the Lord and the Holy Communion."

* Perry's *History of the Church of England*, I.-513, n.

† Heylin's *Cyprianus Anglicus*, p. 366. The Order itself is in the Lambeth MSS., No. 643, p. 631. Mr. Perry misquotes it as authorising "standing"!

‡ Appendix to Second Report of Rit. Com., pp. 593-629.

§ "Sweet awful hour! *the only sound*
One gentle footstep gliding round,
Offering by turns on Jesus' part
The cross to every hand and heart.

|| See the erasure in MS. Annexed Prayer Book, p. 240.

IN THE MATTER OF MOVING THE LORD'S TABLE.

CASE

Submitted for the Joint-Opinion

THEREON OF

R. B. FINLAY, Q.C.,

AND

BENJAMIN WHITEHEAD, B.A.

TOGETHER WITH THEIR

OPINION.

PRICE SIXPENCE.

London:

CHURCH ASSOCIATION, 14, BUCKINGHAM STREET, STRAND, W.C.

No. 195.]

P R E F A C E.

THE Case and Opinion now published will enable every churchman to see at a glance the legal bearings of this vexed question. The Appendix contains the full text of every document by which the placing of the Lord's Table has been authoritatively regulated; while the strongest objections of opponents have been prominently put forward in the Case for the consideration of Counsel; and all the legal decisions which in any way bear upon the point in dispute have been carefully weighed in the Opinion.

The result is highly satisfactory. Counsel are of opinion that no faculty is needed. They add

"The Canon evidently assumes that convenience will be ordinarily promoted by a 'moving,' and it is important to state that there is no presumption of law in favour of the east end position; on the contrary, *the presumption is rather in favour of 'moving,'* on the true construction of the rubric as well as the canon."

"Therefore, although an ecclesiastical offence under the canon might be committed by a minister who for any reason moved the Table from the east wall to a position *known by him* to be less convenient, an offence would no less be committed by the minister who intentionally *abstains from moving* the Table from the east wall to a more convenient position."

Again, since "there is no hint in the rubric, canon, or injunction relating to the subject, that the bishop's consent is to be regarded as a condition precedent to the moving of the Table, we are of opinion that no such consent is needed before the rubric or canon are acted upon."

And, moreover, "if the minister complies with one alternative ordered by the rubric, the bishop has no means of compelling him to adopt the other."

There is, however, one point on which some misapprehension might possibly arise. What is meant by "a *bonâ fide* case of greater convenience" (p. 16)? The word "convenient" as popularly understood has reference to the comfort or pleasure of the congregation: this, however, is *not* the sense in which the word is here used. In Canon 82 which deals with this matter, the words "*convenient and decent tables for the celebration*" are rendered "*mensis congruis et decentibus ad cœnæ dominicæ celebrationem.*" Thus "*congruity*" to the purpose of the Institution, is the idea intended. In the same

canon, "that the minister may be more *conveniently heard*" is rendered by "*commodius*." Again, to enable the communicants "in more number" to partake with the clergyman, that position which would secure the freest access to all sides of the Table at once, would seem to be preferentially indicated.*

Another branch of "convenience" is contemplated by providing that the clergyman shall "break the bread *before the people*, and take the cup into his hands"; or, as the Scotch Prayer Book expressed it, "He shall stand at such part of the holy table, where he may with the more ease and decency use both his hands." In that sentence, "ease" had reference to the comfort of the officiant, but "decency" must have related to the spectators, in whose sight the sacramental action was to be rendered in the way most suitable for edification. Of far higher moment than the ease of either parson or people is "congruity" to the purpose of the sacred rite itself. As in the French word "*convenable*," fitness and suitability (viz., to the object for which the sacred ordinance was designed) is the primary and essential meaning. A few illustrations will place this beyond doubt. In the First Prayer Book, of 1549, the rubric directed absentees from church to suffer such punishment "as shall to the ecclesiastical judge (according to his discretion) seem *convenient*." Here, the ease and comfort of the offender was the very last thing provided for. The next rubric said, "It is thought *convenient* that the people commonly receive the sacrament of Christ's body in their mouths." This was not meant as a denial that placing it in their hands would be vastly more convenient *to them*. But the context shews that however awkward and inconvenient to the communicant, this method was then deemed most suitable to the "right use" of the sacrament, inasmuch as it prevented the wafers being filched for purposes of magic or "superstition," as had frequently been done in the Middle Ages. In our present Prayer Book, rubrics in the Offices for Matrimony and the Churching of Women declare that it is "*convenient*" that they receive the Holy Communion there and then; whereas it would often be most inconvenient if regard were had merely to the domestic or social arrangements of the individuals.

"Convenience," then, means suitability to the purpose for which both the Lord's Supper and the Lord's Table were designed. The two points especially insisted upon in the Injunction, and in the Canon (taken from it) are the seeing and hearing everything prescribed in

* In Prynne's *Canterburie's Doom*, p. 477, the Injunction of Elizabeth quoted below at p. 17, is said to direct the table to be "seated in the Body of the church (where the Chancel is too small or *inconvenient*), or in the chauncell (where it is

the service, and the ability to communicate in the largest possible number at the same Table. This last circumstance ought not to be lost sight of. "We being the many (*hoi polloi*) are one bread and one body, *for we are all partakers of that one loaf*" (1 Cor. x.-17). "Communion" means fellowship of Christians with one another, in virtue of their common union with "the Head of the body." This truth is symbolised by their partaking at one table and at one time of the same covenant feast provided by their common Father, and Lord.

One use of this Opinion will be found in the warning it gives to zealous and well-meaning persons against relying exclusively upon theological considerations. It is obviously expedient to shelter their action under the very pleas which the ecclesiastical laws themselves assign as reasons for changing the place of the Holy Table "at the Communion time." Indeed those reasons ought to have more weight now than at any former period. The recent innovations of building carved screens behind the Table, sometimes adding curtains, or dwarf walls, or rows of flower pots at its North and South sides, with the still newer device of cutting down the breadth of the Table to the dimensions of a mere shelf, call loudly for some vigorous practical protest. "*Solvitur ambulando.*" The law of faculties is now abused to protect all changes, however irregularly made, which have the effect of reducing the Lord's Table to the similitude of an "altar"-like fixture. And as one abuse leads to another, this unlawful fixing of the Table leads to a multiplication of tables, so as to imitate more closely the sacrificial side-altars of Rome. This is so far from being a "catholic" practice, that for six hundred years after Christ, "frequent celebrations" on one day, and multiplied tables, were utterly unknown in any part of Christendom. As there was "One Lord, and one baptism," so there was also but *one* Lord's Table. In no case could any need arise for a sham side-altar, if "*The table*" were "placed" as directed by the law, and as found "convenient" from time to time.

At the same time it must not be lost sight of that some churches are structurally unsuited for any such removals. Where the chancel is a mere recess, and the "body of the church" is crowded with fixed seats, it may be highly inconvenient to move the Table. Each case must be judged on its own merits, always remembering the inspired rubric—"Let all your things be done to edifying."

IN THE MATTER OF MOVING THE LORD'S TABLE.

THE CHURCH ASSOCIATION prepared the following Memorandum, and desired Counsels' Opinion as to the points raised.



CASE.

Doubts having arisen as to the right of an Incumbent (when acting in concert with the Churchwardens of his Parish) to move the Lord's Table "at the Communion time," as contemplated or directed by

- (1) The fourth Rubric in the Communion Office (A), p. 17.
- (2) The statutory Order appended to the Royal Injunctions of 1559 (B), p. 17.
- (3) The statutory Order of 1561 (C), p. 19.
- (4) The 82nd Canon of 1604 (D), p. 20.

These documents are printed in the Appendix, together with an extract from the Judgment of the Privy Council in *Liddell v. Westerton* relating thereto (E), p. 19.

Counsel are requested to advise after reading these—

- (1) *Whether any formal consent of the Ordinary is needed before the Rubric, Orders, and Canon aforesaid may be acted upon as regards moving the Table "at the Communion time" in any Parish (or other) Church.*

At the time when movable Tables were first introduced, it was contemplated that the site of "the Table" should be determined by

the "discretion and agreement" of the "Curates, Churchwardens, and questmen." (See Ridley's Injunctions of 1550 in Cardwell's Documentary Annals, I.-93.) And in the "Interpretations" of the Injunctions drawn up by the Bishops in 1561 it was further assumed that the mode of placing the Table would vary in the SAME church, from time to time.

"That the Table be removed out of the choir into the body of the church, before the chancel door; where either the choir seemeth to be too little, or at great feasts of receivings. And at the end of the Communion to be set up again, according to the Injunctions." (Cardwell, Doc. Ann. I.-205. note; or Strype, Annals, I.-320.)

Such local and special considerations could be judged of only by persons present at the time. And while no one contends that Tables *must* necessarily be moved, still less that they OUGHT to be moved in EVERY church, it is yet deemed important to preserve such rights and liberties as have hitherto been granted by the law of this Church and Realm to every congregation of worshippers.

Among such rights would seem to be the licence given to the Minister to stand at and after the Consecration Prayer in the Communion Office on any one of the four (or more) sides of the Table which may be preferred. For, in *Ridsdale v. Clifton*, it was declared that "beyond this, and after this," (viz., after the words "standing before the table, &c." in the rubric preceding the Consecration Prayer,) "there is NO SPECIFIC DIRECTION that, during the prayer, he is to stand on the West side or that he is to stand on the North side" (45 L. J. P. C., L. R. 2 P. D., p. 343).

In the absence of any such direction, it would seem, therefore, that he might lawfully stand on the East side facing the congregation, who would thus be best enabled to see the Bread "broken before the people." Such a practice accords with the original Institution of the Lord's Supper, with the usage of the Primitive Church (as shewn in the pamphlet sent herewith: "*The Liturgy* and the Eastward Position*"), and it has been recommended by High Churchmen like the late Bishop of Lincoln (Ch. Wordsworth) and by Broad Churchmen like the late Bishop Thirlwall, and Dean Stanley. Many clergymen of various schools of thought value this liberty, and desire now to restore the primitive position of the Celebrant relatively to the people.

There seems to be moreover a danger lest certain newly-introduced fashions of narrowing the Table almost to the

dimensions of a shelf, and placing behind it a carved "reredos," with flanking curtains or flower pots at its North and South "sides" should lead to the substitution of an altar-like fixture in place of the movable Table which alone is sanctioned by law.

Nevertheless, it has been claimed in the interests of "liberty" and "toleration" that such arrangements are permissible. Hence it has become more needful than ever that the Table should now be so placed and so used as to be manifestly a "board" for the use of Communicants in partaking of the "Christian Pass-over" as a covenant feast "ordained by Christ Himself." (1 Cor. v.-8.) Sacraments are essentially God's gifts to man, and stand in this respect *in direct contrast with* Sacrifices which are men's gifts to God. It has been repeatedly ruled in a long series of Judgments of the Ecclesiastical Courts that the distinction between the Lord's Table and an Altar is both essential and important to be preserved. (*Liddell v. Westerton*, 1 Jur. N.S., 1178; *Faulkner v. Litchfield*, 9 Jur. 234; *Parker v. Leach*, 2 Moore's Reports P. C. Cases, N.S., p. 99, L. R., 1 P. C. 326; and obiter in *Martin v. Mackonochie*, 2 P. C., 386.)

In a recent Judgment by the Archbishop of Canterbury, it seems to have been assumed that in the seventeenth century the Lord's Table was turned half round from a position with its ends East and West, to a position crossing the long axis of the church, and that the Celebrant by following this movement of the Table necessarily found himself somehow on its Western side. Apart from the fact that the Laudian clergy did not stand on the Western side of their Tables, but at the North end, which they contended was "the North side," and which had been habitually regarded as "the North side" during the reign of Elizabeth when the Rubric was most recent (see Tomlinson's *Historical Grounds of the Lambeth Judgment Examined*,* pp. 21-29), it is obvious that in the imagined process of turning the Table, it would have been at least as easy, and a great deal more fitting, for the Minister to stand on the East side of the Table; in other words, the Table may have swung from left to right just as readily as from right to left. On this point, the remarks of the late Bishop Harold Browne given in the Appendix (F), p. 21, deserve attention.

In view of the above considerations, Counsel are requested to advise—

- (2) Whether it is contrary to law (as laid down by her Majesty's Judges) for the officiating Minister to stand on the East side of the Table, or, as described in the recent Judgment of the Privy Council in *Read v. The Bishop of Lincoln*, "standing at the side of the Table

which now ordinarily faces Eastward, or, "at the northern part of the side which faces Eastwards" (p. 18 of Official Report as read in Court). And further, whether it is contrary to law to move the Table "at the Communion time" sufficiently far from the Eastern wall of the Chancel to permit "one to go between."*

In support of the opposite view (which would deny to Ministers and to congregations alike any power to move their Tables) the authority of a Royal Order in Council in 1633 relating to St. Gregory's Church has been put forward. To the contention founded on this alleged precedent there are several answers :

First,—The Order was not a general one.

Second,—At St. Gregory's the Ordinary had by a formal Order previously directed the Table to be fixed at the East end. The suit was not instituted by the Bishop, but by the parishioners appealing to the Arches against this Order.

Third,—The whole case was iniquitous and a violation of constitutional principles of jurisdiction. (See *Historical Grounds*, p. 34, and Gardiner's *Hist. of James I. and Charles I.*, Vol. VII., p. 312.) The Stuart policy of governing the Church by means of Crown nominees *to the disregard of the regular process of law* was inimical to constitutional freedom ; and the Crown may not lawfully set aside or alter statutory Rubrics.

The Canon (9th) of 1640, see Appendix (G), p. 24, was intended to bolster up this local Order of 1633 by laying down the erroneous principle that parish churches must assimilate their ritual to that of cathedrals on the ground that cathedrals are their "mothers." Such metaphors cannot serve as a ground of law ; and, in fact, the 49th Injunction of Elizabeth, and the existing Rubric as to the "anthem," shew that a different standard of Ritual is applicable in the two cases ; so that Archbishop Parker, in 1569, asks in the case of cathedrals, "Whether your Divine Service be used . . . in all points according to the Statutes of your Church not being repugnant to any of the Queen's Majesty's laws and injunctions :" but for parochial churches he merely asks whether it is "as set forth by the laws of this realm, without any kind of variation." (Wilkins, IV., 253, 257.) The reasons assigned in the 82nd Canon, &c., cannot apply alike to cathedrals and to parish churches. Moreover, the Canons of 1640 were judicially declared by Sir H. J.

* In the Law Reports, A. C. (1892), pp. 663, 665, this word "Eastward" has in three separate instances been changed, by some person or persons unknown, into Westward !

Fust in *Cooper v. Dodd* (*Eccl. Cases*, VII., 516) to "have never had any binding authority," and were reported to her Majesty in 1883 "as having no authority at all." (*Eccl. Courts Com. Rep.*, p. xxxvi.) The marked slur put upon these Canons by Parliament in Section 5 of 13 Chas. II. c. 12, was owing to this very attempt, among others, to aggrandise the powers of bishops at the expense of the rights of the Church.

Counsel will take into consideration also the final paragraph of the Preface to the Prayer Book "Concerning the Service of the Church," and will advise—

- (3) *Whether a discretionary choice left open to the officiants by the terms of a Rubric or Canon can be abolished by the mere possibility of a "resort to the Bishop," and this too so completely that no discretion may be exercised without formal permission from the Bishop. Also to advise—How far the words of the fourth Rubric in the Communion Service as to the Table standing "where Morning Prayer and Evening Prayer are appointed to be said" taken in conjunction with the first Rubric preceding the Order for Morning Prayer, viz.: "The Morning and Evening Prayer shall be used, &c., except it shall be otherwise determined by the Ordinary of the place," may be supposed to have given to the Ordinary special power to intervene in this matter.*

It will be remembered that both these last-named Rubrics were introduced into the Prayer Book at a later period than the Preface directing "resort to the Bishop," and their directions cannot therefore have been modified by it.

The following extract from the Privy Council Judgment in *Ridsdale v. Clifton** relates to this portion of the Rubric:—

"The Rubric, indeed, contemplates that the Table *may* be removed at the time of the Holy Communion; but it does not, in terms, *require* it to be removed. Morning and Evening Prayer are, according to one of the early Rubrics of the Prayer Book, to be used in the accustomed place of the church, chapel, or chancel. In churches where it is customary to use both the chancel and body of the church, or the chancel alone, for Morning and Evening Prayer, the direction that the Table shall stand 'where Morning and Evening Prayer are appointed to be said,' is satisfied *without* moving it. That direction cannot be supposed to mean that the position of the Table is to be determined by that of the minister's reading-desk or stall only, the service being 'used' and 'said' by the congregation as to

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the part in it assigned to them, as well as by the minister. The practice as to the moving or not moving the Table has varied at different times. It was generally, if not always, moved in the earlier part of the post-Reformation period. When the revision of 1662 took place, and when the present Rubric before the Prayer of Consecration was for the first time introduced, it had come to be the case that the Table was very seldom removed. The instances in which it has been removed may be supposed from that time to have become still more rare: and there are now few churches in the kingdom in which, without a structural rearrangement, the Table could be conveniently removed into the body of the church. The utmost that can be said is, that *the Rubrics are to be construed so as to meet either hypothesis.*" (2 P. D., pp. 339, 340.)

Bearing in mind the recognised rule of law that "the oath of Canonical obedience does not mean that the clergyman will obey all the commands of the Bishop against which there is no law, but that he will obey all such commands as the Bishop by law is authorised to impose" (*Long v. Bp. Capetown*, p. 313 of Brodrick and Fremantle's Privy Council Judgments),

Counsel will also advise—

- (4) *What steps a Bishop might take (under bad advice, it may be) to enforce upon a clergyman his own personal "discretion" as to the placing of the Table, and in what manner might best be defended the liberty in this matter left by the law of the Church of England to Parochial Officers?*

(For the Answers to these Questions, See p. 15.)

OPINION.

I. It is clear that the Communion Table must be an easily movable table; that it may be moved, and that no faculty is required for the purpose.

The rubrics give no directions as to where the Table is to stand out of Communion time, but the fourth paragraph of the rubric preceding the Communion Office (which dates from 1552) says that "at the Communion time the Table shall stand in the body of the church, or in the chancel where Morning and Evening Prayer are appointed to be said."

The now prevalent custom of keeping the Table *at all times* close to the east wall of the chancel has only been general since about the year 1710, and in any case a custom can be of no force against the express words of a statute, as in this case (see *Hibbert v. Purchas*, L. R. 3 P. C. 649, 650).

In *Ridsdale v. Clifton* (in which the *St. Gregory's case* was cited at the bar) it was argued that the now customary position of the Table is illegal, and that it ought to stand lengthwise, either in the body of the church, or in the middle of the chancel; but it was held on the true construction of the rubric that the position along the east wall is a legal one, but, on the other hand, that a position in the body of the church or chancel is equally legal—in short, that the rubrics "are to be construed so as to meet either hypothesis."

The general rule of law, therefore (subject to the question of convenience), is that the Table may at Communion time stand in any position (either crosswise or lengthwise) within the church or chancel.

Two questions, however, arise—

(1) Whether and how this power of placing the Table may be abused?

(2) Whether and under what circumstances the Ordinary has a power of interference with the Minister's direction.

(1) In *Ridsdale v. Clifton* it was only necessary to deal with the construction of the rubric; but for our purpose Canon 82, which superseded an Injunction of Queen Elizabeth to the like effect, must also be considered, as it is still binding on the clergy. By this canon it is provided that the Table is ordinarily to stand in some definite place (*suo certo loco*) not specified, but probably the place mentioned in the Injunction (viz., where the Altar anciently stood, *i.e.*, against the east wall of the chancel), "saving when the said Holy Communion is to be administered, at which time the same shall be placed in so good sort within the church or chancel, as thereby the minister may be more conveniently heard

of the communicants in his prayer and ministrations, and the communicants, also, more conveniently and in more number communicate with the said minister."

The canon evidently assumes that convenience will ordinarily be promoted by a "moving," and it is important to state that there is no presumption of law in favour of the east end position; on the contrary, the presumption is rather in favour of "moving," on the true construction of the rubric as well as the canon.

Therefore, although an ecclesiastical offence under the canon might be committed by a minister who for any reason moved the Table from the east wall to a position known by him to be less convenient, an offence would no less be committed by the minister who intentionally abstains from moving the Table from the east wall to a more convenient position.

This question of convenience would naturally vary in different churches according to the shape of the church, the length of the chancel, the presence of a chancel screen, central tower, belfry, or other obstruction between the church and chancel. Some churches also have been enlarged laterally by the addition of wings, and in such cases it can hardly be said that the east end of the chancel is the most convenient position. Again, the question of convenience may vary in the same church at different times, e.g., when there is a small congregation, all may be accommodated in the chancel close to the Communion Table, in which case no moving would be necessary; but when a very large congregation is present it may be impossible for all or even the bulk of them to be placed so as to hear the minister, and see him perform the manual acts, as required by law (see Judgments of Privy Council in *Hibbert v. Purchas*, L. R. 3 P. C. 660, 661, and *Ridsdale v. Clifton*, 2 P. D. 343, and the Archbishop of Canterbury in *Read v. Lincoln*, L. R., 1891, P. 63) unless the Table be moved to the lower end of the chancel or the body of the church. By the Interpretations of 1561 a place in the body of the church before the chancel door was directed as the most suitable "where either the choir seemeth to be too little or at great feasts of receivings." (1 Cardwell, Doc. Ann., 205.)

The question of moving, or rather placing, is therefore in most cases one of discretion, a discretion which can only be properly exercised on the spot seeing that the conditions must vary according to time and occasion.

We are of opinion that in all cases in which any serious inconvenience caused to the congregation by reason of a moving or of a neglect to move the Table is wilfully left out of consideration by the minister, his discretion is exceeded, and such conduct might amount to an ecclesiastical offence.

We think that the Table may be moved (or not moved) at the discretion of the minister acting in good faith for the greater convenience of his congregation. We wish, however, to lay stress upon the fact that the power of moving or not moving the Table can be exercised only for the purpose of promoting the convenience of communicants, and that the courts would probably view with great disfavour any departure from a long-established practice which appeared to have been adopted simply from a desire to assume the westward position, and not from a desire to promote convenience. We think, indeed, that such a moving might be held to be unlawful.

In like manner we think it might be unlawful for a minister to decline to move the Table when convenience requires it, simply because he wishes the Table to look like an Altar, or for some other reason of a doctrinal or controversial character.

(2) Has the bishop any power to interfere? and, first, is his consent a condition precedent, rendering a moving without it an illegal act?

The only authority for this is the *St. Gregory's case*, decided in 1633, in which King Charles I. said that the liberty given by the Prayer Book and Canon "is not so to be understood as if it were ever left to the discretion of the parish much less to the particular fancy of any humorous person but to the judgment of the Ordinary to whose place and function it doth properly belong to give direction in that point both for the thing itself and the time when and how long as he may find cause" (2 Cardwell, Doc. Ann., 187). But apart from the irregular procedure, and the unconstitutional character of this case and the fact that it was, perhaps, as Lord Stowell said of another decision, "a case of party heat that took place in times of party ferment and is of smaller authority on that account" (1 Cons., 175); the proceedings in it, before the intervention of the Crown, were between the Ordinary and a minority of the parishioners, the Incumbent not being even mentioned.

In our opinion there cannot, on the authority of this case, be read into the rubric and canon a reference to the bishop which is not there. Where it is intended that the bishop's consent should be a condition precedent, the fact is clearly stated—e.g., it is illegal without the bishop's previous consent to read Morning or Evening Prayer in a place other than "the accustomed place," under the rubric preceding the Ornaments Rubric; and also to use the Litany at times other than those appointed by the rubric preceding the Litany; and also for any minister to serve as a curate (Can. 48), &c. Canons 82 and 83 also shew that express authority is given where it is intended to enable the Ordinary to interfere, even in such small details as "Table coverings" and

the place of the pulpit: but here his authority comes in only "if any question do arise."

In all other cases (where no faculty is required) it must, in our opinion, be taken that the discretion is that of the minister. In fact, he is expressly mentioned in the first rubrics at Morning and Evening Prayer respectively as follows: "At the beginning of Morning Prayer the minister shall read with a loud voice some *one or more* of these sentences." (Compare the similar rubric in the Communion Office.)

There is no suggestion in *Ridsdale v. Clifton* that the prior consent of the bishop is necessary. In *Read v. Bp. of Lincoln* the Privy Council assume that the discretion as to taking a southward or eastward position is in "the clergyman," and no hint is given that the prior, or any consent of the bishop is necessary. The exact words of their Lordships are: "They cannot think that it renders it obligatory on a *clergyman who thinks it desirable* during the Prayer of Consecration to stand at the side of the Table which now ordinarily faces westward* to stand during the earlier part of the service at a different part of the Table." (L. R. [1892] A. C. 665.)

If, therefore, a clergyman may without special leave adopt the eastward position, no mention of which is made in the words of the rubric, *a fortiori*, may he without special leave adopt an alternative expressly prescribed "for the direction," to use the language of the Preface to the Prayer Book, "of them that are to officiate in any part of divine service."

Therefore, as there is no hint in the rubric, canon, or injunction relating to the subject, that the bishop's consent is to be regarded as a condition precedent to the moving of the Table, we are of opinion that no such consent is needed before the rubric and canon are acted upon.

The question, however, remains, whether the bishop has a discretionary power which enables him absolutely to prevent the moving of the Table; in other words, whether, in cases where two or more courses equally legal and alike ordered as alternatives are open to the officiant, the bishop can at any time order which of these courses shall be adopted to the entire exclusion of the other alternatives, and enforce such order. Can he, e.g., compel the officiant to "sing," and not to "say," the Psalms; to adopt the "eastward," and not the "southward" position; to say one to the exclusion of all the other verses at the beginning of Morning and Evening Prayer; to place the Table in the body of the church at Communion time, and not in the chancel?

Under this head we think it desirable to review the more

* See on this, Note to page 4 (*supra*).

important authorities. In the times of the Stuarts the bishops, backed up by the High Commission Court, exercised such power, and were in the habit of making summary orders at their visitations (as appears, *inter alia*, from the *Crayford case* (1633) 2 Cardwell, Doc. Ann., 174), but subsequently this practice seems to have fallen into disuse for want of means of enforcing the orders.

In 1792 the case of *Hutchins v. Denziloe* (1 Cons. 170) was decided by Lord Stowell. It was a charge against churchwardens for obstructing a practice directed by the incumbent and approved by the inhabitants and the bishop—viz., the practice of singing instead of saying the Psalms, which the churchwardens contended was illegal. Lord Stowell decided that “singing” was just as legal as “saying”; that the question of expediency was for the minister to decide, and that the churchwardens had no right to interfere, or, as Sir John Nicholl reports it, “that the right of directing the service was in the minister” (3 Phill. 91). In the course of his Judgment, however, Lord Stowell made some observations on the distinction between what is lawful and what is expedient, as follows (p. 175):—“I am next to consider whether the churchwardens, if having authority, have interposed in this case to hinder an illegal or legal act? And in this branch of the question I dismiss all consideration of expediency, which is in the ordinary himself alone, the court judges only of the legality. Has, then, the bishop a discretion upon this subject? Those who have undertaken to shew that he has not, must shew a prohibition which restrains it. And in order to establish *this*, it is said that though singing part of the Psalms is properly practised in cathedrals, it is not so in parish churches. No law has been adduced to this effect, but modern usage alone has been relied on, and it is said that such has been the practice from the time of the Reformation. This, however, is not supported by any particular statement of fact or authority.” Then further on he says (p. 180): “The court would not advise ministers to introduce what may be liable to such remarks” (as to being obsolete, &c.) “against the inclinations of the parishioners and the approbation of the bishop. But this a matter of expediency and discretion, which the court must leave to the consideration of others.”

There is no suggestion here that the bishop had any power of enforcing his discretion. In fact, if any such power had existed, Lord Stowell would hardly have said that he would not “advise” ministers to introduce an innovation “against the approbation of the bishop.” This very “advice” of his own is, indeed, of the same character as the bishop’s, simply a friendly admonition, which finds no place in the order of the court. The advice of churchwardens and inhabitants is of a like nature.

Prior to the passing of the Church Discipline Act of 1840, the celebrated Report of 1832 was issued by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, in which summary proceedings at visitations are not so much as mentioned. It is stated therein that there was the greatest difficulty in punishing a clergyman for any ecclesiastical offence, and that a new and more expeditious mode of effecting that object was extremely desirable.

In accordance with this report, the Act of 1840 (3 and 4 Vic. c. 86), provided that no criminal suit or proceeding against a clerk in holy orders for any offence against the laws ecclesiastical, shall be instituted in any ecclesiastical court otherwise than is provided in that Act (s. 23), but the Act is not to affect any authority over the clergy which the bishops might at the date of the passing of the Act, according to law, exercise personally and without process in court (s. 25).

In the *Dean of York's* case (1841), *Regina v. Archbishop of York* (2 Ad. and Ell. N. S. 1; 6 Jur. 412), which decided that the Archbishop of York had no power summarily to deprive the Dean of York at a Visitation, it was stated that it was for the purpose of supplying the defect pointed out in the Report of 1832 that the Act of 1840 was enacted.

In 1843, Sir H. Jenner Fust, Dean of Arches, lays down the law as follows:—"Nothing can be more clear than that under the general ecclesiastical law *universo consensu* the power of the ordinary over the clergy of a diocese, and of correcting them is established and exercised *by proceedings* in the Ecclesiastical Court. Private admonition may in some cases be sufficient, but where it is necessary to take proceedings they must be by Articles against a clergyman when acting contrary to his duty as a minister of the Church of England, and" (where such is the case) "as a beneficed clergyman." (*3 Notes of Cases*, 376.)

It therefore seems to be quite clear on the authorities—

- (i.) that questions of expediency are not for the Court;
- (ii.) that a bishop has no means of enforcing any order except through proceedings in Court.

Nevertheless, in 1868, Sir Robert Phillimore, then Dean of Arches, after quoting the following passage from the Preface of the Prayer Book, "To appease all such diversity (if any arise), and for the resolution of all doubts concerning the manner how to understand, do, and execute the things contained in this Book, the parties that so doubt or diversely take any thing shall always resort to the bishop of the diocese, who, by his discretion, shall take order for the quieting and appeasing of the same, so that the same order be not contrary to any thing contained in this Book. And if the bishop of the diocese be in

doubt, then he may send for the resolution thereof to the Archbishop," made the following observations:—"It may be said that the bishop, when he had taken order for appeasing the doubt, would have no legal means of enforcing that order, and that for the purpose of such enforcement he must have recourse to his court. But it appears to me that on the supposition that the matter was one on which he could exercise discretion, he could clothe his order with the character of a monition, and that a disobedience to such a monition would subject the person disobeying to the penalties of contumacy." (*Martin v. Mackonochie*, L. R. 2 A. and E. 194.) On appeal, the Privy Council made the following remarks on this point:—"The learned Judge further observes that if Mr. Mackonochie has committed any error in this respect, it is one which should not form the subject of a criminal prosecution, but belongs to the category of cases which should be referred to the bishop. This category the learned Judge had previously defined to be things *neither ordered nor prohibited, expressly or by implication*, but the doing or using of which must be governed by the living discretion of some person in authority."

"And as to cases in this category, the learned Judge considered that according to the Preface to the Prayer Book the parties that doubt or diversely take anything should always resort to the bishop of the diocese.

"Their Lordships do not think it necessary to consider minutely the cases to which, or the manner in which, this direction in the Preface to the Prayer Book is applicable inasmuch as in their opinion the charge against the respondent with which they are now dealing involves what is *expressly ordered and prohibited* by the rubric, and is, therefore, a matter in which the bishop could have no jurisdiction to modify or dispense with the rubrical provisions." (L. R. 2 P. C. 384.)

On these authorities we are of opinion that moving the Holy Table does not come within the Preface of the Prayer Book. The rubric is clear. There is no doubt as to what is meant by "body of the church" or by "chancel." And further, to strike out one of the alternatives would be *ultra vires*; for an order under the Preface must not be "contrary to anything contained in this Book," and the rubric says the Table is to stand "in the body of the church or in the chancel."

In *Read v. Bp. of Lincoln* also, the Archbishop of Canterbury says, referring to the Eastward Position, "It would be virtually attempting to make a new rubric if it were judicially to attach a secondary meaning whencesoever derived or inferred to the definite primary term, and to declare under penal consequences that what has never been set forth as the *only possible* form of

obedience to the rubric under present conditions is alone admissible." (L. R. [1891], P. p. 57.)

Therefore we are of opinion that if the minister complies with one alternative ordered by the rubric the bishop has no means of compelling him to adopt the other.

We may further remark that the tendency of the courts is in favour of preserving liberty. Thus in *Westerton v. Liddell* the Privy Council said, "Although their Lordships are not disposed in any case to restrict within narrower limits than the law has imposed the discretion which within those limits is justly allowed to congregations by the rules both of the ecclesiastical and common law courts, the directions of the rubric must be complied with." (5 W. R. 477, *Moore's Special Rep.*, 189.)

And the Archbishop of Canterbury, in his recent *Lincoln* Judgment, makes the following remarks as to the Eastward Position, which are equally applicable to the question of moving the Lord's Table: "So far, then, as the information before the court extends, the court is of opinion that a certain liberty in the application of the term (*i.e.* 'north side') existed, a liberty which was less and less exercised for a long time, but it does not appear to be lost by that fact or taken away. Such existing liberty it is not the function of a court, but only of legislation to curtail." (L. R. [1891], P. p. 57.)

II. As to the position of the minister during the Prayer of Consecration, the following rule is laid down in *Ridsdale v. Clifton*, and followed in *Read v. Lincoln* :—"The minister is to order the elements standing before the Table, words which, whether the Table stands altar-wise along the east wall, or in the body of the church or chancel, would be fully satisfied by his standing on the North side and looking towards the South; but which also in the opinion of their Lordships, as the tables are now usually and in their opinion lawfully placed, authorise him to do those acts standing on the West side and looking towards the East. Beyond this, and after this, there is no specific direction that during this prayer he is to stand on the West side, or that he is to stand on the North side. He must, in the opinion of their Lordships, stand so that he may in good faith enable the communicants present, or the bulk of them, being properly placed to see, if they wish it, the breaking of the bread, and the performance of the other manual acts mentioned." (L. R. 2 P. D. 343.)

This rule is, in our opinion, obviously complied with if the officiant stands in the middle of, or in any position along the East side of the Table, and faces the West, the Table being moved out a little way so as to permit "one to go between."

As to those portions of the Communion Service during which

the minister is directed either expressly or by reference or implication to stand at the North side of the Table, there is a conflict between the Privy Council decisions in *Hibbert v. Purchas* and *Ridsdale v. Clifton*, with that in *Read v. Bp. of Lincoln*. The rule in the *Ridsdale case* is as follows :—"Their Lordships have no hesitation in saying that whether the Table is placed altar-wise along the east wall or standing detached in the chancel or church, it is the duty of the minister to stand at the side of the Table which, supposing the church to be built in the ordinary Eastward position, would be the North, whether that side be a longer or shorter side of the Table." (2 P. D. 341.) The rule in the *Lincoln case* is as follows :—"It is not an ecclesiastical offence to stand at the northern part of the side which faces westwards."* (L. R. [1892], A.C. 665.)

Assuming the *Bp. of Lincoln's case* to be the binding authority we are of opinion that the train of reasoning which is considered sufficient to legalise the Eastward Position would apply in like manner to the Westward Position, i.e., to a position at the Northern part of the side which faces Eastwards.

There can be no question that the Westward Position is more conducive to convenience than the Eastward, both for hearing and seeing, which all the authorities agree is of the greatest importance. As to seeing, the Archbishop of Canterbury—in a passage in his *Lincoln Judgment* already referred to—says, "The Court decides that the order of Holy Communion requires that the manual acts should be visible." L. R. [1891], P. p. 63.)

THEREFORE, in answer to the questions propounded, we say as follows :—

1. We are of opinion that it is the duty of the minister to place the Table at Communion time in the position which in his *bonâ fide* discretion he considers to be the most convenient in the church or chancel, and that no formal consent of the Ordinary is needed before moving the Table.

2. That when the Table stands detached in the church or chancel it is not contrary to law for the officiating minister to stand in the middle, or at any other part of the East side of the Table and face West during the Prayer of Consecration, and (assuming the reasoning in the *Lincoln Judgment* to be correct) at the Northern part of the East side during those portions of the service as to which there are express or implied directions to stand at the North side.

We also think that, for the purpose of assuming the Westward Position, the Table may be lawfully moved out a little way, so as

* See Note, p. 4 (*supra*).

to permit one to go between it and the east wall, if it appears that the adoption of the Westward Position is for the convenience of the communicants. We do not think that the Table could be lawfully moved merely for the purpose of adopting the Westward Position, and we strongly advise that it should not be done unless there is a *bonâ fide* case of greater convenience from the change.

3 and 4. That a discretionary choice, left open to the officiants by the terms of a rubric or canon, cannot be destroyed by the mere possibility of a resort to the bishop. That the rubrio as to "the accustomed place" does not affect the question. That in normal cases where the minister acts in good faith for the greater convenience of the congregation the Ordinary has no power conferred on him which could entitle him to interfere except by way of advice.

We think that, if any serious inconvenience resulted to the congregation by reason of the Table being moved to or being allowed to remain (at Communion time) in an obviously inconvenient place, or if the Table is moved or not moved from some motive other than a *bonâ fide* desire to promote the convenience of the congregation, the minister might possibly be held to be guilty of an ecclesiastical offence, and could be proceeded against accordingly by articles in the Consistory Court.

We wish, however, to point out that if in any case the Table has been converted into a fixture, a faculty will probably be necessary for the removal of the obstructions, so that the Table may be an easily movable one as required by law.

R. B. FINLAY.

BENJAMIN WHITEHEAD.

TEMPLE, June 22nd, 1893.

APPENDIX.

A.

FOURTH RUBRIC IN COMMUNION SERVICE.

"The Table at the Communion time having a fair white linen cloth upon it, shall stand in the body of the Church, or in the Chancel, where Morning and Evening Prayer are appointed to be said. And the Priest standing at the north side of the Table shall say the Lord's Prayer with the Collect following, the people kneeling."

B.

ORDER APPENDED TO ROYAL INJUNCTIONS, 1559.

"FOR TABLES IN THE CHURCH."*

"Whereas her Majesty understandeth, that in many and sundry parts of the realm the altars of the churches be removed, and tables placed for the administration of the Holy Sacrament, *according to the form of the law* therefore provided; and in some other places, the altars be not yet removed, upon opinion conceived of some *other* order therein *to be taken* by her Majesty's visitors; in the order whereof, saving for an uniformity, there seemeth no matter of great moment, so that the sacrament be duly and reverently ministered; yet for observation of one uniformity through the whole realm, and for the *better imitation of the law* in that behalf, it is *Ordered*, that no altar be taken down, but by oversight of the curate of the church, and the churchwardens, or one of them at least, wherein no riotous or disordered manner to be used. And that the Holy Table in *every* church be decently made, and set in the place where the altar stood, and there commonly covered, as thereto belongeth, and as shall be appointed by the visitors, and so to stand, saving when the Communion of the Sacrament is to be distributed; at which time the same shall be so placed in good sort within the chancel, as whereby the minister may be more conveniently heard of the communicants in his prayer and ministration, and the communicants also more conveniently, and in more number communicate with the said minister. And after the Communion done, from time to time, the same Holy Table to be placed where it stood before." (Card., Doc. Ann., Vol. I., p. 233.)

Footnote to the above.

The Injunctions of 1559 are stated by Dr. Richard Cosin,

* Several copies printed by Jugge and Cawood, 1559, read "For the tables in the Church."

who was Whitgift's Chancellor from 1583 to 1590, and Dean of the Arches from 1590 to 1598, to have been "set out by the Queen's Majesty in the first year of her reign and are *under the Great Seal of England* for better record of the matter, her Highness being thereunto authorised by Act of Parliament." (*Apologie of and for sundry proceedings by Jurisdiction Ecclesiastical, of late time by some challenged, and also diversely by them impugned.* Edit. 1591, p. 22, and 1593, p. 45.) So at p. 63 of *An answer to an Abstract*, 1584, Dr. Cosin, quoting Injunction 27, says, "They were not by the Bishops, but by her Majesty's own authority, and Injunctions under the Great Seal of England."

In *Clifton v. Ridsdale*, the Court said, "Their Lordships do not think it necessary to dwell upon the Injunctions of Queen Elizabeth, and still less upon the Interpretation of those Injunctions; because they cannot satisfy themselves, either that the Injunctions pointed to the vestments now in controversy, or that they were issued with the advice required by the section of the Act of Parliament."

But since that Judgment was delivered, a great deal of new evidence has been brought to light (see CHURCH INTELLIGENCER, Vol. III., p. 101) shewing

- (1) That the Ordinaries throughout the reign of Elizabeth, and subsequent to it, regarded the Injunctions as relating to the dress of Ministration, and
- (2) That the Commission to the Royal Visitors in 1559 (to which Commission the Royal Injunctions were "annexed") fulfilled all the requirements of the 25th and 26th sections of 1 Eliz. c. 2.

Cardwell suggests that the Royal Visitors were merely to "visit the Ecclesiastical state and Persons": but this is contradicted by the language of the Commission itself, which describes the Visitors as authorised "statum tam ecclesiasticum, quam laicum visitare . . . vice, nomine, et auctoritate nostris exequendum," gives them jurisdiction in testamentary matters, and arms them with the power of suspension, deprivation, the infliction of Ecclesiastical censures, &c., &c.

It speaks of them as "Commissariis," and their Commission was "by letters patent," "teste me ipsâ apud Westmonaster 24. die Junii. anno regni Primo." (Cardwell, Doc. Ann., No. XLIV.) They were thus "Commissioners under the Great Seal for Causes Ecclesiastical," or as the Commission itself says, "causasque quascumque examinandum, audiendum, et finaliter terminandum."

Archbishop Parker, writing to Cecil, the Prime Minister, quotes this Order as a fulfilment of the proviso—"the Injunction hath authority by proviso of the Statute" (1 Eliz. c. 2,

sec. 26), and says that the Queen told him so. (Archbishop Parker's *Correspondence*, p. 375.) Its own language respecting "other Order therein to be taken by her Majesty's visitors" shews also that this was the *recognised* understanding at the time: it being assumed by the Nonconformists that the visitors had legal power to vary the statutory requirement of a "Table."

Long after the death of Elizabeth, these Injunctions continued to be quoted as authoritative in Visitation Articles. It may well be that the Orders appended to the Injunctions of 1559 were Statutory Orders, even though the Injunctions themselves were but administrative enforcements of the existing law. And even though the Order were not Statutory, it would still shew authoritatively the recognised meaning of a Rubric which was re-enacted *at the same time*, and dealt with the same subject matter.

E.

JUDGMENT OF PRIVY COUNCIL IN *Liddell v. Westerton*. (Brooke, 70, 71.)

"This change in the view taken of the nature of the sacrament naturally called for a corresponding change in the ancient altar. It was no longer to be an altar of sacrifice, but merely a table, at which the communicants were to partake of the Lord's Supper." . . . "These Injunctions [of Elizabeth] plainly shew that the Communion of the Lord's Supper was to be held at a table as distinguished from an altar, a table in the ordinary meaning of that term; that as by the Rubric the bread used was to be 'the ordinary bread eaten at table with other meats,' so the table was to be of the character of those employed on such occasions; that it was not only to be movable, but was from time to time to be moved. The 82nd Canon of 1604—that which is now in force—introduces no material alterations; it assumes the existence in all churches of convenient and decent tables for the celebration of the Holy Communion, and provides that they shall be kept in repair. It orders that the table be covered in time of Divine Service with a carpet of silk or other decent stuff thought meet by the Ordinary, and at the time of the ministration with a fair linen cloth, as becometh that table. Since this period no alteration has been made in the law with respect to the nature of the table to be used."

C.

QUEEN ELIZABETH'S ORDERS OF 1561.

"Also that the steps which be as yet at this day remaining in any cathedral, collegiate, or parish church, be not stirred nor altered; but be suffered to continue, with the tombs of any

notable or worshipful personage, where it so chanceth to be, as well as in chancel, church, or chapel. And if in any chancel the steps be transposed, that they be not erected again, but that the place be decently paved, where the communion table shall stand *out of the times of receiving communion*, having thereon a fair linen cloth, with some covering of silk, buckram, or other such like, for the clean keeping of the said cloth on the communion board, at the cost of the parish.") (Miller's *Guide to Ecclesiastical Law*, p. 43, or British Museum, "5155, a. a. 7.") For the Queen's Warrant see Parker *Correspondence*, p. 132, and for the execution of it, p. 134. Commissioners named, Doc. Ann. 224. Enforced, see Britton's *History of Bristol Cathedral*, p. 52, from which a copy of the Commissioners' Order is appended.

"ORDER.

"After our hearty commendations. Whereas we are credibly informed that there are divers tabernacles for images as well in the fronture of the rood-loft of the Cathedral Church of Bristol, as also in the frontures, back, and ends of the walls where the communion table standeth; forasmuch as the same church should be a light and good example to the whole city and diocese, we have thought good to direct these our letters unto you, and to require you to cause the said tabernacles to be detached and hewn down, and afterwards to be made a plain wall, with mortar, plaster, or otherways, and some Scripture to be written in the places, and namely that upon the wall *on the east end of the choir where the communion table usually doth stand*, the table of the commandments to be painted in **LARGE** characters, with convenient speed, and furniture according to the *Orders* lately set forth by *virtue of the Queen's Majesty's Commission for causes ecclesiastical*, at the cost and charges of the said church; whereof we require you not to fail. And so we bid you farewell. From London, the xxi of December 1561."

This Royal Order being also a statutory order under the Act 1 Elizabeth, c. 2, still in force, has never been superseded, and is applicable, therefore, to St. Paul's, where the idolatrous "bane" has now supplanted its legal "antidote."

D.

CANON 82.

"A DECENT COMMUNION-TABLE IN EVERY CHURCH."

"Whereas we have no doubt, that in all churches within the realm of England, convenient and decent tables are provided

and placed for the celebration of the Holy Communion, we appoint, that the same tables shall from time to time be kept and repaired in sufficient and seemly manner, and covered, in time of Divine Service, with a carpet of silk or other decent stuff, thought meet by the Ordinary of the place, if any question be made of it, and with a fair linen cloth at the time of Ministration, as becometh that Table, and so stand, *saving* when the said Holy Communion is to be administered: *at which time* the same shall be placed in so good sort within the church or chancel, as thereby the Minister may be more conveniently heard of the Communicants in his Prayer and Ministration, and the Communicants also more conveniently, and in more number, may communicate with the said Minister; and that the Ten Commandments be set upon the East end of every church and chapel, where the people may best see and read the same, and other chosen sentences written upon the walls of the said churches and chapels, in places convenient; and likewise that a convenient seat be made for the Minister to read service in. All these to be done at the charge of the parish."

F.

PASTORAL LETTER BY BP. HAROLD BROWNE, 1875. (Longmans.)

"It is (at communion time) to stand either in the chancel or in the body of the church, and is, therefore, to be movable, not fixed to the east wall. The priest, instead of standing 'afore' it, is to stand at its 'north side.'

"To my mind the fact that 'afore' is changed into 'north side,' of itself proves that they are not convertible terms; but the point of chief importance to be noticed is this, that though there is a direction to place the holy table either in the chancel or in the nave (so clearly implying that it shall be movable, like a table, not like an altar) yet *neither here nor ever afterwards*, by rubric, canon, or Act of Parliament, was there any injunction whatever by which the table, which had always stood north and south, should be turned round through an angle of 90° and stand east and west. If there ever was such an injunction, I have overlooked it, and *have tried to find it in vain*. The custom was universal that the altar or table should stand with its ends to the north and south, with its longer sides to the east and west. The only effect of the Rubric of 1552, and of any subsequent legal injunctions that I can find, was to make it movable and to place it, sometimes in the chancel, sometimes (when more convenient to communicants) in the nave; *but no hint is given that it should be twisted*

half-way round. Let it be observed that the meaning of ‘north side’ in the Rubric of 1552 must rule the meaning in all subsequent rubrics, and it can hardly be contended that in 1552 holy tables had already been turned east and west. The effect was, no doubt, to give it a ‘table-wise’ in contradistinction to an ‘altar-wise’ position; for it was only ‘altar-wise’ according to mediæval custom when it stood at the east end, and was fastened immovably to the ground or to the wall. But, I think, there can be no reasonable doubt that in the year 1552, when first the Second Service Book of Edward VI. came into use, all the holy tables were standing north and south; and when they were first removed *they were simply moved forward*, retaining the same position relatively to the points of the compass; and that if the priest stood ‘afore’ the table he could not stand at the north of it, and if he stood at the north of it he could not stand ‘afore’ it. Of course, we are all aware of the difficulty of calling the end of a table a ‘side.’ I confess I see no solution of it but by admitting that the revisers used ‘side’ equally of what we now call ‘ends.’ A mathematician would now speak of the four ‘sides’ of a rectangle or other parallelogram, whether the sides were equal or unequal; and the Scotch Prayer Book did undoubtedly identify north side with north end. The holy tables in those days, too, were more nearly square than they are now. By degrees, no doubt, and while Puritan opinions were rapidly gaining ground through the reigns of Elizabeth, James I., and Charles I., the holy table being removed into the nave and the nave becoming crowded with large pews, the custom grew up of turning the table east and west, both to accommodate it to its place in the church, and to make it look less and less like an altar. By degrees, probably, this altered position relatively to the points of the compass came to be called the ‘table-wise’ in distinction to the ‘altar-wise’ position; and at length we find the most Puritan-minded bishop of the seventeenth century, Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, in 1627, instructing one of his clergy that the table was to stand ‘table-wise,’ by which he meant east and west, and the clergyman at the north *side* of it—not ‘altar-wise’ and the clergyman at the north *end* of it. *Had Bishop Williams any legal authority for saying this?* Even if the Royal Commissioners who removed the altars and substituted tables for them had always placed them table-wise (and I doubt if there be proof* of this), still many such acts were performed with no sufficient authority of law. It requires proof that the action and language of one arbitrary prelate is of more weight than the language of another, living at the same time, of higher rank and greater influence; and it is undoubted that Archbishop Laud, in the Scotch Prayer Book, explained north side by north end. It appears to me that there is no manner of doubt but that

* There is not one known instance.

the meaning of the Rubric of 1552 was that, when the table was moved forward from the wall to the middle of the chancel, it should be moved *as anyone would naturally move it, not altering its orientation*, but carrying it simply in its original position ; and that when it was moved into the nave it should be placed just before the chancel screen or chancel steps, at the east of the nave, still with the same orientation, and just as, I am told, is the custom now in many of the Lutheran churches on the Continent.

"The Injunctions of Elizabeth are exactly to the same effect as the Rubric of 1552, only still more favourable to the view which I am taking. 'The holy table' is to be 'set in the place where the altar stood' 'and so to stand, saving when the Communion of the Sacrament is to be distributed ; at which time the same shall be so placed in good sort within the chancel, as whereby the minister may be more conveniently heard of the communicants in his prayer and ministrations, and the communicants also more conveniently and in more number communicate with the said minister. And after the Communion is done, from time to time the said holy table be placed where it stood before' (Cardwell, Doc. Ann., Vol. i., p. 201). When the table was placed against the wall, without doubt it stood north and south. It was moved forward from that position farther westward in the chancel when necessary, and then moved back to it again. Why should the injunction mean that on every such occasion it was not only to be moved forward, but also to be twisted round ? I am the more convinced that *there was no authority for this*, from the fact that of the many able and learned writers and speakers, who maintain that the legal position was the east and west position, *not one has referred to any one authoritative document in its favour.*

"The only approach to authorities are the private injunction of Williams, the great opponent of Laud, who was sure to take the view favoured by the Puritans, and the order of Parliament in* 1640, that every Bishop should 'take care that the communion-table in every church in his Diocese do stand decently in the ancient place where it ought to be by the law, and as it hath done the greater part of the threescore years last past.' (*Second Report of Rit. Comm.* (556), quoted by the Dean of Bristol, p. 27.) Even this order of Parliament says nothing, whatever it may mean, as to the orientation of the Holy Table ; and it only speaks of the practice which it enjoins as of nearly *sixty years' prevalence*, whereas the original rubric of Edward's Second Prayer Book was nearly *ninety years older.*"

* This was not an order of Parliament, but of the House of Lords only, who refused, Sept. 8th, 1641, to concur in the order of the Commons (Nelson, ii.-493).

G.

CANON IX. OF 1640.

“ That the standing of the Communion-Table side-way under the east-window of every chancel or chappel, is in its own nature indifferent, neither commanded nor condemned by the Word of God, either expressly, or by immediate deduction, and therefore, that no religion is to be placed therein, or scruple to made thereon. And albeit at the time of Reforming this Church from that gross superstition of Popery, it was carefully provided that all means should be used to root out of the minds of the people, both the inclination thereunto, and memory thereof; especially of the Idolatry committed in the Mass, for which cause all Popish Altars were demolished; yet notwithstanding, it was then ordered by the Injunctions and Advertisements of Queen *Elizabeth* of blessed memory that the Holy Tables should stand in the place where the Altars stood, and accordingly have been continued in the Royal Chappels of three famous and pious Princes, and in most Cathedral, and some Parochial Churches, which doth sufficiently acquit the manner of placing the said Tables from any illegality, or just suspicion of Popish superstition or innovation. And therefore we judge it fit and convenient, that all Churches and Chappels do conform themselves in this particular to the example of the Cathedral or Mother Churches, saving always the general liberty left to the Bishop by Law, during the time of Administration of the Holy Communion. And we declare that this situation of the Holy Table, doth not imply that it is, or ought to be esteemed a true and proper Altar, wheron Christ is again really sacrificed; but it is, and may be called an Altar by us, in that sense in which the Primitive Church called it an Altar, and no other.”

BISHOP GESTE and ARCHDEACON FARRAR

ON THE
TWENTY-EIGHTH ARTICLE.

THE *English Church Union Gazette* for September, 1893, enclosed to each of its readers "a copy of a well-known letter by Bp. Geste, which," it says, "may be of use in some quarters where momentary disquietude has been caused by Archdeacon Farrar's misrepresentation of the meaning of the formularies of the English Church."

It is a pity they did not add the following pertinent comment upon this same letter from the Judgment in *Sheppard v. Bennett* :—

"Gheast does not say that he was the 'compiler' of the twenty-eighth Article, all but one sentence of which had been in substance in the Articles of 1552; and the context shows that he used the word 'Article' only of this sentence, which, he says, was 'of mine own penning.' Upon the faith of this letter, genuine or not, avowedly written for a personal purpose ('for mine own purgation') is founded an exposition of the words 'only after a heavenly and spiritual manner,' as meaning that though a man 'took Christ's Body in his hand, received it with his mouth, and that corporally, naturally, really, substantially, and carnally . . . yet did he not for all that see it, feel it, smell it, nor taste it.' Upon this alleged exposition their Lordships feel themselves free to observe that the words 'only after a heavenly and spiritual manner,' do not appear to contain or involve the words 'corporally, naturally, and carnally,' BUT TO EXCLUDE THEM; and that it is the Article, and *not the questionable comments of a doubtful letter written for personal motives, which is binding on the clergy and on this Court.*"

Bp. Geste (in a subsequent letter, published in 1858 by Dean Goode) advocated striking out the word "only" from the twenty-eighth article, and wanted to have the word "profitably" inserted after "received and eaten." He also denounced the language of the seventeenth, twenty-fifth, and twenty-ninth articles, declaring them to be in several respects "dangerous,"

"quite contrary to Scripture," and deserving to be "quite put out" of the book! His secret intrigues with the Prime Minister to get the Queen to withhold her sanction from the articles after they had been agreed upon by Convocation, so far from giving to his opinion a decisive weight in their interpretation, make his subsequent subscription matter of astonishment, unless indeed he had subsequently changed his mind. Honest Bp. Cheney, being a Lutheran, could not, and did not, subscribe at all. We have but to compare the words of the Black Rubric and of the Twenty-ninth Article with Geste's suggestion that Christ's body may be "received with the hand and mouth, corporally and carnally," in order to see that such a stretching of the natural meaning of words is essentially immoral.

Those who desire to see this subject thrashed out should read Dean Goode's Supplement to his work on the Eucharist, published as a pamphlet by Hatchards; Professor Heurtley's *Doctrine of the Church of England touching the real objective presence* (Hunt & Co.); Bp. Fitzgerald's *Charge*, 1867, p. 30; and Mr. Dimock's excellent *Doctrine of the English Church*, p. 665, published by the Church of England Book Society. Bp. Geste's views were peculiar, if not self-contradictory; and it is satisfactory to know that he failed utterly on every point, and had to subscribe to the very expressions which he had privately denounced in this backstairs intrigue with Cecil, which had for its object to thwart Archbishop Parker's determination to exclude consubstantiation from the teaching of the Church of England.

In 1571 subscription to the articles was made compulsory by statute, and in 1577 the Lutherans retorted by expressly condemning the doctrine of our twenty-eighth Article. The *Formula Concordiae* affirmed "that the body and blood of Christ are taken with the bread and wine, NOT *only after a spiritual manner by faith*, but also by the mouth;" and they formally condemned the doctrine "that the body of Christ is not taken in the Holy Supper *by the mouth* together with the bread, but that the bread and wine only are received by the mouth, and that the body of Christ is taken *after a spiritual manner only, namely, by faith.*" (See Goode on *Eucharist*, ii.-648.)

“Sacerdotalism.”



1. *Confession and Absolution.*
2. *Fasting Communion and Eucharistic Worship.*
3. *Real Presence and Eucharistic Sacrifice.*
4. *Priesthood and Sacerdotalism.*



Being a REPLY to

CANON J. W. KNOX-LITTLE.

BY

J. T. TOMLINSON.

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PREFACE.

THE learned layman who is the author of the following pages has asked me to introduce them by a few words of preface.

I must make it clear that this reply to Canon Knox Little's pamphlets was not written by my request ; that I have not had the smallest share in suggesting any one of the arguments here adduced ; and that I did not see a line of this book till it was in print. It will be useless therefore for those who attempt to refute its arguments to fortify such considerations as they may be able to adduce by irrelevant attacks. But, if I am not mistaken, they will find it a very difficult matter, before serious-minded and impartial judges, to rebut the close and compressed arguments in which this pamphlet abounds ; and I venture to doubt whether either

Canon Knox Little, or any members of the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament, or of the English Church Union, have anything like that acquaintance with the history and sources of the Prayer Book which this writer possesses. The Sacerdotalists are responsible for carrying the controversy into regions which for me have a very subordinate interest. All readers may not be easily able to grasp the trains of reasoning here employed, nor to estimate the full importance of the facts adduced. But the question has now passed out of narrower circles, and has become one of pressing urgency for the whole Reformed Church. Devout and earnest students of the points at stake will find in these pages much that demands their attention, and they will hardly fail to see that not a few current fallacies are here scattered to the winds.

Whether it will become my own duty to notice any of the less unworthy replies which my papers have elicited, I am as yet unable to say. If such should be the case, my answer will deal only with essential verities. It will be as exclusively devoted to the general question as were my two first papers. One party or the other in this

controversy must be involved in serious errors. The issues are plain, and the truth is surely attainable if we take the teaching of Christ and His Apostles as our sole ultimate authority.

F. W. FARRAR.



APOLOGIA.

AT the request of some friends whose judgment is entitled to deference, this Review has been reprinted, although its over-condensation makes it less fluent and easy to read than I could have wished. It is thought that on several points the information given is not easily accessible in printed books, and may be of value to students in whose path stumbling blocks are often placed. For example, the history of the Exhortation (p. 12), of the Reformation usage as to fasting Communion (p. 21), of the "words of Consecration" (pp. 10, 34, 35), of the meaning of "spiritual body" (p. 36), of the First Book of Homilies (p. 41), and of the relation of the Twenty-eighth Article (p. 43), as well as the Twenty-ninth (p. 44), and the Thirty-first (pp. 49, 52), to the Council of Trent, are but a few out of many moot questions which may derive fresh elucidation from this short analysis.



“SACERDOTALISM”:

A Review of Canon Little’s “Answer
to Archdeacon Farrar.” *



PART I.

CONFESSiON AND ABSOLUTION.

CANON KNOX LITTLE proposes to demolish his opponent “in four parts” at one shilling each, the first instalment being “now ready.” In it he deals with “Confession and Absolution”; but relies throughout on Carter and Cooke for his arguments and vouchers. The Canon himself, however, supplies some really original comment. He tells us (p. 46) that—

“the Church—the Body of Christ—ever united with her Divine Head, *holds in herself* the forces of His life. The power of absolu-^{a reservoir}tion coming from the Father is given to the Son—‘power on earth to forgive sins’—because of His ‘everlasting priesthood,’ and *this He communicates to His Body the Church.*”^{of ‘forces.’}

Hence he infers that a Priest in the Confessional is “the human representative for the moment of the Most Awful Presence” (p. 51). Sin, he tells us, “can only be dealt with properly under Divine sanctions, and in the power of a Divine ordinance” (p. 50). That being so, it was clearly his business to demonstrate this alleged “Divine sanction.”

* From the *Church Intelligencer* for November and December, 1893.

Alleged
Scriptural
Warrants for
Confessional.

No failure, however, could be more complete. He gives us, by way of a substitute, the statement that Achan in confessing a political offence to the chief Magistrate vindicated the "principle of confession as being of Divine revelation"! He adds the mistaken belief that every Jew made a special confession of his sins to the officiating priest each time that he offered a sacrifice! (p. 54). He next insists that John the Baptist, who did *not* "wait upon the altar," heard private confessions in the wilderness (p. 55); and that in Acts xix.-18 the Apostles also heard privately the individual confessions of the *unbaptized* candidates for admission into the Church—forgetting for the moment that "the sacrament of penance" is but, as he himself admits (p. 59), "the second plank" available *only* to the baptized.

Feeling the weakness of his case, so far, he proceeds to play what he deems his trump card.

He says, "But on the principle of Confession in Holy Scripture, one of the most important statements is, of course, that made by St. James (V.-13-16)." He cannot deny indeed that, on the face of it, St. James is speaking of reciprocal confession "one to another"; yet he contends—

"No one in his senses can deny that it takes for granted, and is written under the sense that everybody knows, that there is a special exercise of an appointed ministry: otherwise the direction to send for the priests of the Church ('or elders,' if any one likes that translation better) would be useless. Confession and prayer are spoken of; then the penitent is spoken of as in consequence being healed, or 'his sins being forgiven him.'"

Canon Little even adopts the suggestion that "the righteous man" mentioned in verse 16 "really means the Minister." On the strength of this astounding exegesis, the man who (*ex hypothesi*) is "in his senses" concludes triumphantly:—

"Holy Scripture, THEN, teaches the principle of confession as being of Divine revelation, and according to the will of God" (p. 58).

He warns us that we must not expect more proof than this of the pretended "Divine sanction" nor any further hint of the alleged "Divine ordinance." For Scripture, it seems, merely lays down general principles, and leaves priests to develop their inspired inferences and to devise at leisure the missing "sanctions."

"You might as well expect Holy Scripture to tell you how to say Matins and Evensong, or whether you are to wear the black gown or

the surplice in the pulpit, as expect it to give minute directions about the Confessional ” (p. 58).

He contents himself, therefore, by merely referring to John xx.-21, 22, 23 as “*the commission for absolving in the Name of God,*” and he conceives that the proof that the Confessional is now a “*Divine ordinance*” under the Christian dispensation is complete!

As he values “*the Sacrament of Unction*” (p. 27) and <sup>Liturgy versus
39 Articles.</sup> contends that “*the five commonly called sacraments*” in Article 25 are rightly and properly so called (p. 25), it might have occurred to him that by thus wresting James V.-13-16 to support the confessional, he was destroying the *only vestige* of evidence for his beloved “*Sacrament of Unction*”—but, perhaps, he thinks the latter may keep well enough until the Confessional has been firmly re-established among us, by which time Bible-reading will have ceased. He wastes, however, little space in discussing the Scriptural foundations of the “*Divine ordinance*,” or of its imaginary “*Divine sanction*,” because he is anxious to fight the battle on the Prayer Book alone.

The 39 Articles must be interpreted, he thinks, “according to the teaching of the Prayer Book” (p. 25). That proposal seems absurd enough, in all conscience. Formal doctrinal theological articles to be subscribed by professional teachers, are to be interpreted by the looser devotional language of a popular Liturgy. It need hardly be said that the Courts of Law have repeatedly laid down the opposite principle, viz. that popular language must be corrected by the language of science whenever a doubt arises as to what is intended to be exactly affirmed. Canon Little thinks the 25th Article is “awkward and embarrassed.” It certainly is “awkward” for him ; and he may well feel “embarrassed” by it. Nor does he fare much better on his own chosen ground of the Prayer Book.

He lays down at the outset that “*the ministry of God’s word*” does not mean the application of the promises of Holy Scripture to the individual needs of the sinner. He even says :—

“To any plain man it would appear at once that if the Prayer Book uses language in this *mysterious* manner, in *direct contradiction to its ordinary meaning*, the less one has to do with the Prayer Book the better ” (p. 16).

So far from being "mysterious", this interpretation of "the ministry of God's word" is the *only* meaning that ever occurred to any "plain man," and it is precisely the "ordinary meaning" of those words. He, however, seriously fancies that the words of "consecration," or the "form" of baptism, or the "I absolve thee," are (in the ordinary meaning of English speech) intended by this phrase "God's word"; also that "plain men" would naturally understand it in this non—"mysterious" (?) sense. Nothing but a long course of Seminary cramming could make such a notion even "thinkable." For, the words of "consecration" used by our Lord at the institution of the Supper, in "Blessing," or "Giving-of-thanks" (both expressions being precisely equivalent in meaning, and relating directly to God the Father, not addressed to the elements) are not so much as recorded by any one of the Evangelists; so little did the ministry of *this* "word" appear to them to be of primary importance. The so-called "words of consecration" were, in fact, merely words of *distribution*, and declared what the elements had *previously* been constituted to represent, and exhibit. In the case of the Eucharist, therefore (which is the very highest of the sacraments on the Ritualistic hypothesis), there is absolutely *no* "word of God" (in Canon Little's sense) revealed to men. Again, the words "I absolve thee" cannot be the "God's word" intended, because no such form was known in the Churches either of the East or West, for a thousand years after Christ. On this non—"mysterious" and "plain" (*i.e.* Knox Little) hypothesis, therefore, there could have been during all that time no "ministry of God's word" in any part of Christendom, until ignorance and barbarism had overspread the face of Christian Society, and even the twilight of "Tradition" had become obfuscated by "the smoke of the pit."

Nevertheless, Canon Little insists (p. 17) that—

"When they' (the framers of the Exhortation) 'speak of the 'ministry of God's Word,' they mean men to regard the 'Word' as a part or instrument of the ministerial act in conveying the grace of *Absolution*. . . . St. Paul, *e.g.* speaks of Christ in Holy Baptism 'cleansing' the Church with the washing of water by the Word; St. Peter, again, of our 'being born again, not of corruptible seed, but of incorruptible, *by the Word of God*.' In both cases the grace of the sacrament [*sic*] is referred, not to the act of the minister, but to the word used in his ministry."

This, of course, is not true; yet let us for the moment assume it to be true. Then it would follow that the recital of a wonder-working form of words is a "plain man's" conception of something not "mysterious." Yet, in the case of the Eucharist, or of Absolution, the precise "words" themselves are nowhere to be found in the Bible. Hence it follows that the Bible cannot be the "word of God;" but that certain conventional formulæ are to "plain men," now, that "word of God" which Priests are appointed to "minister." When the "plain man" reads in his Bible that "the seed is the word," "Thy word is truth," "born again by [διὰ] the word"—we are to understand something outside the covers of the Bible, viz. certain clerical "forms" of "absolution," or of "consecration" devised by ecclesiastics hundreds of years after the Saviour's death. These miraculous "words," having power by their mere recital to absolve from sin, and to reproduce on earth the risen Saviour "under the forms of bread and wine," are nevertheless not to be regarded by us as "mysterious," because Canon Little chooses to dethrone the Bible in order to make way for the priest's own "Word."

In support of this far-fetched and unnatural "interpretation," Canon Little quotes Hooker and St. Augustine. But he omits to observe that the words used by Hooker were merely his representation of the views professed by Lutherans, and therefore cannot possibly shew how he "understood the phrase in our office." St. Augustine is similarly misrepresented by Canon Little's half-quotation which stops short in the middle of the sentence. The original runs on.

"— as indeed He said this also when He washed the disciples' feet : 'He that is washed needeth not save to wash his feet, but is clean every whit.' Whence hath water this so great virtue, to touch the body and wash the heart, but by the word doing it, NOT BECAUSE IT IS SPOKEN, but because it is believed ? For in the word itself the passing sound is one thing, the abiding virtue another. 'This,' saith the apostle, 'is the word of faith which we preach; that if thou shalt confess with thy mouth the Lord Jesus, and shalt believe in thy heart that God hath raised Him from the dead, thou shalt be saved. For with the heart man believeth unto righteousness; and with the mouth confession is made unto salvation.' Whence in the Acts of the Apostles we read, 'Cleansing their hearts by faith.'"

Yet in spite of this clear testimony, we are to believe that Augustine held the "ministry of God's word" to mean merely the recital of the baptismal formula, or of the words "this is my body," or, again, "I absolve thee."

The Exhortation. But Canon Little has more to say about this same Exhortation. He continues. It—

"comprehensively expresses the several parts of his ministry. (a) The appointed minister is the priest. 'Let him come to me;' for it is only a priest who can read this Exhortation, as it is only a priest who can celebrate." (p. 18.)

To do justice to this argument, one must take with it the further remark which he quotes as decisive of the meaning of our Prayer Book :—

"It is fit that some such word as 'priest' should be used for those offices' [viz. absolution and consecration], 'and not 'minister,' which signifies at large every one that ministers in that holy office, of what order soever he be.' (p. 32.)

Now on this it is obvious to remark—

(1) That it is not true that a deacon may not read this Exhortation.

(2) That until 1662 a deacon was not forbidden to celebrate Holy Communion, if he were, as he then might be, the incumbent.

(3) The word "priest" was expressly struck out, and the word "minister" substituted *instead* of "priest," in 1552. Before that, the words ran: "Let him come to me or some other *priest*"; but since 1552 the words are, "to me, or some other minister of God's Word." Pity Canon Little stopped his quotation just in time to avoid shewing these facts! Nor is that all:

(4) In 1661, *at* the last revision of the Prayer Book, the bishops who prepared the draft for Convocation (including those who sat at the Savoy Conference) had changed the words back again into "Let him come to me or to some other learned priest, the minister of God's Word"; and this proposed alteration at one time even extended to the *striking out* the word "minister" altogether. Convocation, however, *again* struck out the word "priest," and the word "minister" stands permanently reinstated. [Parker, *Hist. Revision of Pr. Bk.*, p. 206.]

From these facts, on Canon Little's own principle, we have a right to say that the restriction was deliberately and intentionally removed, and that an attempted reversal of that decision was, as deliberately, rejected.

Canon Little repeats the old fallacy that the second Act of Uniformity declared the First Book to be "agreeable to the Word of God"—words which really had reference to the use of the vernacular, then a novelty complained of by the Romanists. We shewed this at length in the *Church Intelligencer*, VI.-78. We shewed also that the "ministers and mistakers" of the First Prayer Book who were censured in the later Act were Bp. Gardiner and his Romish colleagues (*Church Intel.*, VII.-53).

First Prayer
Book deliber-
ately super-
seded.

Canon Little urges (p. 19), that—

"Since no change of doctrine, we are distinctly told, was intended, if he has any doubt about the meaning of the language of the later book, he has only to refer to the First Book to clear away this doubt."

Now, we are *not* "distinctly told" this; on the contrary, we are distinctly told, in the preface to our present Prayer Book, that "If any man, who shall desire a more particular account of the several alterations in any part of the Liturgy, shall take pains to compare the present book with the former; we doubt not but the reason of the change may easily appear." Canon Little has taken no such pains, and he gives no "reason" why the word priest had been twice over rejected in this very passage of the Exhortation which he so carelessly adduces. The very Statute on which he relies, abolished and rendered illegal 5 & 6 Ed. VI., c. i. the First Prayer Book, and described the Second as having been "made fully perfect," and as being "more earnest and fit to stir Christian people to the true honouring of Almighty God." That is a very different thing from suggesting that wherever the two books differ, the First must be taken to overrule the subsequent alteration.

Canon Little thinks it right to alter the language of the Rubric about the priest "moving the sick person," into "make a confession, *if he thought it desirable*!" He says the words of the Absolution are "an Anglican form," and that "to its use both Dr. Farrar and I are bound as Anglican priests." But this The Visitation is to ignore the pertinent facts that the Visitation office is Office.

purely optional, being intended for illiterate priests who cannot "preach." The words of the Sixty-seventh Canon are very explicit. The minister is to follow "the order of the Communion Book, if he be no preacher; or, if he be a preacher, then as he shall think most needful and convenient." It is not true, therefore, that any minister (except a mere book-reader) is "bound" to use this form. The clergy were, at one time, "bound" to use this "form" and no other. "The priest shall absolve him after this form; and the same form of absolution shall be used in all private confessions." But that obligation (of the year 1549) has since been carefully removed. The priest now is not even *allowed* to pronounce any absolution at all, except "IF" the penitent "humbly and heartily desire it"—the initiative and the control being both taken away from the clergyman. Even then, he need not use the printed "form;" for the words have been *changed* into "after this sort," in order to give the same latitude as in the Bidding Prayer before sermons, prescribed by Canon 55.

Canon Little seeks to evade the force of the rubrical limitation to those who "feel their conscience troubled with any weighty matter," by hinting that this means *everybody* who is a sinner (p. 60). It is clear, therefore, that persons of his way of thinking cannot be safely entrusted with discretion to "move" the bedridden who are unable to escape such solicitations. Their misplaced zeal was well described by Hooker:—

"We labour to instruct men in such sort, that every soul which is wounded with sin may learn how to cure *itself*; they, clean contrary, would make all souls seem incurable unless the priest have a hand in them." (*Eccles. Pol.* VI., vi.-2.)*

Church Censures. Canon Little insists (p. 22) that the absolution in the Visitation office can have no reference to any previous Church censures, because the words "I restore thee to the sacraments of the Church" were not retained from the Sarum Manual.

* Mr. Hall, who writes under the sanction of Canon Carter, says, "We may not regard them [confession and absolution] as of indifference, as a thing we may ignore, but as a means of grace which we **MUST EACH FACE** from time to time, in our preparations for communion, and for the hour of death" (*Ritualism and the Reformation*, p. 26). This being supposed, is it not a mockery to pretend that auricular Confession is not compulsory upon all?

But Bp. Reichel anticipated this fallacy by explaining the true reason of the alteration. He says, the words

"were probably omitted by our Reformers, because, five supposed sacraments having been done away with—at least as sacraments—there was but one sacrament to which a baptized person could be restored, viz. the Holy Eucharist, and to designate this in the singular as 'the sacrament' would have seemed to indicate that it was the only sacrament." (*History and Claims of the Confessional*, p. 24.)

Canon 113 is plausibly cited, overlooking, however, the fact that Canon 113, no hint of absolution is given in that canon, which relates solely to the duties arising out of making presentments. Dr. Blakeney has dealt with this so fully at pp. 481-3 of his "History and Interpretation of the Prayer Book" (*cf. Davis on the Canons*, p. 100), that this point need not now be laboured. Yet it is very necessary to warn every reader of the untrustworthy method in which second-hand authorities are alleged throughout Canon Little's pamphlet. For instance, to shew Cranmer's opinion, a Cranmer's "Catechism" is cited which was written in 1538 by Justus Jonas, 1548. a Lutheran, and was translated in 1547 by one of Cranmer's chaplains as a means of educating the minds of the English people during that transitional or twilight stage which preceded the doctrinal Reformation. Cranmer himself says "not long before I wrote the said catechism I was in that error of the real presence, as I was many years past in divers other errors, as of transubstantiation," &c. (*Works*, I.-374). In this "Catechism" the second commandment is omitted bodily (p. 6), and there are said to be three Sacraments, "Penance" being one of the "three." At p. 51 of the same work we are told that "if we should have heathen parents and die without baptism, we should be damned everlastinglly." It is clear that this adapted translation can in no sense be evidence of Cranmer's ultimate opinions, still less of the teaching of the Church of England.

"Bp. COSIN" is twice referred to by Canon Little: at page 40 Bp. Cosin, as speaking of "*sacramental Confession*"—a phrase he never employs; and, at page 55, as being the author of that "First" series of Notes on the Prayer Book, which were *not his at all*. This has been proved by Canon Meyrick,* and was shewn by

* "Four letters to the Bishops on the Neo-Eucharistical system." Rivingtons.

ourselves years ago in the *Church Intelligencer*, III.-115, where an exhaustive analysis is given of all these spurious "Notes."

An excellent specimen of the "catholic practice" of misrepresentation is the citation on page 39 from Bp. LATIMER. The entire passage will be found at page 179 of Latimer's *Remains*, but Canon Little gives from it *only* the twenty-two words printed below between square brackets :—

" And so they bind the consciences of men, persuading them that when their sins were all numbered and confessed, it was well. And hereby they took clean away the passion of Christ. For they made this numbering of sins to be a merit; and so they came to all the secrets that were in men's hearts : *so that emperor nor king could say or do, nor think anything in his heart; but they knew it; and so applied all the purposes and intents of princes to their own commodities.* And this was the fruit of their auricular confession. But [to speak of true and right confession, I would to God it were kept in England; for it is a good thing.] And those who find themselves grieved in conscience might go to a *learned man*, and there fetch of him comfort of the word of God, and so come to a quiet conscience."

Thus it will be seen that the very passage in which Latimer denounced auricular confession, and bore his testimony to the habitual prostitution of its "secrets" for the selfish purposes and political aims of the priesthood, is polled by Canon Little in favour of the practice, though Latimer sought to substitute for it, mutual confession and brotherly advice, and such comfort as might be derived from the counsel of a fellow layman "learned" in God's Word!

The truth is this entire pamphlet is based on a confusion between the testimony given by Scripture and experience in favour of candid, mutual acknowledgment of faults committed, with fraternal advice based on "the Word of God," and that "Sacramental" absolution now given by Priests which the Apostles and their first successors never used. On the other hand, the "keys of the Church" originally related to the *public* admission to (or exclusion from) communion, at a time when discipline was exercised by the whole Church (as in 1 Cor. v. and 2 Cor. ii.). The Confession in this case, which was really "Primitive," was also *public*; and the Absolution was but the act of the Church officers dealing in the name of the community with such offences as had been causes of public scandal. Nobody doubts

that confession to one whom we have injured, to a pious friend, or to a "learned" teacher is a most salutary practice; in many cases, indeed, a necessary branch of true repentance: but such precedents have nothing to do with the blasphemous pretence that God awaits the sentence of the priest to determine whether the sins of a penitent shall be "retained" or not.

PART II.

“FASTING COMMUNION AND EUCHARISTIC WORSHIP.”

Fasting in CANON LITTLE opens the subject by insisting in very exaggerated Scriptural terms upon the necessity of fasting as “a channel of grace” (p. 67). He declares (p. 65) that St. Paul “lays tremendous stress upon physical self-discipline” because (1 Cor. ix.-27) he used the metaphor of “striking the body severe and heavy blows” like a pugilist. This might possibly be made to look like an argument for attaching a gymnasium to every church, or for scourging one’s back with “the discipline,” as the conventional cat-o’-nine-tails is called, if we could consent, like Canon Little, to understand this passage literally. Yet, even so, it would *not* be evidence that St. Paul “laid tremendous stress” on such heathenish practices. For, without any metaphor at all, we have St. Paul’s own direct testimony to the contrary (1 Tim. iv.-3, Hebrews ix.-10, xiii.-9). Canon Little says “holy Scripture teaches fasting as a spiritual [sic] exercise with almost as much emphasis as it teaches prayer” (p. 48); that the repentance of Nineveh was “accepted through fasting”; that the approach of Moses and Elijah to God was “secured by fasting,” and that Esther, Daniel, and others “are all given as examples of the power and need of fasting” (p. 67). “By fastings as well as other things it was that St. Paul approved himself” (1 Cor. vi.-5), where Canon Little has overlooked the circumstance that this “fasting” was just as involuntary as the “tumults” mentioned in the same verse. The statement that our Lord fasted in the wilderness as a means of grace is directly contrary to the teaching of Scripture, which says that it was in order to His being “tempted of the devil,” viz. by that intense physical “hunger” artificially produced “afterwards” which must have made the “command that these stones be made loaves” seem most natural, and (to ordinary men) an almost irresistible temptation. That “our Lord taught us how to fast” (p. 67) is hardly a fair statement. He taught, indeed, those Jews who chose to fast how to avoid ostentation and publicity by eliminating the pharisaic element from their private

observances. Canon Little might as reasonably argue that "tremendous stress" was laid upon the "spiritual" duty of "anointing the head and washing the face" (Matt. vi.-17). The prediction in St. Luke v.-35 which he relies upon is not in the imperative mood, and it related to the interval between our Lord's death and resurrection. The only mention of fasting in the New Testament is on occasions of special devotion, resulting from the prolonged nature of the religious exercises engaged in on such occasions.

No one doubts that self-denial in any department of life is a fitting aid to self-discipline. But we also know that a lowered vitality of the nervous centres is the direct and most immediate result of fasting: that hysterical conditions favourable to seeing "visions" and hearing the "calls" of fanaticism may with certainty be thus artificially produced: that many persons are made head-aching, irritable, bad-tempered, confused in mind, and distracted in thought by the very same "abstinence" from meats which others may find (for a time) profitable. It is now well known that insanity is produced by any prolonged deprivation of food (as in the Black hole of Calcutta), so that works on psychological medicine regard the rapid supply of nourishment as the most essential feature in any successful treatment of maladies of the mind, without which all other remedies are hopeless. The hollow cheeks, blanched lips, darkened sockets, and pot-like whiteness of the eye-ball, are to the physician so many signs of disease: yet to ecclesiastics these self-same symptoms are evidence of "spirituality." Ary Scheffer's pictures, though otherwise very lovely, exhibit the ascetic rather than the Christian ideal of a perfect Humanity. Effeminate persons in bad health are just the plastic material on which the "sacrificing sorcerers" (as old Latimer called them) love to work. If it be an object to weaken the judgment, and to enfeeble the reason while exalting the imagination and calling out the emotions under the slightest stimulus (*i.e.* to exalt the *psychè* at the expense of the *pneuma*), Canon Little's method should be rigorously followed. Yet, even so, the nemesis of reaction is wont to avenge the outraged laws of Nature. The prolonged and severe fasts of the Easterns frequently lead to riot and excess, both among Mahomedans and Christians.

Hysteria in
Worship.

Witness of St. Chrysostom. St. Chrysostom is a witness that many of his fasting communicants got drunk afterwards, *as a habit*. And it should be frankly recognised that (apart from differences of climate) the introduction of non-intoxicating beverages like tea and coffee has completely altered the conditions of social life, so as to make the rules of the "ancient" Church no longer appropriate. Yet Canon Little contemplates making even children fast, as part of their "religious education."

"It seems to me that those who have to do with the young, especially *in our schools* and parishes, incur a very serious responsibility if they do not give them the opportunity of early celebrations, so that they may, if they will, without detriment to health, observe the Church's rule" (p. 108).

Thus do our Rabbis seek once more to bind heavy burthens, and again "teach *for doctrines*" the traditions of men.

Rigorism not Anglican. The Church of England has been careful to lay down no rules as to what constitutes "fasting," or what is included in "abstinence." "Touch not, Taste not, Handle not"—belong to a category of ritual requirements foreign to her spirit of liberty (Col. ii.-21, R.V.; Rom. xiv.-17). Yet Canon Little declares that "No part of the Catholic Church has been *more exact, and even severe*" in this respect (p. 86). This ludicrous assertion rests upon two facts.

First, that "it was sanctioned in our own Church certainly as early as A.D. 960" (p. 91). But what is meant by calling a thousand years after Christ, "*early*"? A dip into Hallam's *Middle-Ages* might undeceive him in this respect. Let us assume for the moment that everything embodied in a canon during that barbarous period of our National life is still binding. Then, let Canon Little prove his sincerity by at once getting his Canons of K. head shaved. The same "canons made in KING EDGAR's reign" Edgar. from which he quotes, order "that no ecclesiastic cover his tonsure, nor permit himself to be mis-shorn, nor his beard to grow for any long time, if he will have God's blessing, and St. Peter's, and ours." Again, they direct the payment of "Rome fee at Peter-mass," and that "priests sing psalms while they distribute alms" (Johnson's *Canons*, I.-421-3). If Canon Little may pick and choose which of these "laws" he will descend to observe, why may not other folk claim like liberty? Or, rather, is it not absolutely grotesque for an educated person

to gravely cite such old-world stuff as binding on the Church of England at the present day?

The second proof given by Canon Little is that a rubric requires intending communicants to signify their names to the curate "at least sometime the day before." This he contends—"shows that communion should be made in the early hours of the day—otherwise, why send in your name 'the day before'?—in fact at an hour when the custom of the Church of keeping the fast could be more easily observed" (p. 88).

Unluckily for this theory, the rubric from 1549 till 1662 allowed this notice to be given "in the morning afore the beginning of Morning prayer, or immediately after." And the change since made was due to a suggestion of Bp. Wren, the Chairman of the Committee of Revision, that those words "or immediately after" should "be left out, because now in very few parish churches is there any space at all given between morning prayer and the Communion Service" (*Fragmentary illustrations of the Book of Common Prayer*, edited by Bp. Jacobson, p. 74). Thus we certainly know that the purpose of this rubric was *not* what Canon Little seeks to foist upon us.

Canon Little has the unfairness to state, p. 68, that Arch-deacon Farrar described fasting communion as "detestable materialism." If our readers will turn to the *Church Intelligencer*, IX.-107, they will see that this is absolutely untrue. Nobody seeks to interfere with fasting communion so long as it is a mere private usage of individuals, provided that no opinion of its necessity be forced upon the Church at large. The "materialism" comes in when an empty stomach is regarded as more honourable to the Divine Guest supposed to be lodged therein, or when Evening Communion is denounced from a supposed obligation in conscience of fasting reception.

"It hath always been at liberty, and always shall be," was Fasting left the language adopted by the martyr, PHILPOT (*Writings*, Parker optional by Soc., p. 379). ROGER HUTCHINSON, preaching at Eton just before English Re-formers. the first Prayer Book of Edward was abolished by statute, after expressing his own preference for the then received usage, adds :—

"Notwithstanding, as he doth well which cometh fasting to the Lord's Table, so he doth not ill which, by occasion, cometh after he hath eaten and drunk. Meat and drink do not defile, do not make a

man an unmeet guest for Christ's board In their own houses Paul doth not forbid them to eat and drink before the Communion, but permitteth it, and leaveth them to their own liberty and necessity therein, saying, 'If any man hunger, let him eat at home.' " (*Works*, p. 222.)

RIDLEY, when taunted with "setting an oyster table instead of an altar, and coming from puddings at Westminster to receive," answered patiently, "Your Lordship's unreverend terms do not elevate the thing. Perhaps some men came more devoutly from puddings than other men now do from other things" (*Foxe*, vii.-536). BECON, Cranmer's chaplain, complained that the early masses turned the Lord's Supper into a "private breakfast." BULLINGER, whose *Decades* were treated as standard works by the Upper House of Convocation, says in one of them (Sermon IX., p. 423) "this banquet requireth fasting and empty guests; but yet not so fasting that a man may not taste of somewhat beforehand for his health's sake." These extracts suffice to dispose of Canon Little's theory that the Canon law was then regarded as binding, though "no positive order was given on the subject, because, like other good and well-known customs, it was *taken for granted*" [sic] (p. 106). Contemporary facts dissipate these little fables of the nineteenth century novelist.

Canon Little next addresses himself to the language of Article XIX., insisting that the words "duly administered according to Christ's ordinance in all those things which are requisite to the same" must include a priest. "For the sacrament of the body and blood of the Lord there must," he says, "be consecration by a priest *episcopally ordained*" (p. 77), and this for the strange reason that the Supper was instituted "not in the presence of any lay persons, or of a general congregation, but only in the presence of His Apostles" (p. 72). Hence the clergy alone are the "*ecclesia docens*" (p. 78). "The hierarchy as distinguished from the great body of Christians," he describes as "the executive of the kingdom of God" (pp. 78, 79). It is odd that he does not see that this argument would equally serve to shew that no mere lay creature can ever be a communicant, since on the above theory such persons were excluded by a commission given to Apostles *alone* to "Take, Eat, Drink." Nevertheless, in Canon Little's mind it seems to be the business of the laity to "feed on a sacrament validly consecrated"

(p. 83), although the phrase "feed on a sacrament" is at once unscriptural, and unwarranted by the Church. Canon Little's explanation of it is especially deserving of note. He says:—

"A SACRAMENT DOES NOT APPEAL TO THE INTELLECT. IT DOES NOT MOVE THE SOUL BY ANY INTELLECTUAL CONSIDERATION. IT ONLY *per accidens* TOUCHES THE HEART" (p. 78).

That statement is so important that it deserves to be Dynamical embalmed in small capitals lest its gravity be overlooked. If it were true, it would follow that idiots and infants are the most properly qualified subjects for sacramental reception, and that the *modus operandi* of sacraments is purely *magical*. For the very meaning of "magic" is the production of supernatural effects *apart from the laws of reason, conscience, and emotion*, i.e. apart altogether from man's spiritual nature. Thus "faith" is degraded into mere trust in the power of a magician who professes to be working an *invisible* miracle.

Canon Little adds, "It works solely by virtue of the institution of Christ."

But that fact is fatal to the theory of ritualism. For if "sacraments be effectual because of Christ's institution and promise," as the 26th article witnesses, there is no need for grace to be imagined by us as shut up within "consecrated" elements. The union of the "sign" with the "thing-signified" need not be local, nor need we dream that the priest who "gives" the "sign" gives *therein* (or gives at all) the thing-signified; the connection between the two not being mechanical, the action of the Holy Spirit is to be conceived of, not as dealing with matter which is inert and senseless, but as acting DIRECTLY on the soul of the communicant, in fulfilment of Christ's sacramental "promise." That "Promise" was made to believers *only* and that "Institution" was solely for *their* profit. Again, since "Christ's institution" alone ensures the gift from Heaven, what need is there to fancy it as being dependent on the regularity or otherwise of the ordination of "the Minister"? Even Canon Little dare not deny the validity of Dissenters' baptisms (p. 80, cf. 283), i.e. (in his view), of *lay*-baptism: yet the argument against *lay*-baptism is ten times stronger (so far as regards the language of the New Testament) than that against *lay* communions, which, in truth, are forbidden only by the need that "all things should be done decently and in order." In such matters we see

constantly that the more extravagant and exacting the claim,
the slenderer the proof furnished by the "hierarchy."

Catholic faith
what?

However, his "hierarchical" definition of "the Church," enables him, as a next step, to lay down this droll definition of the "Catholic faith," viz. "What is held in common by 'the Greek and Latin Churches, and the Church of England'" (p. 82). This is eked out by a further bending of the "leaden rule," viz. that "if a custom is a Catholic custom, it is *ipso facto* a possession of every member of the English Church" (p. 85). To the latter body, indeed, Canon Little extends a patronising, though provisional, toleration. He talks of the "Protestant accretions in the Anglican church" (p. 82), admits that "some of her reforms may not have been the best possible" (p. 91), and that "the heresies of the 16th century have left a stain here and there on the teaching and practice of the Church of England" (p. 112) declares that "she has suffered much from the clouds and fogs of Protestantism" (p. 123), and complains of the "somewhat inquisitorial process" ordered by a rubric which he dislikes (p. 88). He asserts that "the Primitive Church shrank with horror from late communions" (p. 89), i.e. from the example and practice of her Founder; and speaks of "the shocking outbreak of evening communions" (p. 90). He thinks that no one need feel influenced by the Saviour's example in this respect, because forsooth, "if they are consistent they must keep Saturday, not Sunday, as a day of rest" (p. 89). This, be it observed, comes with a special unfitness from a member of a school which rests its use of unleavened bread and of watered wine upon the supposed need of imitating the precise details of the Last Supper!

History of
Evening
Communion.

In reciting "Primitive" precedents, he is careful to omit the oldest of all (next to the New Testament), viz. the DIDACHÈ, which shews (Cap. x.) that the Eucharist was then partaken "after being filled," viz. at the preceding Agapè. His earliest witness is Pliny's letter to Trajan, of which he asserts that "Bp. Lightfoot admits that the time of celebrating the Eucharist was in the early morning before Pliny wrote" (p. 93). Lightfoot, however, merely inclines to that opinion as being though "not quite clear" yet "the more probable alternative" (Lightfoot's *Ignatius*, I.-386). But at page 53 the bishop candidly gives the reasons

which make it doubtful whether "sacramento" refers to the Eucharist at all, and admits that "the inference is somewhat precarious" (II.-314). Many scholars, like Neander and Mosheim, regard the "harmless common meal" which followed in the evening, as corresponding exactly with the notion which a heathen like Pliny would form of the Lord's Supper as it was described to him by the Christian confessors.

Bp. Lightfoot holds that so late as the time of IGNATIUS, the Love-feast and the Lord's Supper were still held together, so that the customs of Antioch or Smyrna differed from those of Pontus and Bithynia. For this opinion he gives careful and scholarly reasons. (See Vols. I.-387, II.-313.) Canon Little "ventures to differ" for the really ludicrous "reason" that

"It seems to me that the order of the words insists on the need of the bishop's sanction for three rites: (1) the Eucharist, (2) Baptism, (3) the Agapè. (p. 94.)"

The fact being that these "three" and their "order" are taken from the spurious Ignatius, and *do not exist in the genuine epistle*, as Lightfoot points out (II.-314). Up to this date, then, we find no hint of the alleged "horror of the primitive Church." TERTULLIAN is mis-rendered by Canon Little as saying "before all *other* food," whereas he said "before every meal." The distributive force of "omnis" has been overlooked, though carefully pointed out by Bp. Tully Kingdon, a member of the E. C. U., in his learned book on *Fasting Communion*, p. 203. (Longmans.) The reference is not to any public celebration in church, but to a private self-administration of the consecrated wine which was then taken home by such communicants as chose to do so.

CYPRIAN, the next writer (*longo intervallo*), blamed the Aquarians for substituting water at their earlier communions. He justly disallowed their excuse for thus tampering with the cup in the forenoon on the pretext that they nevertheless retained the use of wine at their Evening Communions, when the Saviour's example was literally followed. But Cyprian does not blame this latter practice at all, as Bingham pointed out long ago. (*Antiq.*, b. xv. c. vii. 8.) Canon Little has altered the words of Cyprian in order to give some colour to an opposite opinion. He translates:—

"It did behove Christ to offer about the evening of the day, that

the very hour itself of *Sacrament* [*sacrificii*] might shew the setting and evening of the world. But we celebrate the resurrection of the Lord in the morning."

Here is a double dealing. The little substitution of "Sacrament" for "Sacrifice" is concealed by suppressing entirely (without hint of any omission) the latter half of the first sentence which runs on—

"as it is written in Exodus: 'And all the people of the synagogue of the children of Israel shall kill in the evening.' (Exod. xii.-6.) And again in the Psalms: 'Let the lifting up of my hands be an evening sacrifice.'"

The words thus left out by Canon Little, if retained, would have betrayed the unwarrantable change of sacrifice into "Sacrament." Cyprian's apologetic remark, "We celebrate the resurrection of the Lord in the Morning," was really beside the question, since it is the Death, (*not* the resurrection, nor the Ascension,) which is commemorated in the Lord's Supper. The body *as* "broken," and as being "given" to God, the blood *as* "shed" and "poured out unto a remission of sins"; these were the things brought before the eyes and minds of the worshippers by a rite "ordained by Christ Himself for the continual remembrance of the Sacrifice of the DEATH," as the Catechism teaches.

GREGORY of Nazianzum is quoted (p. 90), as though he taught otherwise; but again unfairly. Contrasting points of detail in which the Church did not, and could not, exactly do what the Saviour did, Gregory said:—

"He celebrates the mystery of the Passover with His disciples in an upper chamber, and after Supper, and the day before the Passion; but we in houses of prayer, and BEFORE SUPPER, and after His resurrection. He rose again the third day, we after a long time."

It will be seen that there is here no attempt to shift the doctrinal symbolism of the Eucharist from "the Passion" to the resurrection; and that a custom of communicating "before Supper" by no means proves the alleged "horror" of Evening Communions.

Canon Little has the hardihood to suggest (p. 96) that St. Paul meant "the Lord's breakfast" by the words *deipnon Kuriakon!* If he would but turn to Luke xiv.-12 he would see that this transfer has been estopped, by the contrast of the two

words “*ariston*” (breakfast) and “*deipnon*” (Supper). The New Testament usage is fixed by internal evidence, and cannot be upset by the opinions or usage of late writers of late Greek like Chrysostom.

CHRYSOSTOM indeed is free from the fanaticism on this subject of certain modern Rabbis. Thus he says :—

“ He who is not fasting, if he approach with a clear conscience, keeps the passover, whether he receive the communion to-day or to-morrow, or whenever he does.” (*apud Kingdon*, p. 275.)

He thought it of far more urgency to fast *after* receiving than before it. He says expressly :—

“ Yet, indeed, it is not of equal importance to fast before and after, for indeed you ought to be temperate at both times, *but especially after.*” (*Ibid.* p. 268.)

And the peculiar necessity for the then existing practice is shewn by the brutal habits of these “ primitive ” (?) Christians as described by Chrysostom. Again and again he complains publicly of their scandalous rowdyism in church. In his 36th Homily on 1 Cor. he says :—

“ Here (in church) the disturbance is great, the confusion is great, and there is no difference from a tavern. The laughter, the noise is as great as it is in the baths, or in the agora, all crying out and bellowing.”

In another sermon he describes the approaching communicants as “ kicking each other, and pushing their neighbours.” In another, as “ pushing, kicking, crying out with noise and shouting.” In another, as “ kicking, beating, full of anger, shouting, reviling, pushing your neighbours, filled to the full with disturbance.” Even on the evening of Good Friday, he says :—

“ I see this evening many making a disturbance, shouting, pushing each other about, jumping, reviling . . . When we are contending, when we are making a disturbance, when we are snarling at each other, how shall we be without sins ? ”

Worse than this, these “ primitive ” communions, preceded by the strictest fasting, were habitually followed by drunkenness. Chrysostom says : “ When does this happen ? *Always* indeed, and especially at festivals.” (*Kingdon*, p. 268.)

Is it wonderful that with such a low and debased type of Christian practice, the preacher should have strained a point to protect the Lord’s table from profanation ? But does it follow

that we are bound by the rules which Chrysostom himself shews to have proved a conspicuous failure when most sternly insisted upon? The alleged "horror of Evening Communion" was unaccompanied by any horror of the grossest profanities such as have no counterpart among ourselves.

SOCRATES, the historian, is the last of the "fathers" alleged by Canon Little, and evidently at second hand, for he gravely quotes "partake of the mysteries when they have already had their breakfast (*ἡριστηκότες ἥδη*)" (p. 98), words which *do not exist in Socrates at all*. He adopts also the words "contrary to the custom of Christians" without so much as noticing Bp. Kingdon's reasons for regarding the "of Christians" as an interpolation. (*Kingdon*, p. 327, note.) None of the writers who refer to this Egyptian custom mention it as blameworthy. (*Kingdon*, p. 327, note. *Dimock* in *Churchman*, Vol. XIII., p. 423.) Nor does Timothy, Abp. of Alexandria, treat the then customary fast as being required by any apostolic authority. Of AUGUSTINE and the African canons it would be long to discuss, but the summary of Bp. Kingdon (after an exhaustive and careful analysis of both) may suffice to refute Canon Little's inferences. That Bishop says:—

"The testimony then of St. Augustine is the same as that we find elsewhere: that the first introduction of a rule restraining from celebrating those who had not [? sic] taken the prandium or heavy meal of the forenoon was at the Council of Hippo. In the case of fasting communion we can trace the institution to a council; therefore it lacks Apostolic authority. The Council of Carthage in the fifth century, the Council of Mâcon in the sixth century, and Joannes Phurnes in the twelfth century, trace the custom to the African canons of Hippo: nor can Baronius discover any earlier authority." (*Kingdon*, p. 324.)

In short, gluttony and drunkenness being the crying sins of the (so-called) "primitive church," the rule of fasting Communion was an effort to cast out Beelzebub by asceticism. And the same rule applied for the same reason to our own country. The ANGLO-SAXON CANON of A.D. 994 says:—

"It is a very evil custom which some men practise, both on Sundays and other mass days: that they will hear Mass early in the morning, and then presently all the day after serve their own belly, not God, by drunkenness and junketing. Now, We command that no man taste any meat till the service of the HIGH-mass be finished; and that all women as well as men assemble themselves to High

Mass, and to the Holy Ghostly Church, and there hear HIGH-MASS and *the preaching of God's Word.*" (Johnson's *Canons*, I.-478.)

Thus, as in the time of Chrysostom, the fast *after* Communion was of obligation, and Canon Little is bound by his own authorities to fast always *till after the sermon at the mid-day Communion*, and to require his people to do the same. Does he do this? If not, why not?

HEARING MASS.

The plausible term "Eucharistic worship" has been invented to conceal what is really meant. Canon Little means "objective worship" (p. 125) of the Sacrament. The *Te Deum* is "eucharistic worship" of the most typical kind, yet is not at all what he is contemplating. He admits, indeed (p. 109), that "the deep meaning and real comfort and joy of such a practice is not reached if men do not hold the Catholic doctrine of the Eucharistic Sacrifice," i.e. the sacrifice of the Mass, for denying which the compilers of our Liturgy were burned at the stake. In "hearing Mass," he says, men "associate themselves with the one sacrifice" (p. 22); whereas, if non-communicants leave at the end of the ante-Communion service they lose "the chance of offering the great oblation" (p. 132). It seems, the words "these our oblations", in the Prayer for the Church Militant, are little accounted of by Canon Little.

He says, "Let us admit that in the first days there may have been no succession of early Communions;" thus recognising that "frequent celebrations" on the same day, and that multiplied "altars" (now so fashionable with the crypto-Roman school) had no precedents in "primitive" times.

He is half inclined to adopt the suggestion that the Antiochene canons which excommunicated those who did not "remain for the holy *reception*" might mean "remain *during* the celebration"; which is about as fair as to say that the words "thou shalt not kill" may mean "thou shalt." But on this he wisely does not insist (p. 127). He prefers to rest his case on the pretext that those who hear Mass are "joining in the worship which Christ appointed for the divine family" (p. 116), are "commemorating before God the Passion [resurrection?] of our Lord" (p. 120), and are "joining in the Church's great service" (p. 124).

All Sundays
fast-days till
after noon!

Let us assume for the moment that this is true. Then it follows from Canon Little's previous argument that everybody who "hears Mass" must do so *without having previously taken food*. For the general principle laid down (p. 86) is that "Fasting is taught in Holy Scripture as a devotional *duty*, and as a fitting preparation for *solemn occasions*." If so, the coming into the immediate presence of a deified wafer with the view of paying to It "objective worship," and thereby of joining in the Church's highest service, to say nothing of offering "It" as a sacrifice with untold effect upon the Divine mind, must needs render fasting obligatory.

The COUNCIL OF AUXERRE (A.D. 578) enacted that "it is not lawful for priest, or deacon, or sub-deacon, after he has taken food or drink, to handle the Mass, nor to stay in church while *Mass is being said*." (Labbe and Coss, v.-956.) The Anglo-Saxon canon above cited (p. 28) covers the same ground. Without importing that element of "detestable materialism," which he has been careful to keep out of sight in his pamphlet, Canon Little can hardly escape from obeying this "devout" and "spiritual" rule of hearing Mass on an empty stomach, and of fasting till after the mid-day sermon.

Canon Little tries to get rid of the adverse testimony of Chrysostom who denounced those who stayed without communicating. He suggests that Chrysostom's non-communicants were in "a careless mood" (p. 129), whereas Canon Little's mass-hearers are to a man devout. But that is not what Chrysostom either said or meant. He urged that the very fact of their non-communicating stamped them as unfit for participation *in the service*. CHYSOSTOM said:—

"Art thou not worthy of the sacrifice, nor of the communion? Then neither art thou of the prayer . . thou hast declared thyself to be one of the worthy, by not having departed with the unworthy. Why dost thou remain, and not partake of the table? I am unworthy, he says. Then art thou unworthy also of that communion which there is in the prayers" (Hom. iii. in Ep. ad Ephes. § 4).

Waterland observes on this—

"But what Chrysostom meant was, that it was very absurd and even downright impudent for a man to claim a right to stand by, all the while that the communion was administered, and to join in those most sacred and mystical prayers and hymns which were *proper to it*,

and at the same time to pretend that he was not worthy of it.”
(Works, iv.-790.)

Canon Little affects to doubt whether in England before the Hearing Mass Reformation the practice of hearing mass was accompanied by a substitute for Com-habitual and general abstention from the Lord’s table (p. 118). munion. But on that point we have the testimony of Cardinal Pole and the Devon Rebels on the one side, and of Cranmer and his Chaplain on the other, who knew at first hand the actual facts. Their evidence is given in full in our Tract 87 on “Hearing Mass,”* but we may add also the testimony of BRADFORD, who when he was “about to be offered” said “they forbid utterly the use of the Supper to all but their shavelings, except it be *once a year*, and then also the cup they take from us” (*Works, i.-395*). Bp. BONNER in 1554 testifies that for lack of the Communion the ‘holy bread’ which had been abolished by Cranmer “is now given men to understand that they should have done the other, and for *lack of the same* do now receive this for memory thereof” (*Scudamore, Not. Euch. 892*).

In that same *Tract 87* we have grappled with the mis-statement (p. 134) that “not the smallest hint does the Prayer Book give between the break Ante Com- that anyone is to go out in the middle of the service.” Nothing munion Service could excuse such a really illiterate statement. The rubric Administra-requiring communicants to be “conveniently placed” seems also tion. to Canon Little to imply that non-communicants must be inconveniently placed, or else dealt with in some other unexplained way! The history of that rubric is detailed in our Tract 192, “*The chancels shall remain as they have done*,”* and need not now be further discussed. Suffice it to say that Canon Little does not appear to possess the smallest glimmer of information on the subject.

He suggests that the Communion Service is itself constructed for the use of non-communicants!

“The service suits *both* classes—those who then and there communicate, and those who are engaged in Eucharistic Worship. For example, the Prayer of Humble Access suits any communion—for a faithful Christian AS WELL AS THE COMMUNION MADE AT THAT MOMENT” (p. 134).

* Published by J. F. Shaw. Price one penny.

Communion service intended for non-communicants.

On this view, "come to this Thy table" and "grant us so to eat and drink," mean—may *some day* "come", and may *some day* "eat," and the rubric "when all have communicated" means—when a few have communicated! He says, "The Prayer of Oblation offers petition for those who communicate and for those who sacrifice:" i.e. that those who "offer their souls and bodies" are a distinct class from the communicants! Lastly, he says, "If the Thanksgiving be used, it suits all who communicate at any time,"—whereas it expressly relates to "us who have duly received."

Such transparent sophistry can deceive no one who does not wish to be deceived. It is like Canon Little's further pretence that the letter of the rubric is departed from only by "the common sense of the Church" (p. 87), whenever a ritualist violates its plain command "there shall be *no* celebration . . except there be three (or two at the least) of the people to communicate with the priest."

To a loyal churchman, on the other hand, it would seem the plain dictate of duty, and a test of fidelity, to refuse to prostitute the Holy Communion to any other use than that prescribed by Christ's "institution and promise," which forbade all non-communicants to be present. "Drink ye ALL," was the Divine command, and not even a Judas dared to disobey it, except by departing. Men have sought under an inspiration which is not "from above" to bury the Sacrament with the dead, to store it under the altar, to hang it up in a pyx or shut it up in a "tabernacle", to elevate it for worship, to anoint with it their eyes and organs of sense,* to bow down to it, to light candles in front of it, and carry both about in processions, to offer it as a sham "sacrifice" for the living and the dead. Nevertheless, the "institution and promise of Christ" belong *only* to the faithful communicant, and give no jot or tittle of sanction to the pseudo—"Catholic" idolatries and abuses which Canon Little is now seeking to popularise.

* "If any moisture is *yet* on your lips, touch this with your hands, and hallow both your eyes and your forehead, and the rest of your organs of sense."—Cyril of Jerusalem, *Mystical Catechism*, v.-22.

PART III.

THE REAL PRESENCE AND THE EUCHARISTIC SACRIFICE.

CANON LITTLE's first step is to misrepresent the teaching of his opponents. He says (p. 139) whatever presence they may seem to admit—

"It is not *extra usum*; it is not, in fact, there at all, unless you receive in faith. The fact of the presence—if Presence it can be called—depends on *your* act and condition, *not* on the Lord's act and promise."

The fallacy of the statement lies partly in the word "there," but especially in the last seven words of the sentence.

(1) "There" is always an adverb of place: it means "in that PLACE." But the Church of England has ruled in "the black rubric" that the body of Christ which "*is in heaven*," is *not "HERE."*"

"Not Here."

(2) If we substitute the word "AND" for "not" in the last line of the sentence we at once evacuate the second fallacy. All Protestants are agreed that there can be no sacramental "presence" outside the appointed *Use* of the sacrament; because all "promises" are *relative* to persons, and the "Institution" of Christ was designed solely for their benefit. Yet Canon Little repeats the same misrepresentation at p. 147, saying, "Whatever communion there is, has really *nothing to do with* that" bread; and again, "Calvinism asserts that sacraments are tokens of grace received *independently of them*" (p. 233). These statements are absolutely unwarranted. Bp. Thirlwall, a thinker more profound than Canon Little, pointed out long ago, that—

"If the change wrought in the elements by consecration was *purely relative*, and if we hold with Hooker that 'the real presence of Christ's most blessed body and blood is not to be sought for in the sacrament, but in the worthy receiver of the sacrament,' *still the presence would not be the less objective*. It would not be the work of the receiver, but would be brought about 'through the power of the Holy Ghost' imparting to believing souls the benefits signified by the communion of Christ's body and blood." (*Charge*, 1869, p. 56.)

There is nothing new in all this. Canon Little's fellow-

religionists raised precisely the same objection at the time of the Reformation, and were answered by Bradford, the martyr—

Neither “reception” nor “consecration” cause the presence.

“The receiving maketh not the presence : but God’s grace, truth, and power is the cause of the presence, which grace the wicked that lack faith cannot receive. . . This is a promise depending upon condition, if we take, and eat.” (Foxe, *Act. and Mon.* VII.-163. Compare Philpot’s *Writings*, P.S. p. 95.)

“Consecration” means simply the setting apart by the Church of certain portions of “matter” appointed to the use of faithful communicants ; the promises attached “by Christ himself” to their faithful use being in no wise shared by non-communicants, or by the “wicked, and such as be void of a lively faith.”

Against this view, the counter-statement of Canon Little, given at p. 149, is—

“that in the Holy Sacrament of the altar, after consecration by an episcopally ordained priest, there is, apart from the faith or unfaith of those who are present, the real presence of the body and blood of Christ, His Soul and Divinity to be adored and loved of all His faithful people *under the form of bread and wine.*”

Or, as it stated with more nakedly avowed Rationalism, (p. 140) “there is the real presence of the body and blood of the Lord—THEREFORE of Himself, His Soul and Divinity—under the form of bread and wine.”

This, which is no part of the Divine Revelation, is a mere product of human logic irrationally employed. The Little theory has no warrant in God’s Word. Christ taught us, on the contrary, to regard the bread and wine, separately consecrated, and separately consumed, as symbols of His human nature *in the very act of dying*, the “Blood *being** outpoured (*ἐκχυνόμενον*),” the Body *being** “given” in sacrificial Death to God (*διδόμενον*). His human Soul was thus made to be also “an offering for sin”—but His deathless Divinity had no part whatever in the symbolism of the sacrament. The Liturgy of S. Chrysostom expresses that separation of the constituent parts of Christ’s compound Manhood by saying—

“In the grave as touching Thy body, in Hades with Thy soul (*μετὰ ψυχῆς*) as God, in Paradise with the thief, Thou didst subsist (*ὑπῆρχες*) in Heaven as on a throne, O Christ, with the Father and the

* Present participles being used in both cases.

Holy Ghost, the Uncircumscribed, filling all things." (Freeman's *Principles of Divine Service*, II.-150. Hammond, 90.)

Not until the resurrection were these temporarily sundered constituents of Christ's *human* nature reunited: their separation constituting the very essence of what we know as "Death."

Canon Little protects his understanding from the force of this consideration, by persistently misquoting "the words of Consecration," as he chooses to call them. No fewer than seventeen times does he repeat, "This is My body," or "This is My blood," as though that were what Christ actually said! Is it any wonder that he should misunderstand a revelation of which he thus garbles the very terms? What our Lord predicated of the bread was *not* that it was "His body," but His body *as* "in the very act of being given" to God *for* the recipients. *Not*, that the wine was His blood, but His blood *as* in the very act of "being outpoured *for* them unto a remission of sins." That is a widely different affirmation, excluding as it does the glorified humanity of Christ altogether. The DEATH, and the Death *alone* (with the benefits which flow from it), is "the thing signified," or "inward part" of the sacrament.

"If," says Bp. Andrewes, "an host could be turned into Him now glorified as He is, *it would not serve*; Christ offered it is—thither we must look. To the serpent lift up—thither we must repair, even *ad cadaver*." (Sermon VII.)

Incidentally we are told (p. 140) "that certain motions of the 'Manual hands (or 'manual acts,' as we say) have been required," and "Acts" not essential, but that "in every celebration, then, of the mysteries, the priest always uses the same words and acts, making the Memorial, before God, various of the great offering" (p. 229). This, again, is a purely man-made addition to the Revelation. Canon Little cannot find *any* manual acts by which an oblation was ever made, or by which "consecration" was supposed to be influenced in any way. Yet such assertions are necessary to his theory: for who could believe in a miraculous "consecration" or a priestly "oblation" of which nobody could say by what "acts" it was supposed to be effected?

He has the hardihood to state (p. 227) that in the Prayer

* The sacrificial meaning of "given" is seen in Matt. xx.-28, Gal. i.-4, 1 Tim. ii.-6, Titus ii.-14.

"Oblation" of for the Church Militant "the elements of bread and wine . . . elements not permitted. are offered": not knowing that this is precisely what the Church of England has been careful to prevent. It was proposed indeed, in 1661, to say "the priest shall then OFFER up and place the bread and wine" (Parker, *Hist. Revision*, p. 200), but this was struck out by the "sacred Synod," after due deliberation, although the alms are still directed to be "presented." This latter direction, it will be observed, was *not* extended to the bread and wine, lest the Knox-Little misrepresentation should appear to find some colour. The word "oblations" had for centuries before been the well-known legal description of gifts to the use of the Church, and it was retained in that sense in 1661. The Scotch Liturgy of 1637, from which the phrase was directly borrowed, ordered these "oblations" to be received and brought to the Presbyter in a "bason." (Keeling, p. 186.)

Canon Little repeats the very arguments employed four hundred years ago by Bp. Gardiner and by Harding the Jesuit, as to the "spiritual" presence of Christ's human body. Like them, he takes refuge in certain supposed alterations which that body underwent *after* its resurrection. By "spiritual body" he understands a body,* which had lost the properties of matter and acquired those of spirit. Hence, he talks of "the astonishing properties of His sacred body" (p. 156), and alleges that "Christ is present in the sacrament only in substance, and substance does not require or imply *the occupation of place*" (p. 204); it is "according to the laws of a spiritual body" (p. 201) "spiritwise" (p. 205). Yet Canon Little has subscribed the Fourth Article of Religion, and he is aware that spiritual means *not*

* Christ's body, even from birth, was *always* a "spiritual body," i.e. a body under the complete control of the "spirit," or higher part of man's nature. St. Paul contrasts with it the "psychical body" of fallen man ($\sigma\tilde{\omega}\mu\alpha\psi\chi\kappa\iota\nu$), or body under the control of the Psychè, i.e. animal emotions, shewing that a "spiritual" body must in every sinner's case supersede the other, though not by any loss of the sinner's identity. Christ's body—which is now in heaven, and shall so come in like manner as it was seen to go—is still a "natural body." See "black rubric," and the Fourth Article of Religion. There is not, and there never was any other body of Christ than this. The Church of England never speaks of the bodily eating a "spiritual body," but always of the "spiritual eating" Christ's *natural* body, viz. by faith.

A "Spiritual Body" is not a Spirit-like body.

corporeal (p. 146). To illustrate this, he himself asks whether solid bodies are one whit “more real than a living *soul*, a splendid *character*, a trial of deep and penetrating *sorrow*” (p. 151). He sums up (p. 159)—

“Our most real and important part is our spiritual and immortal nature. Angels are spirits, but they are as real as we are, if the Bible and the Church speak true. St. Paul himself says, ‘there is a natural body and there is a spiritual body’; and the presence of our Lord’s sacred body and blood is, of course, according to the laws of spiritual substances, not according to the laws of materialistic things.”

If the reader will try to clear up his own ideas as to what all this verbiage amounts to, he will find on reflection that it is, in the strictest sense of the word, “non-sense.” To speak of a “spiritual body,” in Canon Little’s sense, is as absolutely unmeaning as to talk of a “solid liquid,” a “black white,” a “square circle,” or any other contradiction in terms. What has an organic human body in common with a “soul,” or a “character,” or a “sorrow” (to adopt his own illustrations), which can enable the word “presence” to be used of it in the same sense? Canon Little insists again and again that the body of Christ is “there,” and yet that it does “not occupy place.”* On which Bp. Taylor observes:—

“I wish these words were sense, and that I could tell the “Super-local” meaning of being in a place locally and not locally, unless a thing can be in a place and not in a place, that is so to be *in*, that it is either means local, or is non also out: but so long as it is a distinction it is no matter; it will amuse and make a way to *escape*, if it will do nothing else.” (*Real Presence*, xi., sec. 21.)

True, we are assured this is a “mystery”: but then a *revealed* “mystery” is always intelligible, even when it is inexplicable: or else it could not be a subject of revelation at all. No direct self-contradiction is ever proposed to us in Scripture; nor is faith ever insisted upon to an uprooting of the laws both of reason and of language. By substituting the “resurrection body” (which was not even hinted at in the Institution of the Supper) for “the dying of the Lord Jesus,” Canon Little is

* “A local presence would mean a limited presence, circumscribed by dimensions and *confined to one place*,” says Mr. Hall (p. 19). But the presence of a body *in* a place is necessarily “local,” whether it be “confined to that one place,” or common to myriads of other localities.

enabled to bring in certain inferences of his own, derived from the miracles wrought in that body *after* Jesus had risen again. Miracles, not less wonderful had, however, been wrought in that same body *before* His death: and it is only by the trustworthiness of the evidence of the senses as to the physical properties of that body, that we can possibly have any certainty of the truth of the Incarnation, the Resurrection, or the Ascension. It is but playing therefore into the hands of infidels, to say that "the hearing *alone* may well be believed" to the disregard of the combined testimony of the other four senses. Our Tract 94 on "*The doctrine of 'spiritual presence' as taught by the Ritualists,*" deals with every single point raised in this "Answer." It may suffice therefore now to quote Bp. Jeremy Taylor, who dissolves the Little sophism by a few words of common sense.

He says (*Real Presence*, Sec. I.-8, Works (Eden.) VI.-17):—

"By *spiritually* they mean 'present after the manner of a spirit': by *spiritually* we mean 'present to our spirits only';* that is, so as Christ is not present to any other sense but that of faith, or spiritual susception; but their way makes His Body to be present no way but that which is impossible, and implies a contradiction: a body not after the manner of a body: a body like a spirit: a body without a body; and a sacrifice of body and blood, without blood: *corpus incorporeum, crux incruentus*" (i.e. a bodiless body, bloodless blood).

Thus they change the "spiritual eating" of a Body, into the *bodily* eating of a Spirit! Bp. Morley (who, as one of the last Revisers of the Prayer Book procured the re-insertion of "the Black rubric" at the end of the Communion Service) observes:—

"A Body cannot be a body and no body, as it must be if it were a spirit; and nothing can have the presence or propriety of a spirit but a Spirit, and, consequently, nothing can be anywhere as a spirit but a Spirit."† ("Vindication of the Argument from sense," 1683, p. 26.)

The dying body of our Lord, or rather its constituent elements

* In the "Liturgia sacra, seu ritus ministerii in ecclesiâ peregrinorum," published at Frankfort in 1554, by the English Marian exiles, we read, page 21, "Spiritualiter, hoc est, mentibus nostris revera exhiberi" corpus.

† "His body, though real and substantial, is so raised into the spiritual sphere that *whole Christ is Spirit*." (Hall's *Ritualists and the Reformation*, p. 34.) This is, of course, formal heresy, and a repudiation of the Fourth Article of Religion.

The special
"presence"
of an Omnipresent
Being means
His special
relation to a
person.

in a state of separation one from the other, does not now exist. The "Victim" anywhere in heaven or on earth, for "Death hath no more dominion over Him." Not even a miracle could reproduce these conditions.

things, "for it was *not possible* that He should be holden" in the "victim state."* Yet a *literal* acceptance of our Lord's words pledges us to regard the sacramental symbols as "being," in some sense, that *broken body* and *shed blood*. Only two senses, however, are even conceivable.

(1) They are symbols, called by the name of that which they symbolise (as is the customary usage of Holy Scripture), or in what sense is bread the "Body"?

(2) They are channels appointed to convey (to those who use them aright) the blessings purchased by "the sacrifice of the Death of Christ."

These two theories are not mutually exclusive, for all those who hold the second admit the first also. Nothing can exceed, however, the scorn and contempt with which Canon Little speaks of both alike. They are to his "mind, hardly deserving the attention of a serious man" (p. 140), "miserable subterfuges" (p. 158), involve an "immoral use of language" (p. 171), "in a land of shadows indeed" (p. 215). "For consider, according to this, to receive the body and blood is after all *only to receive grace*" [sic] (p. 157).

So unreal is his conviction of the "reality" of that which is truly "spiritual"!

On the other hand, he tells us "here is a cleansing of body and soul, through CONTACT with the blessed Body" (p. 198). In Christ's promise, "I will come to you," the words "have a wide fulfilment, because they have a special fulfilment in the great mystery" (p. 161)—i.e. no presence of Christ to His people exists except as a result of that real contact with His body supposed to be peculiar to the Mass!

To shew that this "real" presence exists quite irrespectively of the state of mind of the receiver, he urges (p. 151) :—

"Apply such a notion to ordinary life. 'I am coming, dear friend, to visit you. If you are kind and good-tempered, and glad to receive me on my ARRIVAL, I shall be there; if not, I am not present.'

* The "lamb as it had been slain" (Rev. v. 6) must not be confounded with a lamb in the act of being slain. The tense is the same as in Rev. vi.-9, xviii.-24, and the context shows that the Lamb is "alive for ever more."

Protestants, however, do *not* "visit" Christ, in either of His sacraments: they expect and await the Heavenly Visitor to their own souls in fulfilment of His own "Institution and Promise" (Article xxvi.), which, like all His promises, relates *only* to "men of good will." When Canon Little talks therefore (p. 208) of "finding ourselves *before* the Holy Sacrament in the very presence of Divine Compassion" he is using language which in no way belongs to the idea of "a Sacrament." For a "Sacrament" is, by the very terms of its definition, the vehicle of "*an inward and spiritual grace*"; yet is it in *no* sense an idol, or a shrine within which is contained or "presented" to us the Personal object of worship. His inability to grasp the simple Church of England view is illustrated by the really flippant remark (p. 153):

"Nothing in the world can be imagined more unlikely to remind you of the sufferings and death of *a good man* than eating bread and drinking wine! I can't imagine—on this half-believing theory—anything more inappropriate for its supposed purpose, than the sacrament. Christ is nailed up to a cross as a malefactor, and—according to this most strange hypothesis—we Christians, in order to remember this fact, kneel down and eat bread and drink wine! Could anything be more entirely inappropriate?"

Two remarks are obviously suggested. First, that the intention of the Church is not to commemorate the death of a "good man," but to ensure the "continual remembrance of the sacrifice of the death" of the Divine victim. Now the usage of sacrificial rites is well known, viz. to have an

"Eating and drinking" not after the oblation had been accepted, and had ceased to be offered, in token of renewed amity between the god so worshipped, and the communicant (1 Cor. x.). Had Canon Little known his Bible better, this "strange" custom, as he calls it, would have seemed to him the most natural sequel. He would have recalled to mind the words "Christ our Passover *hath been* sacrificed for us"—1800 years ago—"THEREFORE let us be keeping (again and again) the sacrificial 'feast'" (1 Cor. v.-8). Or again, he might have recollect ed how St. Paul connects the "shewing the Lord's death" not with any "words" or "acts" performed upon an altar, but with "eating and drinking" (1 Cor. xi.-26)—those very ceremonies which Mr. Knox Little pronounces so "entirely inappropriate." He twice misquotes the "shewing the Lord's

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death" as a "shewing it *forth* before God" (pp. 210, 212), although the very form of the word (*καταγγέλλετε*) seems intended to exclude any thought of a "shewing" to Godward. (See Marriott's *Grinfield Lectures*, p. 205.)

Canon Little declares (p. 154) that the sixth chapter of St. St. John vi. John, makes "mention of the blessed sacrament" which it notoriously does not: that ordinance not having then been instituted, and the words "*whoso eateth this bread shall live for ever,*" and "*shall never die,*" being obviously inapplicable to any merely sacramental eating. The fact that our Lord used the phrases "*believe in,*" and "*come to,*" *as well as* "*eat and drink,*" in that chapter, as each of them conveying "*eternal life,*" is a witness that those expressions were equivalent in meaning: a revelation not of three *alternative* methods of gaining "*life,*" any one of which might be selected, but a description under diverse figures of one and the same thing: a teaching, moreover, which was to be acted on a twelvemonth or so before *any* sacrament "ordained by Christ himself" even existed.

It is contended (p. 201), that the Church of England uses a phrase "at the end of the First book of the Homilies 'Of the due receiving of the blessed body and blood *under the form of bread and wine*'"; evidently without knowing that this First book dates, with the exception of but one Homily, from 1542, when the Six Articles Act made any denial of Transubstantiation punishable with death.* One of those homilies was written by "bloody" Bonner, another by Archdeacon Harpsfield, who also sat repeatedly as Inquisidor during the Marian persecutions. Any language dating from that period would not be evidence of the present belief of the Church, even if it occurred in the Homilies themselves, which, in this case, it does not. It appears merely at the end as a Notice of a Homily which in 1542 it had been intended to set forth. In fact, no such Homily ever saw the light. A Homily "intituled" quite differently was substituted for it in 1563, the teaching of which is, of course, utterly opposed to that of Canon Little. Herein he does but copy once more from Bp. Gardiner, to whom Cranmer replied at the time—

"As concerning the form of doctrine used by this Church of

* This Act had not been repealed when the book was published on July 31st, 1547, with a Preface directing them "to be read at High Mass." This was retained in the edition of 1548, but changed to "the Holy Communion" in the edition of 1549. See Dibdin's "Ames," III.-456, Foxe, A. and M., VI.-41.

England in the Holy Communion, that the body of Christ be *under the forms of bread and wine*, when you shall show the place where this form of words is expressed, then shall you purge yourself of that which meantime I take to be a plain untruth." (Answer to Gardiner, p. 53. Compare Ridley's *Works*, p. 196.)*

Second-hand
mis-state-
ments
retailed.

A series of crude mis-statements is copied from Sir Robert Phillimore's Judgment in the Bennett case, which Canon Little has not even taken the pains to verify. After quoting, as above, the words "under the form of bread," he says—

"In the Six Articles [Act] a direct statement of Transubstantiation took their place. They do not appear in the *Necessary Erudition* of 1543."

Both these allegations are untrue, as was pointed out by Dr. Stephens more than twenty years ago. (Speech in *Sheppard v. Bennett*, pp. 34-36.) The words "and without the substance" interpolated into a pretended quotation from the Act, have also been re-inserted by Canon Little (p. 203). He is probably unaware that a denial of the "real" presence was regularly charged against the Marian martyrs as a separate count of their indictment before burning them at the stake. The "real" presence was rejected by all the speakers on the Protestant side in the Great Debate of December,† 1548, and its rejection was charged against them by all, or nearly all, who spoke on the anti-Reformation side. Bucer, whose influence in our Reformation has been variously estimated, but whose sacramental views were probably "higher" than those of any of our native Reformers, said, in 1549—

"Hence it is an abominable idol to entertain any notion of Christ as included in the bread itself, or in the form (*species*) of the bread: either in the use of the Supper, or without its use. For Christ said to His disciples, *not to the symbols*, 'take' and 'this is My body.' He did not say this of the bread, but of that which He gave to His disciples by bread as the sign of exhibition: as clearly appears by the words which follow,—'which is given,' &c." (Gorham's *Reformation Gleanings*, p. 105.)

"Real"
presence
within
elements was
rejected in
1548.

Article
XXVIII, and
the Council of
Trent.

In order to get rid of the express repudiation of "Transubstantiation" in our twenty-eighth Article, Canon Little chooses to imagine out of his own head that there was, in 1552, "some fancy which was gross and carnal; that after Consecration there

* Taverner's Postil for Easter Day was adopted in 1563 as our *Homily on the Resurrection*: but the words "our Saviour Christ, IN FORM OF BREAD" were altered by striking out the words in small capitals. Other significant changes are noted in *Church Intelligencer*, XI.-75.

† Published by J. F. Shaw, price 6d.

was *in no sense* any bread and wine, but only flesh and blood." The Article, he insists, "did not protest against the decree of Trent, and *for this very good reason*, that the Article was written before the decree of Trent"! (p. 181).

Is it possible that he can be ignorant that Transubstantiation had been enforced in England by name, and under death penalties, ever since the Council of Lateran in 1215? Or that he can fail to see that such a "fancy" as he gratuitously conjures up must have sent the victim of such hallucinations to a mad-house? No scintilla of evidence exists, or ever did exist, for such an inconceivable "fancy." The Trent decree on Transubstantiation was passed on October 11th, 1551 (only forty-four persons, by the way, being present), whereas our twenty-eighth Article was not published till May 20th, 1553.* (Compare Waterworth's *Canons and Decrees of Trent*, p. 82, with Hardwick's *Hist. Thirty-nine Art.*, pp. 81, 113.) What becomes, therefore, of his "very good reason"? If he will turn, moreover, to the Trent Catechism, he will find that the Tridentine doctrine (not "popular," but Official) is that "the bones, sinews, and all other things pertaining to the perfection of man, are here truly present together with Divinity," and that "the species of bread and wine exist in this sacrament *without a subject*," as "the accidents cannot inhere in the body and blood of Christ." (*Cat. Rom. II. iv.* pp. 31, 43.) The 35th Question also asserts that "after consecration, none of the substance of the matter of the sacrament remains." This official doctrine† of Trent, is precisely that which is explicitly condemned by our 28th Article. Moreover, a preceding Article (also dating from 1552), had declared that "they that receive the sacraments unworthily purchase to themselves damnation, as St. Paul saith." Therefore, the addition in 1562 of the 29th Article

* Cranmer wrote, March 20th, 1552: "Our adversaries are now holding their Council at Trent for the establishment of their errors . . . they are making decrees respecting the worship of the Host; wherefore we ought to leave no stone unturned that we may guard others against this idolatry." *Original Letters*, I.-24.

† Suarez is described by the Rev. G. B. Roberts, of the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament, as "not merely *the greatest of modern theologians*, but a canonist of the highest repute" (*Church Review*, September 14th, 1893). That learned Jesuit is at least a higher authority as to the Tridentine doctrine than Canon Little. He tells us "Sunt sub quilibet specie partes

could not possibly have been needed to proclaim the profitlessness of unworthy reception, as Canon Little supposes (p. 196).

Article XXIX. Notoriously, this 29th Article was invented for the express purpose of excluding alike the Lutheran and the Roman doctrines of a “real” (*i.e.* local) presence within the elements. It has, and can have, no other possible *raison d'être*. In the great Parliamentary Debate of 1548, *both* parties pivoted the controversy on this question, “What do the faithless receive in the Lord's Supper?” Those who answered, “the body of Christ,” stood pledged thereby to the so-called “real” (*i.e.* mechanical, or local) presence, and voted against the Prayer Book accordingly; those who said “in *no* wise are they partakers of Christ” thereby denied any such “presence.” That was why honest Bp. Cheny, being a Lutheran, refused to subscribe. That was why Q. Elizabeth struck out the 29th Article in 1563. And when in 1571 subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles was made compulsory by statute, the Lutherans retorted in 1577 by expressly condemning the doctrine of our 28th Article. The *Formula Concordiae* affirmed “that the body and blood of Christ are taken with the bread and wine, NOT *only after a spiritual manner by faith*, but also by the mouth;” and they formally condemned the doctrine “that the body of Christ is not taken in the Holy Supper *by the mouth* together with the bread, but that the bread and wine *only* are received by the mouth, and that the body of Christ is taken *after a spiritual manner only, namely, by faith.*” (*See Goode on Eucharist, ii.-648.*)

1 Cor. xi.-27. His own subscription to the last clause of the 25th Article should have taught Canon Little that in the judgment of the Church, 1 Cor. xi.-27, covers, in principle, *both* the sacraments. Yet he urges (p. 195) that—

“there could be no possible sin in not making such a distinction

omnes substantialiter integrantes Corpus Christi, eo modo conjunctae, qui ad perficiendum corpus humanum necesarium est . . et ideo capillos etiam habet, et barbam . . sunt denique cum sanguine reliqui humores. . . .” More horrible details follow, but they are too shockingly coarse for reproduction. (Vol. III., Diss. i., sec. 1, p. 632.) Yet nothing less than this would constitute a *literal* rendering of our Lord's words, *if* they ended, as Canon Little makes them end, with “this IS my body.” Matter does not become “Spiritual” by being attenuated, or by ceasing to be cognisable by the senses.

between the body of the Lord and all *other* food if the body of the Lord be not *there*!"

He forgets that he had already admitted on the preceding page that such a communicant "might be ungodly, or sacrilegious, or profane, or irreverent"—which are surely "possible sins" at such a time and in such a connection? St. Paul's words are, "Ye tell of the Death of the Lord, *so that* (*ὡτε*) whosoever partaketh unworthily is guilty of an offence against the body and blood of the Lord." The *commemorative* character of the rite is assigned as the very ground of the offence. Even if the rite were merely symbolical (much more if it be a "communion of the body," *as* sacrificed "for" sin on Calvary), this "condemnation" would hold every whit as truly as though that Body were located "in the hands." Nay, the inference has been drawn, quite as plausibly, the other way—

"Have we not here a distinct and most remarkable intimation from St. Paul that to confound the material bread with any objective presence of Christ's body, to fail in *discerning* between that bread objectively present and the body of the Lord which [as in the act of dying] can only be mentally, spiritually, and subjectively present, is, by materializing spiritual things, to eat and drink judgment to ourselves?" (Macnaught, *Cœna Domini*, p. 89.)

The teaching of the Catechism is set aside by Canon Little, who (in spite of its definition that a sacrament has in its ideal always "two parts," one of which is always a "Spiritual grace") gives to the Lord's Supper *three* (p. 193). He insists that a body "cannot be taken and received which is not *there*" (p. 192), in which case the "death unto sin and the new birth" must also be "there," viz. *in* the water lying unused in the baptismal font! As has been well said :

"The 'giving,' 'taking,' and 'eating' the [natural] body of Christ are only heavenly and spiritual;

- "(1) Given by God, *not* by the priest.
- "(2) Taken by faith, *not* by the hand.
- "(3) Eaten by the soul, *not* by the mouth.

"And therefore the Article adds : 'The mean [medium quo] whereby the Body of Christ is received and eaten in the Supper is *faith*.'"

Lastly, we find revived (p. 198) the old fallacy that the "So" to eat words "So to eat the flesh of Thy dear Son," necessarily imply that unbelievers or mice may also "eat" the same flesh.

Mr. Dimock observes, with just irony, that on this same principle of interpretation—"Our Prayer Book must be held to teach plainly that it must be possible—

"(1) That our heavenly Father may *so* assist us by his grace that we may *not* 'continue in that holy fellowship.'

"(2) That the ministers and stewards of Christ's mysteries may *so* prepare Christ's way . . . that at His second coming we may *not* be found an acceptable people.

"(3) That we may be *so* joined together in unity of spirit . . . as *not* to be made an holy temple.

"(4) That we may *so* follow God's blessed saints . . . that we may *not* come to the joys, &c.

"(5) That we may *so* faithfully serve God . . . that we *may* fail to attain His promise.

"(6) That God would *so* vouchsafe to send His blessing . . . that they may *not* obey His will.

"(7) That God would *so* turn His anger . . . that we may *not* live with Him in the world to come.

"(8) That we may be *so* led in the knowledge and obedience of God's Word . . . that we *may not* obtain everlasting life."

With like cogency, Canon Little adds (p. 198)—

"If we pray '*so*' to partake of His body and blood that the effect may be blessed, it is evident that it may be partaken of in *another* way."

Let the reader apply this argument, *mutatis mutandis*, to the above eight passages, and he will see "with how little wisdom" this "Answer" has been written.

THE EUCHARISTIC SACRIFICE.

Old Testa-
ment types of
sacrifice mis-
represented.

In twenty-three pages Canon Little expounds his doctrine of the Mass. His qualifications for the task may be judged from the fact that he thinks that on the Day of Atonement the bullock was killed "in the holy place," and that the goat was also slain "in the holy place" (p. 214). With equal insight into Jewish usages, he talks of "drinking for a Memorial" (p. 222), evidently not knowing that the "memorial" in all sacrifices was to be burnt with fire, and was *never* eaten even by a high

priest.* His theology is equally at sea. He says (p. 210) that "the doctrine of the real presence *involves* sacrifice." So far is that from being true, that Luther, the foremost denier of the Mass-sacrifice, held strenuously to consubstantiation. Many Romanists have asserted that even Transubstantiation need not "involve" sacrifice (see Perceval's *Roman Schism*, p. 396). Archdeacon Freeman taught a "real" presence, but denied any fresh offering of that body so present. Hence it is obvious that though the oblation of a body necessarily implies the presence of that body, it is not true that the presence of a body "involves" its being offered in sacrifice. As a proof that the word "Do" "Do this" means do thus. Deut. xvi.-4, where the LXX reads, NOT *poiēseis*, but *Thusēs*; and 2 Chron. xxxv.-1, 2, which reads, "Josiah kept (*epoiēse*) the Passover . . . and killed (*ēthuse*) the Passover." How little respect can he have for his readers when he thus relies upon their not verifying his references. He suggests (p. 221) that the words of Institution might read,

"He took bread, and when He had made His Eucharist,† He brake it, and said, This is My body, which is broken for you. Make this oblation for that Memorial, which peculiarly and alone can be Mine." Does he not see that if our Lord "made His Eucharist" before pronouncing the words "This is My body," these latter words cannot be, as he says, "the words of consecration"?

From the words of the Catechism—

"Q. Why was the sacrament of the Lord's Supper ordained?

"A. For the continual remembrance of the sacrifice of the death of Christ."

"Remembrance" differs from a Memorial.

he deduces the conclusion—"The Church of England, *then*, teaches her children . . . that the first object is the 'commemoration,' 'the Memorial'; in other words, the 'sacrifice'" (p. 225).

* Ignorance of Scripture is a fruitful source of Ritualistic error. Mr. Mackonochie told the theological students at Cumbrae College that "the Jewish altar was fenced round, that no one but the High Priest ever looked upon it"! (*Church Times*, September 26th, 1884); and a pamphlet, published at Simla, in reply to Archdeacon Farrar, called "Who are the Traitors?" gives, as Old Testament types of the sin-offering, "The blood was sprinkled, as a solemn sacrifice to God, over the mercy-seat by the High Priest," and that "the victim, or part of it, was consumed by the worshipper"!

† The same word is used Matt. xv. 36; John vi. 11.

If so, the concluding words (left out of the sentence by Canon Little's economical quotation)* must mean for a continual sacrificial Memorial "of the benefits which we receive thereby." Nay, more, since it is "required of those who come to the Lord's Supper" to *bring with them* a "thankful REMEMBRANCE of His death"—the meaning of the word "is, of course, the same."

Professor Abbott, of Dublin, in his *Reply to Mr. Supple*, published by Longmans, has dealt so exhaustively with the mistranslations proposed by Canon Little, that it is unnecessary to discuss them. Dr. Ince, the Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford, has done a like service in his *Two Letters on the Patristic and Liturgical interpretation of touto poieite* (James Parker & Co.).

We are told (p. 216), on Malachi i.-11, that "the sacrifice which should be offered is designated by the special name of meal-offering,"—which is not true. The word *Mincha*, there employed, meant simply a "gift." It is used of the offering of Abel as well as of that of Cain (Gen. iv.). In Dan. ix.-21, and elsewhere, it includes bloody offerings. Especially is it used of the *Evening sacrifice* (see Girdlestone's *Synonyms of the Old Testament*, p. 305 note). "The time of *Mincha*" meant half-past four in the afternoon. Might it not then prove a little awkward for Canon Little, if this prophecy about *Mincha* related directly to the consecration of the wafer? Another awkwardness is that he quotes Isaiah lxvi.-21, to prove that Gentiles should be sacrificing priests, forgetting that in the previous verse they themselves had been twice designated a (*Mincha*) "meal-offering." Can he play fast and loose in this fashion with the Word of God? Does he really suppose that "a mixture of oil, salt, and flour, with a lump of frankincense on the top" is any true analogue (either of the clergy, or) of the Lord's Supper? Does he not see that since no layman might ever partake of the "*Mincha*," his teaching of the types involves the priesthood of the laity and their right to deal as *priests* with the "offering" itself? Such smatterings of "proof" are a danger to the unskilled hand which brandishes them as a weapon of offence.

We are told (p. 229) that "in the act of consecration, we have

"Mincha"=
"Corban,"
Mark vii.-11.

* Mr. Hall, of the C. B. S., at p. 12 of his *Reply to Archdeacon Farrar*, makes exactly the same half-quotation.

the eucharistic sacrifice : ” but how, or why, we are not told. Time and Was ever such a “ sacrifice ” heard of in the world before ? An ^{mode of} ~~alleged~~ act of oblation which nobody can see ; an “ offering ” without an ^{“ oblation,”} both unknown. articulate syllable of dedication of the “ gift ” ; above all, a sham “ gift ” to God, which the worshipper designs solely to *his own* use. Surely this needs some explanation : and assuredly it receives none. That Christ’s sacrifice “ is going on ” is another assertion (p. 219) without a particle of voucher.* Instead of it we read (p. 219) “ Christ *is*—Scripture tells us—not *wast*—the propitiation for our sins ” ; thus concealing the difference between *Hilasmos*, the source of propitiation (1 John ii.-2), and *Hilastērion*, the sacrifice of propitiation (Rom. iii.-25).

Next—“ it tells us that Christians are a royal priesthood,” but this implies no sacrifices other than “ Spiritual,” no continued sacrifice for *sin*, and is at least no proof of a caste-priesthood.

Next—“ it tells us that ‘ Christ *is*’—not *was*—a priest for ever after the order of Melchisidek.” But that is the very reason why this priesthood cannot “ pass from one to another,” being *ἀπαράβατον* (Heb. vii.-24). Melchisidek’s revealed function was “ Blessing,” *not* the offering of sacrifice, and in this it has long ago superseded the transient type of the Aaronic priesthood which was fulfilled on the Great Day of Atonement.

The idea pervading Canon Little’s *Answer* seems to be that by heaping up numberless statements (each of which is trivial and inconclusive), they may loom big in the mass on the imagination of the “ faithful,” so as to produce a vague impression of imposing though nebulous “ reasoning.” We find reproduced even the venerable fraud of pretending that Art. xxxi. does not relate to the Mass at all ! It ought to be a sufficient answer that the *author* of that fable, Cardinal Newman, has himself explicitly retracted the Little theory. In his reprint of Article xxxi. Tract XC., published in *Via Media*, II.-316, he says—

“ Masses for the quick and dead are not an abuse, but a distinct ordinance of the Church herself. . . I do not see how it can be denied

* That this assertion is untrue is proved by Archdeacon Perowne in his *Our High Priest in Heaven* (Stock), and by Miss Holt in her *Dialogues on the Christian Sacrifice*” (J. F. Shaw).

† So the first Prayer Book said—“ Christ our Paschal Lamb *is* offered up for us *once for all*, when He bare our sins in His body on the Cross.”

Aimed at
the Mass.

that this Article calls *the sacrifice of the Mass itself*, in all its private and solitary celebrations—to speak of no other—that is, in all its daily celebrations from year's end to year's end, *toto orbe terrarum*, a blasphemous fable."

Canons Oakley and Estcourt, ex-Tractarians, bear the same testimony to the true incidence of that Article, and other illustrations may be seen in the *Church Intelligencer*, III.-19.*

More Little
misquota-
tions.

There is not space for any detailed analysis of Canon Little's economical quotations. Bp. Jeremy Taylor, for instance, on the very next page to that quoted by Canon Little (p. 172) repudiates every one of his dogmas.

"We say the conversion is figurative, mysterious, and sacramental: they say it is proper, natural and corporal: we affirm, that Christ is really taken by faith, by the spirit, to all real effects of His passion; they say He is taken BY THE MOUTH, and that the spiritual and virtual taking Him, in virtue or effect is not sufficient, though done also in the sacrament." (*Works*, IX.-432.)

So too, Bp. Forbes, in the very same sentence quoted by Canon Little (p. 205), denies any "oral reception," though Canon Little interpolates a full-stop which conceals this fact, and also gives a wrong reference. For "lib. iii." read i.-389. The Liturgies half-quoted by him at p. 188, place the "consecration" after the recital of the formula "this is my body," and place their "oblation" of the bread BEFORE it had become "the Body" even in a symbolical sense. They pray for the outpouring of the Holy Ghost "upon us, and upon these proposed gifts . . . that they may be to those who partake," &c. Yet three times over Canon Little substitutes a row of dots; and all these pertinent facts are unfairly dissembled. Canon Little cannot understand that swallowing the humanity of Christ would not "really" bring the Saviour so near as His Vicar ("the Lord the Life-Giver") does daily both in the sacrament and out of the sacrament to every believing heart. He cannot realize that an atoning sacrifice which was "full, perfect, and sufficient," must needs have "ceased to be offered" (Heb. x.-2), or that its "re-presentation" would necessarily imply that its work had never been done, or, else, that its previous "offering" (on the Cross) had failed to find acceptance.

He does not realize that the worship even of Jehovah, or of

* Compare *Cranmer on Lord's Supper*, pp. 81, 349, 352.

Christ, if conducted through the medium of a supposed "similitude" of Him, whether made of wood, of bread, or of "starch-paste," is *Idolatry*; since idolatry means the worship of the *true* God through visible "images." One cannot but deplore that a man so slenderly instructed in elementary first principles should venture to "teach men so," and should employ his position in the established Church to "undo the work of the Reformation."

PART IV.

“THE APOSTOLIC MINISTRY.”

Article xxxi. FEELING uneasy about that objectionable Article 31, Canon Little harks back to it again at p. 238. He says the thing denounced there is not the Mass, but the notion.

“(a) That masses might be said one after another like magical incantations, with so much money value, and as something *separate from and independent of* the sacrifice of Calvary;—notions of this sort, Art. xxxi. condemned, and justly, as ‘blasphemous fables and dangerous deceits’;—and (b) the encouragement of the notion that the priest so acted instead of the people that they were relieved of all action and responsibility. This—if it was held, and in so far as it was held—was undoubtedly wrong.”

Truly, “there is much virtue in an *If*.” Canon Little trusts to memory for his “reasons,” and to his imagination for his “facts.” Cardinal Newman, speaking of this very equivocation, says:—

“As to the force of the first sentence of the article in mitigation of the conclusion (‘The offering of Christ once made, &c.’) as shewing that the article really aimed at a *substitution* of the Mass for the crucifixion itself, this purpose or effect of substituting IS NOT A FACT . . . but a mere hypothesis of the author of the Tract’ (viz. his own Tract xc.) ‘to escape from a difficulty.’” He adds, “But we say the charge [of the article] is a calumny, and ask for proofs.” (*Via Media*, II.-316.)

Bishop Thirlwall pertinently observed—

“To view the Mass as independent of the sacrifice of the cross, would indeed be a very gross error; but until I see some proof, I shall continue utterly to disbelieve that it is one into which any worshipper at the Mass, even in the darkest ages, ever fell.” (*Charge*, 1867, pp. 98, 140.)*

The official Roman doctrine is that

“As a sacrifice, it is not only a source of merit, but also of satis-

* Bossuet’s *Hist. Variations of Protestants*, Vol. I, Book III, § 53, repudiates the theory as a mere Protestant calumny “invented to render the oblation in the Mass odious.”

faction; for, as in his passion, Christ the Lord merited and satisfied for us; so those who offer this sacrifice, by which they communicate with us, merit the fruit of the Lord's passion, and satisfy." (*Trent Catechism*, II. iv.-69.)

Canon Estcourt (the learned ex-Tractarian) says:—

"The use of the plural number in the article raises *no* distinction whatever. There is *no* difference between the sacrifice of the Mass and 'the sacrifices of masses.' It is not only 'commonly said'; it is a theological truth, it is a *matter of faith*, that in the sacrifices of masses the priest does offer Christ for the quick and the dead, to have remission of pain or guilt." (*Anglican Ordinations*, p. 276.)

The fact is that the language of our Article was altered into its present form in order to give an explicit and formal contradiction to the Tridentine decrees.

Thus, the title was altered from "*Of the perfect oblation of Christ made upon the cross*" to "*Of the one (unicā, i.e. unique) oblation of Christ FINISHED upon the cross,*" and the words "forged fables" were altered into "blasphemous fables" in order to meet the requirements of the Fourth Canon of the 22nd Session of Trent, which, on September 17th, 1562, had laid it down And the Council of Trent. that "if any one shall say that by the sacrifice of the Mass, a *blasphemy* is cast upon the most holy sacrifice of Christ, accomplished on the cross, or that it is thereby derogated from, let him be accursed." At a later Session, the same Council in its decree concerning purgatory (which followed the publication of the English Thirty-nine Articles) adopted the exact phrase "the sacrifices of Masses" as the equivalent of "the acceptable sacrifice of the altar." (Sess. xxv.)

The dates of these theological rejoinders should be noted. The Articles of 1563 (commonly called 1562, *i.e.* Old Style) were not presented by Convocation to the Queen till February, 1563, nor published till some months afterwards. The Trent Canons on the Mass-sacrifice had been emitted on September 17th, 1562. Our present English version of the Articles (translated by Bishop Jewel) was published, with the alterations above named, in 1571. The Thirty-nine Articles were then for the first time, enacted by Parliament in the Statute, 13 Eliz. c. 12.

No grace
without
Bishops.

After this little digression, the Canon returns to his professed subject, the "Apostolic Ministry." His own view is (p. 244) "that without bishops who have received the grace of orders by regular succession from the apostles—you can have no priests, and that without bishops and priests you can have no certainty of true sacraments." "A ministerial priesthood has been appointed by Him on earth to plead that one sacrifice, and apply those merits" (p. 294). It is "the commissioned priest who alone can present the sacrifice" (p. 303). He does "believe in a real priesthood—an order of men ordained to absolve and consecrate and *offer 'the Sacrifice of our Ransom'*" (p. 306).

This, no doubt, may be a very interesting fact to persons who "sit under" Canon Little: but the rest of the world will care only to know *why* he chooses to believe such things.

There is certainly no hint in the New Testament that the clergy have been ordained to "plead" for the Church, or that they are to "apply" by means of "sacrifices" the merits of Christ. The Scriptural view of the ministry is that they are "ambassadors for Christ," not to Christ: and the Apostles even begged the laity to "plead" for them (1 Thess. v.-25). "Offering the sacrifice of our ransom" has "ceased" long ago to form any part of the work of the Saviour. How is it possible to reason with a man who invents his own hypotheses about his own place in the universe, and coolly asks us to assume that all this is "Divine" without a single atom of proof? In the New Testament, Canon Little says he finds "nothing else than the Three Orders" (p. 255). He can hardly have compared 1 Cor. xii.-5-11, xiv., Eph. iv.-11 without seeing that the Churches of that time had *no* uniform, or rigid ministerial organisation, still less any such "great gulf fixed" between the clergy and the laity, as his soul lusts after. Bp. Lightfoot and Professor Hatch have written in vain for persons who see in the New Testament only what they choose to see, and who value it as a secondary means of bolstering up sacerdotal pretensions. In the Old Testament, functions meaner than those of the Christian Ministry, had explicit and clear directions given for their warrant, and the prerogatives of the Aaronic priesthood were placed beyond controversy by miracles wrought

publicly on its behalf. What have we at all corresponding to this in the New Testament?

Canon Carter tells us that "SCRIPTURE IS IN TRUTH SILENT AS TO No Divine THE SPECIFIC MINISTRATIONS AS WELL AS TO THE DISTINCTIVE NAME OF institution THE SECOND ORDER OF THE MINISTRY" (*Doctrine of the Priesthood*, by terate. 2nd edit., p. 119).

Now, truly, that is a marvellous thing if this unvouched "order" of men, or rather let us say, of demi-gods, be armed with the supernatural powers claimed by Canon Little. The original institution of "elders" is not so much as hinted at in the N. T., because both name and office were already familiar to every Jew, being taken over *directly* from the synagogue in which the first Christians habitually worshipped until, as our Lord had predicted, they were "thrust out."

On this point Canon Little is compelled to speak with "stammering lips," for it is only truth that can be consistent with itself. He tells us—

Page 277.

Page 290.

"The Jewish elder was not a minister of religion at all; he was an ecclesiastical magistrate."

"The term 'elder' came from the times of the patriarchs, as a solemn and honoured term, to express that mysterious *priestly power* that lay in the head of the family."

Anyone who wishes to test the truth of these contradictory statements should read the Hulsean prize essay on "*The Presbyterate as exhibited in Christian Literature before the time of Cyprian*" (Geo. Bell & Sons), an exhaustive pamphlet written by Mr. Manley, the High Church curate of Leeds Parish Church.

Canon Little, however, invents two new arguments. The first being that in the *Ordinal*, the word "lawfully" means "according to *God's law*" (p. 265).

Two illustrations will suffice to test the wisdom of that utterance. The bishop-elect is presented to the archbishop "or to some other bishop appointed by *lawful commission*": while the priest is bid to minister in the congregation "where thou shalt be *lawfully appointed thereunto*."

His second argument is that sermons are to be preached to shew "how necessary" is the order of deacons to the Church

But, alas ! for the "Divinity that doth hedge in" a bishop, no such sermon is permitted to declare *his* office to be "necessary," though that direction is enforced in the case of Priests (p. 268).

Must be derived from the Church. Art. xxiii.

Even though it were conceded that no person might ever minister anywhere without episcopal ordination, it would not in the least follow that the functions of the persons ordained were not derived through and from the Church, nor that they at all correspond to Canon Little's imaginative rhapsodies about them. It is really quite a "low" Church idea to suppose that the clerical office is degraded by attributing to "Providence" their delegation by the Church itself to perform "representative" functions in it; indeed, without such delegation, formal or implied, no clergyman (or layman) could possibly ever "represent" the Church. Again, it is not Catholic faith but atheistic unbelief to refuse to recognise in the actual "historic" government of the Church—the Divine guidance—just as much in departing from ancient precedents, for adequate cause, as in following them when no such cause can be shewn.

The new Covenant differs from the Old precisely in that it is not a bondage to traditions and to "carnal ordinances," but is imbued with the freedom of the spirit of Christ, who is ever "walking in the midst of the candlesticks" (2 Cor. iii.-17).

Priesthood.

How to make
the Word of
God of none
effect.

We are bidden to go to "the Church which tells us in all grave and important doctrinal discussions what it is that Holy Scripture means" (p. 298). But where are we to find the Church's mouth ? Canon Little presumably has tried this method.

Let us look at the results.

First, he tells us (p. 258) that the "laying on of hands in 1 Tim. v.-22. 1 Tim. v.-22 means or includes (as it almost certainly does) Confirmation"—an interpretation which deserves to be embalmed with that other rendering—"Don't strike anybody in a hurry"!

Heb. x.-2.

Next, he assures us that Hebrews x.-2 means "that if NEW sacrifices have to be offered perpetually they cannot take away sins" (p. 293). What the apostle really said was that the

by-gone sacrifices were proved to have failed by the very fact of their repetition, viz. by priests “offering oftentimes the SAME sacrifices” (verse 11)—just as the Mass-priests now affect to do.

Next (p. 296) he misrepresents Heb. ix.-24 as teaching that Heb. ix.-24 a sacerdotal offering of Christ is continually going on, and as though the word “appear” in our authorised version were used in the modern sense of “*appearing*” *in court* as an advocate!

Neither of these will hold water. The word “*Emphanisthēnai*” means to be *clearly manifested*, and is used by way of contrast to the smoke-beclouded “hiding” of himself which the Jewish high priest was fain to practise on entering and during his whole stay within the most holy place, “lest he die.” No Levit. xvi.-13 forensic sense belongs to the verb thus employed. But Canon Little’s other suggestion is a far graver corruption, seeing that the *very next words* of the Inspired text are—“Yet this was *not* in order to His offering Himself often (*οὐδὲ ἵνα πολλάκις προσφέρη* *ἔαντόν*), for then must He often have suffered.” . . . “As it is appointed unto man ONCE to die, and after this judgment, even so, Christ after being ONCE offered (*ἄπαξ ἀποθανεῖν . . . ἄπαξ προσενέχθεις*) to bear the sins of many, shall appear,” &c. No more emphatic words could have been selected to exclude the Knox-Little theory.

On the same page he observes—“We have read also in Rev. v.-6. Scripture, I think, of ‘the Lamb as it had been slain’ *standing upon the altar*.” Pity he did not turn to his Bible to find that he did “think” exceedingly amiss. The Lamb is neither “on” nor at an altar, even though we could consent to confound the successive but distinct visions of the Apocalypse. Yet this “tradition” is pictorially displayed in the East window of Parkstone Church as a memorial of the disregard of Holy Scripture by Ritualists.

On page 296, he improves upon both the authorised and Revised versions by translating Heb. x.-18 “there is no more Heb. x.-18. sacrifice for sins.” In this way he hopes to draw away attention from the completed character of the priestly *act*, by turning our thoughts aside to the *thing* offered. His suggestion is, in spite of this clear Scripture, that the *same* sacrifice might be “offered” again and again till the end of time. That is pre-

cisely what St. Paul is denying. Not only is there but one true availing sacrifice, but also but one "Offering" of that one sacrifice, which none could make save the High Priest Himself, and which, once made, needed no further "Offering" either in heaven or on earth. As Dean Jackson said, "If 'once offered,' it were in the nature of an offering *infinite*, it necessarily took away all other offerings, *or manner of offering*" (Works, ix.-584. See *Cranmer on Lord's Supper*, pp. 81 and 47).

Canon Little interposes a "distinguo" quite in the spirit of Swift's *Tale of a Tub*, and with similarly disastrous results upon the "Will" of the Testator. He urges that if, without the Mass, we suppose Christ's "one oblation of Himself once offered to be a full, perfect, and sufficient satisfaction for the sins of the whole world," the fact of its being offered BEFORE our individual lives commenced proves that "as for faith, and prayer, and penitence, and the reading of the Bible and Church services, and sacraments—well, of course, these and all other *means of reconciliation* are works of supererogation, and ought to be given up." He even suggests that the Protestant view is that "the children of God are to *do nothing at all*, then it follows that sin is pardoned before it is committed" (p. 296).

In this gross caricature, the Canon makes the mistake of confusing the "means of our reconciliation" *to God*, with God's reconciliation to man. The latter *was* effected "before the sins [of the present generation] were committed": so that there is no room under this pretext for supplementing Christ's work by clerical "sacrifices."

Heb. x.-22. In Hebrews x.-22, Canon Little suggests that there is "an allusion to the Christians' approach to the holy mysteries, and certainly to the sacrament of Holy Baptism" (p. 297). For the sake of argument, let this be granted. But, observe, the "sprinkling the heart" with the blood of the victim was not a sacrificial but a sacramental act. When Moses sprinkled the people with the blood of the Covenant, he was not "offering" sacrifice, nor "presenting to God" blood upon the altar, where *alone* it could "make atonement" for sin. Canon Little seems ignorant of the distinction between sacraments and sacrifices, viz. that sacraments are God's gifts from heaven to man, *not*

man's "offerings" to God; *they* "apply" the benefits which the "one" sacrifice procured. Yet throughout this section we have the *sacrifice* of the Mass edged in under the pretext that it only "pleads" and "applies" the by-gone Crucifixion. If so, it follows, on that view, that the Mass is *not a sacrifice at all*. "Pleading" belongs to the "Service of the Church," the "Liturgy," and, indeed, to all prayer, whether public or private, when made "through Jesus Christ." But "pleading" is no part either of a Sacrifice or of a Sacrament, *as such*. Bp. Thirlwall wisely observed: "The question is—whether such a mode of pleading does not require the sanction of a Divine appointment; and, if it was a mere human invention, would it not be presumptuous and profane—the more so for being engrafted on Christ's most solemn ordinance."

The truth is that the Knox-Little notion about sacrifices "applying" grace was a mere after-thought invented to meet the objections of Protestants to the anti-Christian nature of the Mass. This was pointed out in 1548 by Geste when the first Prayer Book was being compiled. (*Treatise against the Privie Mass*, pp. 91-103.)

Abp. Herman's *Consultation*, from which so much of the First Prayer Book of Edward VI. was copied by his friend Craumer, and of which two* editions were published in an English translation in 1547 and 1548, exactly hits off the ritualistic heresy. He says:—

"Before all things the pastors must labour to take out of men's minds that false and wicked opinion whereby men *think commonly that the priest in masses offereth up Christ our Lord to God the Father* [compare Art. XXXI.] 'after that sort, that with his intention and prayer he causeth Christ to become a new and acceptable sacrifice to the Father for the salvation of men, appliceth and communicateth the merit of the passion of Christ and of the saving sacrifice whereby the Lord Himself offered Himself to the Father a sacrifice on the cross, to them that receive the same with their own faith . . . the Holy Fathers by the name of sacrifice understood not APPLICATION, which was devised a great while after . . . but a solemn

* See Dr. Jacob's *Lutheran Movement in England*, p. 353.

remembrance of the sacrifice of Christ, as Augustine expoundeth it.”*^{*}

1 Cor. x.

Once more (p. 307), we are told that St. Paul in 1 Cor. x. “contrasts the altar of sacrifice, or ‘table’ as he calls it [*sic*], with the Table of the Lord.” That is an utter mistake. What he contrasted with it were the flesh-feasts of the idolaters, which were *not* eaten from the altar, but on tables set out after the sacrifices had “ceased to be offered.” So far from parallelling the Lord’s table with the heathen “altar,” he had turned aside to avoid doing so, just where it would most have strengthened his argument (1 Cor. ix.-14). Sacrificial feasts had to be cooked *after* the altar had had its “part,” and as the twenty-eighth verse shews, they were often partaken (like the Paschal supper) in private houses. Here, again, Canon Little confounds things essentially different, viz. offerings to God, made by priests, on altars, in temples, with the subsequent “partaking” the tokens of friendship with the previously reconciled Deity by eating from a different portion of the same victim at a separate “table,” which was no “altar” at all.

Looking back over this remarkable selection of texts, Canon Little may well serve as a caution to warn men against the folly, and even profanity, of treating the Bible as he proposes. He is under the mistake that a deacon needs the Bishop’s licence before he can baptize (p. 302); and that the Article “De conjugio sacerdotica” [*sic*] was not aimed at Romish incumbents who retained their livings in 1562. That last point was so recently discussed in the *Church Intelligencer* (X.-132), that it seems unnecessary to notice it further.

He misquotes (p. 291) Eusebius as saying that “Christ does celebrate sacrifice;” whereas he spoke only of “accomplishing sacred service” (*ιεροπυλας*, *not iεπατειας*, as in Luke i.-9), and expressly says that Melchisedeck “nowhere appears as using bodily sacrifices.” What Eusebius understood by “spiritual sacrifices” may be seen in Waterland, of whom Cardinal Newman says “We cannot ask for a better authority than the very learned, careful, and temperate Waterland, perhaps the greatest

* Bishop Thirlwall’s *Charge*, 1867, p. 145. See also Jewel’s *Apology*, p. 64.

authority on a question of doctrine amongst all the Anglican Divines." (Preface to Hutton's *Anglican Ministry*, p. xi.)

Canon Little lets us know (p. 310) that he holds the "Catholic doctrine of Purgatory:" so that his masses may by-and-by serve to recoup the clergy (I beg pardon, the "priesthood") for their diminished incomes.

Who could have the heart to grudge paying for "Soul-masses" when "Purgatory" has been rehabilitated? But let the friends of the dying keep a vigilant look-out for the melting away of the inheritance of the orphan and the widow under this long tried and powerful solvent.

WHAT IS “SACERDOTALISM?”



ANON KNOX LITTLE complains that Dr. Farrar nowhere defines what he means by “Sacerdotalism,” and professes to think it is something quite innocent and proper. It happens that the Abbé Gaume, whose *Manuel des Confesseurs* was adapted by Dr. Pusey for the use of English readers, gives in his *Catechisme de perseverance*, a most graphic picture of the very thing which Canon Little desires to have made clear.

From Vol. IV. p. 288 of the original, the following is a literal translation:—

“What language of man can speak the dignity of the priesthood (*Sacerdoce*) and the greatness of the Priest? The first man was great, who, established as King of the universe, commanded all the inhabitants of his vast domain, and was docilely obeyed in it. Moses was great who by a word divided the waters of the sea, and made an entire people to pass between their suspended masses. Joshua was great who spake to the Sun, ‘Sun, stand still,’ and the Sun stayed, obeying the voice of a mortal. Kings of the earth are great who command vast armies and make the world tremble at the sound of their name.

“Ah, well! there is *one* man greater still. He is a man who every day when he pleases opens the gates of Heaven, and addressing himself to the Son of the Eternal, to the Monarch of the worlds, says to him—‘Descend from your throne. Come’! Docile, at the voice of this man, the Word of God, He by whom all things were made, instantly descends from the seat of his glory, and INCARNATES HIMSELF IN THE HANDS OF THIS MAN (*s’incarne entre les mains*) more powerful than kings, than the angels, than the august

Mary. And this man says to Him—‘Thou art my son, this day have I begotten Thee. Thou art my victim’—and He lets himself be immolated by this man, placed where he wills, given to whom he chooses: this man is the PRIEST!!!

“The Priest is not only all-powerful in heaven and over the natural body of the Man-God, he is all-powerful on earth also over the mystical body of Jesus Christ. Look: a man has fallen into the toils of the devil, what power can deliver him? Call to the help of this wretch the angels and archangels, St. Michael himself, chief of the heavenly militia, conqueror of Satan and his rebellious legions. The holy archangel can well drive away the fiends who are laying siege to the unfortunate, but not the one within his heart. He will never be able to break the chains of the sinner who had put his trust in him. Whom then will you ask to deliver him? Call upon Mary, the Mother of God, the Queen of angels and of men, the terror of hell. She can well pray for his soul, but she would not know how to absolve him from any fault however small: the Priest *can*.

“Nay, more—let us suppose that the Redeemer is descending in person visibly in a church, and establishing himself within a confessional to administer the Sacrament of Penance, at the same moment that the Priest is seating himself in another. The Son of God says ‘I absolve thee,’ and the Priest on his part says ‘I absolve thee,’ and the penitent finds himself *EQUALLY* absolved by the one as by the Other.

“Thus the Priest, *powerful as God*, can in an instant snatch the sinner from hell, render him fit for Paradise, and make of a slave of the devil a son of Abraham . . . *God himself is obliged to adhere to the judgment of the Priest*, to refuse or to accord His pardon as the priest refuses or accords the absolution, if the penitent be worthy of it. The sentence of the Priest goes before, God does nothing but subscribe to it. Can a greater power, a higher dignity be imagined?” “I have your god in my hand, and your wife at my feet” was the famous boast of another priest.

Such is ever the spirit of “Sacerdotalism.” Yet Herod was “eaten of worms” for lending a willing ear to an utterance less blasphemous than these.

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A REVIEW

OF

"THE CATHOLIC RELIGION,"

"A MANUAL OF INSTRUCTION FOR MEMBERS OF THE ENGLISH
CHURCH. BY THE REV. VERNON STALEY, CHAPLAIN
PRIEST OF THE HOUSE OF MERCY, CLEWER. WITH A
PREFACE BY THE REV. CANON CARTER."*

THIS book aims at being the popular handbook of the Romanizing school. The *Church Times* of March 16th, 1894, places it "at the head of" doctrinal works, and says it "has leaped into popularity at a bound." Printed on bad paper, everything in the "get up" has been sacrificed to cheapness, while some second-hand woodcuts lend to it a certain attractiveness. The plates are indeed very curious. The first shews the visible Church split up into five sections divided not only from one another, but from the Rock on which the Saviour is depicted: and, quite naturally, those nearest the spectator are shewn to have sunk lowest in a continuous descent below the Founder's level. With subtle irony the designer has committed the "Council of the Church House" (whose seal it is) to a confession that the actual Church does not in any way correspond to their pet theories respecting it. The stream of doctrine is pictured as split up into four separate "traditions," which act as so many dividing influences to separate the mutually excommunicated portions of "Christendom."

If Canon Carter had had any sense of humour he would have suppressed this tell-tale frontispiece. Another second-hand print copies from Dean Stanley's *Memorials of Canterbury*, the so-called Augustine's chair, overlooking the fact that Stanley, in the very passage there cited, says, "though *not* the very one in which Augustine sate, it no doubt represents the ancient episcopal throne in which after the fashion of the bishops of that time, he sate *behind* the altar (for that was its *proper place*, and there, as is well known, it once stood) with all his clergy round him, as may still be seen in several ancient churches abroad." This sentence, though relegated to excruciatingly small type, bears witness against the unprimitive and uncatholic practice of Eastward celebration with back-to-the-people, as we shewed in our Tract 180 which gives, by the way, much better as well as more numerous illustrations at far less than the cost of Mr. Staley's manual. Some of the other illustrations, taken from Roman Catholic sources, shew the Virgin standing on the clouds of heaven with a dependent infant still in her custody, and under her tuition (p. 154), or else seated in the central place of honour under the descending Dove, surrounded

* From the "Church Intelligencer," March, 1894.

by her court of attendant Apostles on the day of Pentecost, a circumstance not recorded by the writer of the "Acts of the Apostles," whose silence gave but a freer hand to the "Catholic" artist who imagined this vain thing (p. 203). Four other pictures throw up the Virgin into prominence at the expense of the immature Saviour, as the central figure put forward for contemplation by nineteenth century Christians.

Another (p. 244) shews the wafer surrounded by a halo, to indicate "Its" Divinity: while another repeats certain shameful blunders in the account of Bp. Parker's consecration, every detail of which contradicts the account given in Parker's own Register.* Parker was consecrated under the Ordinal of 1552, not under that of 1550: the Register says he was clad in a surplice, so this picture arrays him in a cope. All the consecrating bishops (save, Barlow) then wore simply "linen surplices," so this lying picture clothes them in chasubles, or copes. Guest being a young man of forty-five is depicted as a stooping ancient of eighty. Miles Coverdale being near that age, is depicted as a middle-aged man of fifty. His "black gown" becomes in the picture a chasuble worn over a surplice. Scory also is clad in a chasuble instead of the "surplice" which alone is mentioned in the Register. Parker is kneeling down to answer questions which were in fact put to him standing erect. The Epistoler and Gospeller are aimlessly standing about without regard to their proper functions: while Parker is decorated with a big monk's cowl, as if to conceal the fact that he was but a secular priest. To crown all, an "altar" is shewn laden with two candlesticks of disproportionate bulk, displaying also a chalice (before even the commencement of the Communion Service), while Bp. Barlow sits sideways to the "altar" (*apud mensam in cathedrā sedente*) as if to shew off its imaginary frontal, which the artist has invented in ignorance that all "altars" had been carefully pulled down by the Royal Visitors long before Parker's consecration, and that Parker had himself been most active in that work. The "table" (expressly so called) is not said to have been against the East wall, but only Eastward in the Chapel, "ad orientem." It had no frontal, but only a "carpet" (*tapetem*): and it had no candlesticks, for such things had been forbidden by Elizabeth's Injunctions of July, 1559, and when later introduced into the Royal Chapel, they created a hubbub throughout the whole realm, the echoes of which are given back in the despatches of foreign courts, so exceptional and phenomenal was the innovation then deemed. These pictures in short symbolise well the fraudulent character of the "history" and vouchers given in the text of Mr. Staley's manual.

Closely connected, for instance, with that last named picture is the statement of Canon Carter in the Preface (p. viii) that the Lambeth Judgment rested the lawfulness of altar-lights on the Ornaments rubric. That is not only unwarranted, it is the

* The Register at Lambeth is copied by photography in Bailey's "Defensio Ordinum," and is printed in Haddan, and (less accurately) in Cardwell's "Documentary Annals," and translated in Strype's Parker, I.113.

very reverse of the truth. Bp. King had publicly proclaimed in advance that his contention rested on this rubric, yet not one of his counsel could be induced to argue the question on that basis: nor did the Judges in either court so much as allude to it. Nay, more, the water cruet, which this manual tells us (p. 298) was one of these ornaments, was forbidden by the Judgment itself to be used as "was in this Church of England in the second year of King Edward VI." Its use in the service was pronounced illegal, though tolerated if smuggled in before the service proper commenced. There is at p. 298 the old trick of substituting the "Use of the second year," for the "authority of Parliament in the second year"—two things diametrically opposed the one to the other. Mr. Staley tells us, the "ancient canon law, the Salisbury Missal, and other service books in use in the year referred to" shew what was intended in 1559, although in fact, both the books themselves and the ornaments used under them were removed with ignominy by the Royal Visitors sent out to enforce the Act of Uniformity which, as legislators, these same Visitors had just been parties to enacting. On like grounds, this manual no longer pretends to vindicate "two" altar lights, but depicts (p. 296) half a dozen candle-flames on either side of a crucifix, flanked by four lighted standards resting on the ground, as illustrating Mr. Staley's revised version of the alleged requirements of the "ornaments rubric."

The account of the Reformation is altogether at variance with the known facts. It is represented as having been a mere change in money matters, and in appeals, but without any important doctrinal significance. The primacy of the Pope is admitted (p. 93), the worship of the host inculcated (p. 302, cf. 196, 255, 256), Purgatory (pp. 183, 185), and its correlative Masses for the Dead (pp. 252, 314) are recognised, the use of the "primitive" word "Mass" (pp. 253, cf. 302, 316) is defended, and also "the seven" sacraments (p. 238) of which Unction is mourned over as being "the lost pleiad of the Anglican firmament" (pp. 239, 274). Auricular confession and Penance are advocated (pp. 269, 319), the "Judicial" character of priestly absolution (p. 265) urged, and the invocation of Saints excused on the round-about pretext that God may be asked to let the saints intercede with Him on behalf of the person who is praying! (p. 211). Such is the "catholic" substitute for "coming boldly to the throne of grace"!

Many of Canon Knox Little's fallacies are repeated, such as the pretence that Art. xxxi. does not relate to the Mass (p. 253), that a "real" presence of a body "under the form of bread," is not local (pp. 255, 256); that "do" means "offer" and that "Remembrance" means "memorial before God" (pp. 247, 248); and that a similar offering is now going on in heaven (p. 251). All these have been so recently dealt with in reviewing Canon Little,* that we need not discuss them afresh. Mr. Staley is never prevented from reproducing a fallacy by the mere fact of

* See "Review of Canon Little's 'Answer to Archdeacon Farrar.'" Price 6d. (J. F. Shaw.)

its having been oft refuted. He parades, for instance, a quotation from Clement of Rome (p. 29) which Bp. Lightfoot has repeatedly shewn to have no such meaning (See Lightfoot's Clement, p. 136, or his "Epistle to Philippians," p. 203). The reference to the "Angels" in the Revelation (p. 30) is similarly disallowed by Lightfoot (Phil. p. 197), yet this also is polled once more to prove that "outside the Church there is neither warrant nor certainty of grace" (p. 48), that "ubi sacerdos, ibi Christus" (p. 18) and that "In no other way could the twofold presence of Christ and His Spirit be vouchsafed 'alway,' and 'for ever,' but to the successors of the Apostles, the bishops of the Church" (p. 36). In a like spirit, 1 Eliz. c. 1, sec. 36 is cited as authoritative (p. 119) without revealing the pertinent fact that it has long ago been repealed. The Canons of 1640 are described (p. 301) as "still in force," though even Bp. Stubbs declares them utterly invalid. It is asserted (p. 273) that "for Christian marriage, the benediction of a priest is required," which is contrary to the law of the Church of England, and even to the pre-Tridentine teaching of the Church of Rome. We are even told that no "official steps were taken to sever the connection of the Church of England with that of Rome" until the time of Elizabeth (p. 93), which is very odd considering that Cardinal Pole absolved the whole English Convocation kneeling on their bended knees before the representative of the "Holy Father" who regarded them as in open "schism."

He tells us (p. 89) that "the Council of Trent did not meet, or put forth any decision, till the Reformation in its strongest movement was all over," a statement which, so far as it concerns this country, in replying to Canon Little, we proved to be utterly false. He tells us (p. 92) that in 1534 Convocation "decided that the Popes had no more right given them by God over the kingdom than any other foreign bishop"—but he conceals the fact that the wily bishops were careful to limit this statement by the words "conferred on him by God *in holy scripture*," leaving it open to them to hold still, as some of them actually did, that *by tradition* the Pope retained a rightful claim to their allegiance. A facsimile of this important document is prefixed to the eighth volume of Townsend's edition of Foxe's Acts and Monuments, and the words "in sacrâ scripturâ" are there carefully underlined. In his account of the "Calendar" Mr. Staley omits November 5th, though sanctioned by Convocation in 1661; but gives us instead the Feasts of Corpus Christi, and All Souls which commemorate respectively lying miracles of the Roman Church; and he liberally provides another for the "Falling asleep of the Blessed Virgin Mary," which he thinks "may be of interest" (p. 334).

The unfailing mark of falsehood forms the one "indelible character" of all these pseudo-"Catholic" productions, intended as they are to "lead the blind out of the way."

“NEW LIGHT”

ON

The “Eastward Position.”

WHEN Sir Robert Lighton ventured to tell the Birmingham Church Congress that the use of the Eastward position came in only in A.D. 1710, he was metaphorically trailing his coat through the Ritualistic Donnybrook. Yet not one of the followers of Viscount Halifax has been so obliging as to accept the challenge. It concerns them to do so; because, if Sir Robert be right, their pretence to “historic continuity” is clean cut off as regards this “catholic practice.” Up to the year 1662 it was clearly illegal to stand “before the table,” because the rubric then directed the consecrator to “stand up” just where he was, viz. at “the north side of *the table*”; and all the research of Ritualistic experts has failed to discover during the 17th century more than two men who were even accused of consecrating Eastward. As far as the evidence goes, these two men did so in two churches only, viz. in Durham Cathedral and the Tower Church, Ipswich, for reasons peculiar to those two churches and only for a very limited period: their apologetic defence of their exceptional action showing that its illegality was undisputed even by themselves, though excused on grounds of local and physical convenience or necessity. *Exceptio probat regulam.* Some *private* forms for Consecration of Churches contained in Oughton, have been carelessly adduced by Canon MacColl as instances of Eastward consecration. But when carefully scrutinised, these very instances disprove his contention. In each case the celebrant occupied his usual position *in the Communion service* at “the North side or end of the table,” though it is true the bishop himself knelt in front of it to “present” the title deeds, or communion plate, and to say that special and private prayer of “consecration” which related exclusively *to the building and its furniture*: such prayers,

however, commonly preceded the Communion service proper, and in no case were they mixed up or identified with the authorised "Consecration Prayer" which relates to the bread and wine. Every High Churchman from the Reformation to the Restoration, Andrewes, Laud, Cosin, Wren (to single out leading representatives), consecrated on the North of the table, facing southwards. Heylin, the champion of the party, wrote in 1637 : "Where should the Minister stand to discharge his duty? *Not in the middle of the altar*, as was appointed in the Liturgy of K. Edward, anno 1549. That was disliked and altered in the service book of 1552." (*Antidotum Lincolnense*, I.-56.)

The question arises, however, whether any change in this respect was intended to be made at the last revision in 1661. In other words, what was the cause of the alteration then made in the rubric before the Consecration Prayer?

The occasion was this. A new rubric had just been inserted before the "Prayer for the Church Militant," which directed the bread and wine to be placed on the Table during the service, immediately after the presentation of "the alms and oblations." This naturally led to the paten and chalice being placed in the middle of the table with the result that in some cases the officiating clergyman having to reach over his cushion and book from the end of the table to the middle of it would be awkwardly inconvenienced, and in this way unseemly accidents were likely to happen. The new direction, also given in 1661, to the officiating minister to place his hand upon the bread and wine, made it necessary to alter the language of the old rubric which ran, "*Then the priest standing up, shall say as followeth.*" Under that rubric (of 1552-1661), the minister having then no manual acts to perform, might either have faced the people,* or the table, during the prayer: but the fresh requirement of the manual acts necessitated his turning in *all* cases towards the table.

We can trace the successive steps by which the old rubric (of 1552-61) was altered. In the "Durham Book" which contains the first stage of the 1661 Revision, the rubric was originally drawn. (See the photograph on page 5.)

"When the priest hath so ordered the bread and wine placed upon the table, as that he may with the more ease and decency take them into his hands, standing up he shall say, as followeth."

At the next stage, it was seen that the words "standing up" came in too late, as the priest must already have stood up to

* "Further, that the Minister in the use of the Communion and prayers thereof turn his face towards the people." (Hooper's *Visitation Articles*, 1551, No. 43.)

perform the act of "ordering" the elements. Those words were therefore erased, and to obviate the mechanical difficulty before alluded to, the words "standing before the table" were next inserted after the word "Priest." In this way the celebrant was ordered not only to rise from his knees, but to turn toward the table, and so to stand (not, "*AT the table*," which might mean with his back to it, as in the Marriage service, but) "*before the table*," i.e. facing it, for the purpose of performing the newly required manual acts. The next step would be the erasing the words "*placed upon the table*," because a new rubric after the Offertory had directed the minister to place the elements on the table at that point of the service. Next, the word "*ease*" which has a sort of luxurious and personal flavour about it, was changed into "*readiness*"; and the words "*take them into his hands*" were also exchanged for the more explicit direction to "*break the bread, and take the cup into his hands*." Lastly, after the interlined words "*break the bread*," the important words "*before the people*" were inserted by a second or continued interlineation. This was doubtless done at the urgent request of the Puritans who made a great point of the act of breaking being seen by the people. This change was, in fact, one of the few "Savoy Concessions" made by the bishops to the Puritans. The latter had urged "that the manner of consecrating the elements may be made more explicit and express, and to that purpose those words be put into the rubric: "*Then shall he put his hand upon the bread and break it; then shall he put his hand unto the cup*." In the book which Baxter submitted to the Conference as a substitute for the Prayer Book, he had written: "*Then let the minister take the bread and break it IN THE SIGHT of the people.*" The bishops conceded the request, and it figures accordingly as "No. 10" in the list of points yielded at the Savoy. (Cardwell, *Hist. Conferences*, p. 363.) Indeed, the Welsh Prayer Book authorized by the Act of Uniformity renders—"standing at the table" and "*in sight of the people*:" and Duport's Greek version of 1665 dedicated to Abp. Sheldon has ἐνώπιον τῶν λαῶν.

It is interesting to notice that the writing in the Durham Book shews that this was a distinct addition, and a final concession: the words "*before the people*" not having been inserted *at the same time* as "*break the bread*": for at the time that alteration was made, the word "*Cup*" was also inserted (as part of it) over the line.* But the subsequent addition of "*before the people*" ran over this interlined word "*Cup*," which had then to be written afresh in the margin, where there was room for it.

These facts, patent on the pages of Cosin's ("Durham") book shew that "*before the people*" cannot mean, as some suppose,

* This fact is concealed in Mr. Parker's inaccurate "History of the Revision," p. cxi., which also makes "*break the bread*" and "*before the people*" to form *two separate half lines*.

publicly in the church, as opposed to privately in the vestry, because the ordering of the act in this part of the service, of itself rendered the latter impossible."* That is to say, the side Rubric, "And here to break the bread," secures publicity for the rite; and its equivalent appeared in Cosin's *original* draft of the Rubrics.

Bearing in mind the above clues, the reader should examine the text of the Durham Book as reproduced in the following reprint: only it must of course be understood that the erasure of the word "Cup" in the fifth line cannot be shewn in mere type; though the old English lines shew the original text, as it was at first proposed; the square brackets indicate the erasures made subsequently by pen-strokes: the Italic type exhibits the newer insertions: and the FINAL additions are given in Roman type.

standing before y Table
 "When the Priest hath
 so ordered the Bread & Wine,
 [placed upon the Table as] that
readines
 he may with the more [ease] &
 break the Bread before the People &
 decency take the [m] into his hands,
 A Cup [standing up] he shall say, as
 followeth":—

By the courtesy and liberality of the Rev. H. E. Fox, M.A., of Durham, we have been enabled to reproduce on the opposite page a facsimile of the draft rubric in this first stage of its formation, by a photograph taken from the so-called "Cosin's book" at Durham. This book was minutely described in the CHURCH INTELLIGENCER, III.-129: and we once more commend to the attention of Protestant churchmen the expediency of publishing a collation, page by page, of the Bodleian book, commonly called "Sancroft's book," side by side with this Durham book. If this were done carefully, churchmen would have access for the first time, to the original documents which shew what amendments were adopted and what were REJECTED at the last revision of the Prayer Book. When this has been done, it will be found, as Dr. Blakeney always said, that the last revision did *not* retrograde Romeward, as has been too hastily stated by sciolists.

But to return to our subject.

The above explanation might suffice for such churches as retained at the Restoration the lengthwise arrangement of their Communion tables. Yet it was probably with reference to the

* Milton's *Church Perplexities* (J. F. Shaw), p. 180.

still larger number of Churches in which the now dominant party preferred* to place their tables North and South, that the new language as to "standing before the table" was designed. It would hardly otherwise have been needed, because the awkwardness to be obviated would arise only where the elements were placed



I
of a



Standing before² Table

¶ 1. When the priest hath
so ordered the Bread & Wine,
placed upon the Table, so that
he may read the reading of
Bread & Wine before the people &
decency taketh him into his hands,

1 Cup standing up he shall say, as
followeth.

Almighty God &c

as in a next page.

beyond the reach of a Minister standing on the North of the Table. Where the table stood lengthwise, by simply "standing

* Three of the Ordinaries *required* the table to be placed North and South under the Rubric of 1662: viz. Wren, Lucy, and Pory. Appendix to Second Report Rit. Comm. pp. 557-ii, 615, 625-ii. To whom may be added Bp. Cosin (Cosin Correspondence, ii.-190, cf. Rit. Rep. App. 601.) See also the C. A. Tract, No. 88, pp. 23, 28.

up," he would have them already "before" him. Not so, however, in the other case. Wheatly and Nicholls, the earliest commentators on the Prayer Book who deal with this rubric, both of whom were high Churchmen, assign as the true meaning of the rubric, that the priest who up to that point had stood at the North side, might, before commencing the Consecration prayer, go "before the table" to "order the bread and wine" in such a way that "the manual acts" might afterwards be done "readily" by a celebrant standing in the customary position. Nicholls, the elder of the two writers, mentions the new (Ritualistic) theory as being then (in 1710) "queried by some"—alluding no doubt to the theories of John Johnson of Cranbrook, who first sought to explain the rubric in the Ritualistic sense. Johnson relied, however, *merely on verbal and grammatical arguments*, not at all upon any pretence of tradition or custom. As to usage we have an unexceptionable witness, in Brett, the Nonjuring bishop who revised the Liturgy for the use of his community in 1717, and explained* his own determination of the controversy which had been raised by Johnson. He said:—

"The shorter or fewer alterations from the old order the better, because they will be the less shocking. THEREFORE in the first place I desire that the priest may still be directed to stand at the *North side* of the table, and not at the place which we at this time call *before the table*, that is at the west side with his back to the people. For I conceive such a position of the priest will be very shocking to them, who by this means will not only be hindered from seeing what the priest does when he consecrates (which, whilst I was in the public communion, I observed the people to be very fond of seeing), but they also cannot so much as hear (if the congregation be anything large)."

Three considerations not mentioned by any of these writers, nor adduced in recent Ritual suits, ought to carry weight as being really

"NEW LIGHT."

The first is the fact that in the MS. annexed to the Act of Uniformity, which is THE standard text of the Prayer Book, a semi-colon is placed after the earlier portion of the rubric. It stands thus:—

"When the Priest, standing before the Table, hath so ordered the bread and wine, that he may with the more readines and decency break the Bread before the people, and take the Cup into his hands; he shall say the Prayer of Consecration as followeth.

If the privileged printers had followed the text of the book which they profess to reproduce, the above wording would have made John Johnson's theory impossible: the "standing before the table" having manifestly no relation to anything but the

* Some letters of Dr. Brett. British Museum. "39936. d. 1." p. 31. Ed. 1845.

preliminary actions referred to parenthetically, as it were, quite apart from the direction to "say the Prayer of Consecration as followeth," which was simply retained from the older rubric.

The second ray of "New Light," which has never yet been brought to the notice of any of the Judges, is that Pory, one of the leading Revisers of 1661, in his Visitation Articles of 1665, asked—

"Have you in the chancel of your church or chappel a decent and convenient table for the celebration of the Holy Communion? Is it so set as directed in the Queen's Injunctions, in the place where the altar stood, and so as the priest at the time of consecration may stand *before* the table to *order the bread and wine?*" (*British Museum*, "698 ^h 26. 20.")

That is the *earliest known* exposition, and it was given publicly by one of the Revisers in his official capacity as Ordinary.

The third piece of hitherto buried evidence is from a volume in the Bodleian ("8°. B. 299. B. S.") of Tracts varying in date from A.D. 1704 to 1719, among which is the rare second edition of "Two letters [to Dr. Bissex] in defence of the English Liturgy and Reformation," by John Lewis, Vicar of Margate, 1717. At page 31 occurs this suggestive remark—*

"Succession of Bishops being a note of the Church, the Holy Eucharist being a proper material propitiatory sacrifice, the necessity of private confession to a priest and of the sacerdotal absolution to forgiveness of sins, the independency of the Church, or the ecclesiastical liberty, prayers for the dead, and railing at our great Reformers as Erastians, &c., bidding prayers in the pulpit, consecrating the Holy Eucharist with back turned to the people, and such other whims *lately introduced*. These modern shibboleths of Churchmen as being contrary to the doctrines I have received, and those usages which have been in this Church, ever since I was a catechumen in it, I own, I have always expressed my dislike and abhorrence of."

Lewis was a very able man and a learned writer, who, like Waterland, Wheatly, and others, engaged in controversy with John Johnson; and his letter enables us to fix the date of the introduction of the "E. P." into the Church of England.

Another corroborative proof of the then universally received understanding of this rubric is found in the fact noticed by Canon Simmons, viz. that the Eastward position is never once mentioned in the "Farewell Sermons," or other attacks upon the Prayer Book by the ejected Nonconformists in 1662: nor

* We are indebted to Canon Christopher and to the Rev. C. J. Casher, B.A., for verifying and correcting this extract which we found among the papers of the late Dean Elliot. The British Museum has only the *first* edition of Lewis' pamphlet.

was this rubric ever mentioned among the desired "alterations" proposed by Morton, Baxter, and Bates on the part of the Protestant separatists during the negotiations for "a Comprehension" in 1668. (Sylvester's *Reliquiae Baxterianæ*, Pt. III., p. 33.) Baxter expressly says "this part of the Common Prayer is generally approved." (*Christian Directory*, 2. xxiv. 41.) This was just about the time when Wake, afterwards Abp., in defending the Church of England against Bossuet, said: "Instead of reading the service aloud would you have us turn our backs on the assembly, and whisper they know not what?" (Bp. Gibson's *Preservative*, xii.-351.)

J. T. TOMLINSON.



To be obtained at the Office of the CHURCH ASSOCIATION, 14, Buckingham Street, Strand, London, at the price of 5d per dozen or 3s per 100.

3rd Thousand.]

Martyrdoms for Religion

UNDER

QUEEN ELIZABETH AND QUEEN MARY.



THE Parish Magazine for Frocester, Saul, and Whitminster of January, 1894, had an attack upon the Church Association for sending out its vans into such parishes as theirs. It tells us that the Vicar of Frocester is the Rev. W. Symonds, M.A., while the Rector of Saul is the Rev. R. Hall, M.A. And as Frocester comes topmost, we may suppose that the teaching of this magazine emanates from the former of these gentlemen: though it may be that it is a joint production, and that Saul also is among the prophets. Anyhow these divines have the joint responsibility of putting before their people such statements as the following, which appears at page 3:—

"They have painted on their vans sundry well-known names, of Hooper, Ridley, &c., put to death under Queen Mary—persons with whom they have about as much to do as they have with Hannibal. To furbish up the controversies of 350 years ago has much the air of acting a play. But if we act a play, we should act it right. It is a *disingenuous sampling of history* to set forth the heroes of the Church Association as if they were the only persons put to death for their religion in Reformation times. Those who suffered under Mary and Elizabeth were not far from being equal in number; and a great part of the Roman Catholic victims were hung, drawn, and quartered, and disembowelled while they were alive. It is our good fortune that such things have come to seem incredable." [sic].

The villagers who depend for their "sampling of history" upon these two Gloucestershire divines will naturally infer from the above statement that much greater cruelties were practised in the name of religion by Protestants than by the co-religionists of their Vicar: and thus they may come to No. 204.]

hate the very name of “Reformation,” and aid their pastors in promoting the “re-union of Christendom.” Yet, inasmuch as “no lie thrives,” some of them may learn by-and-by that Elizabeth reigned forty-five years, while Mary only reigned five years, so that even though “religious” murders had been “equal in number” under Elizabeth as under Mary, that would still leave the title of “bloody” to the elder sister. The discovery of that fact may lead them to inquire still further, and they will then find that for the first nineteen years of Elizabeth—a longer period, be it observed, than Mary’s entire reign—not a single human being lost his life in England on any “religious” quarrel or pretext. They will naturally ask, What then could have led to such a change in Elizabeth’s policy?

They will then discover, in the words of Dr. Ingram,* that—

“With the reign of Elizabeth began, on the part of the Popes, a series of aggressions against England, which is without parallel in history, and which entailed the most disastrous consequences on the Roman Catholics of the kingdom. For upwards of thirty years, the Roman Pontiffs directed all the moral *and material* resources at their command to the destruction of England, and her conquest by the King of Spain. During those long years they never rested a moment from their hostile attempts. Laying aside all pretence of acting as spiritual teachers, they took in their hands the temporal sword. They invaded English territories with their own troops; encouraged rebellions; instigated conspiracies; fomented civil wars; taught that religion was to be restored by blood and violence; preached crusades against England; organised confederations of the ‘Catholic’ Powers against her; and despatched missionaries to teach the new faith, which was not the Catholic faith, but a corrupt compound of religion and treason.” (*England and Rome*, Preface xiv.)

And when comparing the two reigns we must remember that—

“In Mary’s reign, bishops, gentlemen, artisans, servants, women and boys were burned for opinions in speculative matters, without the least pretext of the violation of any civil duty, while in the reign of her successor (Elizabeth) ‘all classes of the laity were corrected for non-conformity by a fine of twelve pence. If we remember that Elizabeth made no examination into conscience, but, at the most, required an outward conformity, and if we compare her conduct with that of *contemporaneous* sovereigns, we are constrained to acknowledge, that the compulsory uniformity of the reformed government of England was THE MOST WONDERFUL AND SUDDEN ADVANCE IN HUMANITY RECORDED IN HISTORY.’” (*Ibid.* 223.)

This comparative forbearance is the more striking if we

* Ingram’s *England and Rome*, p. 263. See Review of this work in *Church Intelligencer*, April, 1894, p. 63.

remember that not only renewed attempts at assassination, and repeated conspiracies directly fomented by the Pope, had threatened to overturn the English Government, but that—

"In 1572, the whole reformed world was horrorstruck by the news of the massacre of St. Bartholomew. For upwards of forty years, the Protestants of England had been hearing of the burning, beheading, and burying alive of tens of thousands of dissidents from the Roman faith in the Netherlands by the Spaniards. The memory of their own persecution in the time of Mary was still fresh, and its revival was an ever-present terror before their eyes. They were well aware that the Pope and the King of Spain were plotting the invasion of their country, and the destruction of their institutions. They believed that the success of these plans would entail persecution upon them as severe as those in the Netherlands and in Spain. While they were in this state of mind, the news suddenly arrived that fifty thousand French Protestants had been shot, stabbed, and hacked to pieces at their own firesides by their countrymen, and that the homes of the victims had been polluted by every crime which attends the taking of a city by storm. But this was not all. It was known that the Pope had adopted the massacre; that, on receiving information of it from the Cardinal of Lorrain, he had set apart a day of public thanksgiving to God the just avenger, and had published a bull of extraordinary indulgence to such as should pray for the heavenly assistance to the King and kingdom of France; and that he and his cardinals had walked in procession from sanctuary to sanctuary to celebrate the great event. One thought flashed through the mind of all Protestants. Was there then a universal plot among the Roman Catholics of Europe for the general murder and extermination of the Reformed?"

The cruel punishment for treason (the infliction of which, as described in the *Frocester Magazine*, itself shews that "heresy" was *not* in question, for that always involved burning) was imposed under an old statute of Edward III. passed when England was entirely Papal. Yet—

"So anxious was Elizabeth's government to save these men, and to avoid the obloquy of their execution, that it drew up six questions, in their nature wholly civil, and entirely unconnected with faith or discipline. Speaking of these questions, a Roman Catholic author, Charles Butler (*English Catholics*, I.-429), said, in 1822: 'Among the six questions there is not one which the Catholics of the present time have not fully and unexceptionably answered in the oaths which they have taken in compliance with the Acts of the 18th, 31st, and 33rd years of his late Majesty's reign.' An answer to the effect that Elizabeth was their lawful queen, and that her subjects were not dispensed from their allegiance by the bull of Pius, would have saved them all, as it did actually save three of them, even after their conviction. Cardinal Allen himself admitted that those who were put to death after their answers to the six queries suffered for maintaining the deposing power." (*Ibid.* 281.)

The peril in which England was kept by Jesuit machinations, is well shewn from a speech of the Prime Minister, Cecil, in the very last Parliament of Elizabeth. He said—

"The King of Spain had put four thousand of his best expert soldiers into Ireland under a gallant and hardy captain. . . His presence and cause of war there is to defend the Catholic cause—I mean, to tear her Majesty's subjects from her; for, I may say, she hath no Catholic obedient subject there, because she standeth 'excommunicate' at this present by power of two bulls of this Pope's—by which her subjects are absolved of their obedience. . . Remember that you do this *pro aris et focis*; and for a prince that desireth all your prosperities . . not these five, or seven, or ten, but for three and forty years." (*Paton's British History and Papal Claims*, I.-108.)

Lastly, the inquirers will discover that the revival of "the controversies of 350 years ago" was not in any way due to the Church Association, but to the Tractarians, every one of whose arguments is taken directly from the writings of Bp. Gardiner, Harding the Jesuit, Thomas Aquinas, and other approved teachers of the Romish faith: while the answers now given to the Puseyites may similarly be all of them found in the writings of Cranmer, Jewel, Hooper, and the rest of "our heroes." Even villagers can see that an attack must have preceded a defence, that a reply implies a previous argument. The Church Association was not even founded until the English Church Union had been in existence for more than five years. It is the old fable of "The wolf and the lamb" over again. "We have not troubled Israel, but thou and thy (Papa) father's house." If Hooper and the rest are our "heroes," it follows that we have more to do with them than we have with "Hannibal." If there be any intelligence among the Gloucestershire villagers, they will refuse to follow guides so blind or so disloyal as the writers of some of their Parish Magazines have shewn themselves to be, and they will continue to welcome an occasional visit from one of our Vans to dispel the fog and malaria into which "hireling shepherds" are seeking to lead their unhappy flocks.



INCENSE.

Part I.—Illegal.

F the “six points” of unlawful Ritual which the later Tractarians set themselves to revive, the use of incense alone seems now to lag behind. The *Church Times* of September 7th, 1894, devotes a leader to urging its revival at Harvest Thanksgivings, observing that “*the principle would be conceded* by even a very small use of it,” and that “the British Harvest Festival-goer will think everything right on Harvest Festival day,” and can be educated in this way to tolerate its habitual use.

Four reasons are assigned for the proposed revival. The first is the alleged requirement of the rubric.

“Incense was one of ‘the ornaments of the Church’ in the second year of King Edward VI.; and therefore its use is not only allowed, but is provided for in our present Prayer Book.”

It was, of course, a slip to speak of incense as an “ornament,” and the leader-writer doubtless intended to refer to the censer. Yet it would be misleading to represent censers as in general use even in 1548 : and quite untrue to say that they were authorised or even recognised by the First Prayer Book of Edward VI. That omission was the more marked because the Missals of Sarum, Bangor, Hereford, and York, had each provided for, and directed the use of the censer; so that the careful omission of any corresponding rubric in the Prayer Book of 1549, was emphasized by the statement in its Preface that the new “Order for Prayer” was—

“More profitable, because here are LEFT OUT many things whereof some be untrue, some uncertain, some vain and superstitious. It is also more commodious, both for the shortness thereof, and for the plainness of the order, and for that the rules be few and easy. Furthermore by this order, the curate shall *need none other books* for their public service than this book and the Bible: by the means whereof the people shall not be at so great charge for books, as in time past they have been.”

The Preface of 1549 went on to abolish all special local Uses
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and to say "from henceforth the whole Realm shall have but one Use." That "one Use" was prescribed within the covers of the Prayer Book itself, to the designed exclusion of all previous usages which were not expressly "retained" by it.

The Venetian Ambassador, in May, 1551, describes the "Use" under the First Prayer Book as follows:—"They use bells and organs, but neither altars, nor images, nor [holy] water, nor incense, nor other Roman ceremonies . . . they dismiss the non-communicants from the choir." (Venetian State Papers, V., pp. 347, 353.) It should be remembered that altars had been removed before he wrote, under a Statutory Order of the Privy Council, dated November 23rd, 1550.

We have nothing to do with the *usages* of the Second year of Edward, because these were not only superseded, but abolished by "Authority of Parliament in the second year," viz. the Act 2 & 3. Ed. VI., c. 1, which (in the last week of that year) supplanted all previously varying rites by the "one" uniform Protestant Liturgy of 1549, so that they became thenceforward illegal. The *Church Times* has but repeated the old sleight-of-hand, by which the *customs* of 1548 (which were almost entirely Popish) are put to the front and palmed off instead of the "parliamentary" Prayer Book which swept them away: whereas the actual usages of 1548 rested upon no "Authority of Parliament" whatever.

No censer, and no use of incense in *any* form was recognised by the First Prayer Book of Edward VI., which is "the Authority of Parliament" referred to in our Ornaments rubric. The only "Ornaments of the Church" prescribed or implied by that book were the "Lord's Table," the pulpit, the font, the Bible, the Prayer Book, the poor men's box, the paten, chalice, bell, corporas, oil-vessel, and pyx for conveying the wafer to sick folk at home. The chrysome, and the water cruet might, perhaps, also be included. But no room for a censer can be detected in that Liturgy. Even before the Reformation the use of incense had been quite rare and exceptional. It is not so much as mentioned by John De Burgh, in 1365, or by Myrc in 1420, nor in the *Lay-folk's Mass book*, which was still earlier, nor in the Rationale prepared for Convocation by Bp. Gardiner in 1540. In the Surrey Inventories, published with great care by Mr. Tyssen, there is not a single censer: nor in the Lincolnshire Inventories, published by Mr. Peacock, a learned R. C. antiquarian. "Nor is there any charge for incense through long periods of years in some of the churchwardens' accounts of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries."

It is clear therefore that incense was unpopular before the Reformation, whether on the ground of expense, or of its unpleasant odour, or of the associations with sanitation which even now link it irrevocably with pastilles and "ribbons of

Bruges." Mr. Scudamore, the most learned of the Ritualists, is compelled by the evidence to admit that "the RITUAL use of incense is of course illegal, as it is not prescribed in the First Book of Edward." (*Notitia Eucharistica*, second edit. p. 143.) On this ground it was judicially condemned by Sir Robert Phillimore, and by Lord Penzance in a series of suits, and no appeal from their adverse judgments on this head has been so much as attempted. Indeed, every one of the counsel employed by the E. C. U. in 1866 pronounced against its use, and this too on their own *ex parte* Case, prepared by their most learned expert. Their Opinion (published by the E. C. U. and also reprinted in the Appendix to the First Report of the Ritual Commission, p. 157), was as follows :—

"We are of opinion that the burning of Incense in censers for censing persons or things in the course of the service is not lawful. We know no sufficient authority for using Incense in any other way."

ROBERT PHILLIMORE.

JAMES HANNEN.

C. G. PRIDEAUX.

"I am strongly of opinion that the burning of Incense in any way and for any purpose in the course of any of the services is unlawful. There is no direction that the officiating minister is to do such a thing; and he may not authorize others to do it."

J. PARKER DEANE.

"I am of opinion that sufficient evidence as to the use of Incense under the Prayer Book of 1549 is not adduced in the Case to prevent my agreeing with the Queen's Advocate and Mr. Hannen that the burning of Incense in Censers for the purpose of censing persons or things is not lawful."

J. CUTLER.

"I find myself unable to arrive at the conclusion that it is now lawful to use Incense in any part of the service."

W. M. JAMES.

"We are of opinion that the burning of Incense is not now lawful."

WM. BOVILL.

J. D. COLERIDGE.

Not one single lawyer gave a favourable Opinion, though invited to do so by the English Church Union, so that the continued advocacy of this clearly unlawful practice by the E.C.U. proves that they do not care twopence for law or order whenever these conflict with their Romanizing movement.*

On the other hand, we have as an Official contemporary interpretation the facts that both in the Provinces of Canterbury and York censers were ordered by the Metropolitan in his Visitations, A.D. 1571 and 1576, to be destroyed as "relics and monu-

* The Rev. Morris Fuller, B.D., in a pamphlet published by Innes & Co., December, 1894, p. 64, has actually *invented* an imaginary judgment of the Privy Council in favour of Incense!

ments of superstition and idolatry." (Grindal's *Remains*, pp. 135, 159.) Bp. Jewel in the Homily *On peril of Idolatry* which was adopted by Convocation in the same Synod which put forth also the Thirty-nine Articles, described the "candlesticks, incense-ships," &c., of the Jewish temples as "things allowed of the Lord, *when the priests offered sacrifices*," but quotes St. Jerome as teaching this "sumptuousness amongst the Jews to be a figure to signify, and *not an example to follow*, and that those outward things were suffered *for a time*, until Christ our Lord came, who turneth all these outward things into spirit, faith, and truth." (Hom., Part III., p. 269, ed. S.P.C.K., 8vo.) Bp. Jewel's marked rejection of the pre-Reformation ritual was indicated also by his censure in the same Homily of "this costly and manifold furniture of vestments OF LATE USED in the Church." And it is noteworthy that although Q. Elizabeth herself edited this Homily and made certain alterations in its wording after it left Convocation, she did *not* interfere with the Synodical censure of Incense-burning. (See the paper on the Second Book of Homilies, in *Church Intelligencer*, May, 1894, vol. XI., p. 75.) Hence we may fairly infer that as incense was never used in her own chapel after the restoration of Edward's Second Prayer Book, she could not have intended to restore it by the fraud-rubric of which she appears to have been the sole author. Still less could it be "retained" in 1661 when not a single censer had been left.

Part II.—Unscriptural.

The *Church Times* contends that incense "stands on scriptural authority" because

"ordained by God Himself with minuteness of detail, surrounded by restrictions intended to elevate its sanctity and prohibit profanation and improper use."

That argument, however, proves too much. It would prove indeed that every Ritualist should be put to death ! for "God Himself" directed the precise ingredients which alone might be employed and which were to be lit *only* from the altar of burnt-offering in the outer court, no layman, under any pretext, venturing to burn a single grain of it. It was, moreover, to be burnt *out of sight* of the laity, in the holy place, and only once a year might it be taken within the Sanctuary proper, every inferior priest being at that time carefully excluded even from entrance into the Temple ! Offerings "for sin" were *not* accompanied by incense burning.

Many of these "minute details" were enforced under a death penalty, and every one of them is violated in Ritualistic churches. The argument might, therefore, be retorted with interest. If God prescribed "minute details" under the Old Testament, we

might fairly have expected under the New Testament at least an equal care to prevent " profanation " if any such usage had been intended to continue.

The leader-writer, however, claims that Malachi i.-11 is to the point—

" Neither will I accept an offering at your hand. For from the rising of the sun even unto the going down of the same, my name shall be great among the Gentiles ; and in every place Incense shall be offered unto my name, and a pure offering (*mincha*)."

" Of no other offering has it ever been true, or can it ever be true that it has prevailed, or shall prevail, ' in every place ' and at all times ' from the rising of the sun unto the going down of the same.' "

Had this been the meaning of the passage it is quite certain that incense would have been burnt in " every " church as being the revealed will of God from the very earliest times. No Christian assembly could ever have been held anywhere without this inspired observance. And no room for doubt as to the literal obligation of so conspicuous a rite, if observed by all as sacred, could then have found an entrance. Yet some room for hesitation must have remained. For Daniel had prophesied no less clearly (ix.-27) that the Messiah should make the " sacrifice and the oblation (*mincha*) to cease." Jeremiah had, indeed, foretold that " burning and kindling " would be the characteristics of gospel times (Jer. xxxiii.-18*), while Isaiah had predicted that the " *mincha* " would consist of the souls and bodies of living men (Isa. lxvi.-20). Were all these apparently contradictory statements to be taken literally ? At any rate, we find that Mal. i.-11 was not so taken by those nearest to Apostolic times. There was a remarkable consensus of opinion that this passage foretold the superiority of spiritual worship under the New Covenant to the " smoky " sacrificial system of the Jews. Thus the very earliest notice of the passage, in the *Didachè*, chapter 14, says :—

" But on the Lord's Lord's-day do ye, having assembled, break bread and give thanks (*Eucharistèsate*) after confessing your trans-

* " When the word ' karpōmata ' was used (as in the Liturgy of St. James, pp. 222, 305), the knowledge must have died out that in the LXX it almost, invariably represents offerings made by fire." (*Swainson's Greek Liturgies* pref. xxxix.) Wine never formed part of the " *mincha* " proper, being poured out as a libation, not drunk ; and it was added with the mincha only in the case of *burnt* offerings. The mincha was a mixture of oil, salt, and flour or meal, with a lump of frankincense on the top, which Mr. Sadler admits did not " resemble in the smallest degree " the elements of the eucharist destined solely for human food. No part of the " *mincha* " was ever eaten by the laity : but it was the name given to the *Evening sacrifice* (1 Kings xviii.-29, 36 ; Dan. ix.-21 ; Psalm cxli.-2). See Vogan's *True doctrine of the Eucharist*, p. 352 ; Kurtz's *Sacrificial worship of the O. T.*, p. 301 ; Smith's *Dict. of Bible*, Art. " Meat-offering." And " the time of the mincha " meant 4.30 p.m. See Kingdon's *Fasting Communion*, p. 330.

gressions, that your sacrifice may be pure. But let no one that hath a dispute with his comrade assemble with you until they be reconciled, that your sacrifice be not profaned. For this is that which was spoken by the Lord: ‘In every place *and time* bring me a pure sacrifice; for I am a great King saith the Lord, and my name is wonderful among the Gentiles.’”

Here it is noteworthy that the passage is not quoted exactly—the added words “*and time*” being evidence that Evening Communion was not then regarded as tabooed, while the omission of any mention of “incense” shews that the literal requirement of scent was not then supposed to have been a subject of Divine Revelation.

It was the praise, and giving-of-thanks *accompanying* the administration of the Supper which constituted the “offering” of its “Eucharist,” and (not the bread or wine) which formed this “pure offering.”* Not *one* of the Fathers took the “incense” to be literal. Justin Martyr loosely applied the text Mal. i.11, to “the Eucharist,” as he did also the oblation of fine flour at the cleansing of the leper (*Trypho*. c. 41), but Tertullian, Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Eusebius, and Jerome quote the text as referring to the “rendering of glory, benediction, praise, and hymns”; of “sincere prayer from a pure conscience,” the “prayers of the saints,” and “the wills of those who offered.” The only one of the “ancient liturgies” which cites the passage, viz. the so-called *Liturgy of S. Mark* understood the incense *literally*: but, as Mr. Drake observes, the only MS. of it extant is of the eleventh or twelfth century, and “we have absolutely not a tittle of evidence that, in its present form, it was ever used in any ante-Nicene church.” He adds: “the occurrence of an isolated passage in the most perplexing of all Liturgies cannot be made the ground of serious argument” (*Drake’s Teaching of the Church during the first three centuries*, p. 155.) On the other hand, we have the fact that the *Liturgy of St. Clement*, which has been changed least of any, does *not* recognise any use of incense. The so-called *Apostolic Constitutions*, contrast Judaism with Christianity as follows:—

“He has in several ways changed baptism, sacrifice, the priesthood, and the Divine service, which was confined to one place, for instead of daily baptisms, He has given only one, which is that into His death. Instead of one tribe he has appointed that out of every nation the best should be appointed for a priesthood; that not their bodies should be examined for blemishes, but their religion and their lives. Instead of a bloody sacrifice, he has appointed that reasonable and unbloody mystical one of his body and blood, which is performed to represent the *Death* of the Lord by symbols. Instead of the Divine service

* See Waterland’s *Review of the Doctrine of the Eucharist*, Ed. 1868, pp. 534, 540 and *passim*. It was edited by Bp. Jackson at the request of the two Archbishops, and published by the Clarendon Press.

confined to one place, he has commanded and appointed that He should be glorified from sunrising to sunsetting in every place of his dominion." (Book VI.-xxiii. and VII.-30.)

When, at a later date and by successive interpolations, the use of incense had been introduced into the Liturgies it was not with any reference to the prophecy of Malachi but as an altogether independent offering. For instance, in the *Ordo Communis* the priest and people say together—

"The pure incense which the sons of the faithful church have offered to Thee to propitiate thy Godhead, receive in Thy gracious goodness . . . so let the smell of our incense be grateful to Thee, and be Thou appeased therewith, O God of great mercy." (*Littledale on Incense*, p. 18.)

In many cases it was offered to Christ himself, shewing that "the mediation of Christ" could not be the offering symbolised in these Liturgies. For example, the Armenian says—

"O Lord Christ, in Thy presence we offer incense, a spiritual fragrance full of sweetness. Receive it in the odour of sweetness at Thy celestial and immaterial altar of oblations, &c." (*Littledale*, p. 20.)

Such man-made "offerings" were in no way connected either with the Altar-of-incense at Jerusalem, or with the prophecy of Malachi.

It is claimed by the *Church Times* that incense was presented to Christ by the wise men. But how? Not as commissioned "priests," nor by burning it in a censer lit "at the vestry gas-burner" as directed by the *Directorium Anglicanum*: not by any ritual or sacrificial "offering" at all, but simply to symbolise their belief that Christ Himself (not the offerers) was the true Priest, entitled, therefore, to do what no layman might attempt, viz. to burn incense before the Lord in His Temple and at the one unseen altar appropriated to that ritual use.

That is why in Rev. viii.-3 the "Angel" of the Covenant (Mal. iii.-1) is represented as alone *offering* the incense, though the twenty-four elders bore "vials" (perhaps containing it?) ready for the Master's use. The High priest alone might bring his censer within the veil. The "vials" (not the odours) were "the prayers of the saints," and their "odours" must therefore mean their resemblance to the mind of Christ, if and when offered by Him "with" the incense which He *alone* was entitled to burn. Whenever the offering of incense took place, the One priest was always alone in this ministration, and no burning of it in the outer court might then be attempted.

Nevertheless the *Church Times* persists—

"The coming Incarnation was announced to Zacharias when 'his lot was to burn incense'; and the Angel* who delivered God's message did so 'standing on the right hand of the altar of incense.'"

This illustrates well the value of "tradition." The message

* The Roman Missal substitutes "Michael" for Gabriel!

of the Angel to Zacharias did not in any way relate to "the Incarnation," but to Zacharias' own son, John the Baptist (Luke i.-13). On the altar of incense no "Body" of a victim was ever presented, no sin offering was ever "offered," and even the rare act of applying sacrificial "Blood" to its horns was only done by the High priest in person when quite alone in the Temple, and then, *not by way of a sacrifice*, but as the Sacramental application to it of the Atonement *already wrought* within the veil before the Mercy-seat itself.

It follows that the symbolic teaching of Scripture in each of these instances is violated both in letter and spirit by the modern Ritualism.

Part III.—Unprimitive.

The language of the early Christian writers is inconsistent with any ceremonial employment of incense.

JUSTIN MARTYR, A.D. 163, says:—

"He has no need of streams of blood and libations and incense Whom we praise to the utmost of our power by the exercise of prayer and thanksgiving for all things." (Apol. c. 13.)

ATHENAGORAS, A.D. 177, alluding to the heathen rites, says:—

"The Creator and Father of the Universe does not require blood nor smoke, nor the sweet smell of flowers and incense." (Legatio. sec. 13.)

TERTULLIAN, A.D. 198, arguing that Christian worship was not more unfavourable to public prosperity than that of the heathen, says:—

"We buy certainly no frankincense; if the Arabians complain of this, the Sabaeans will witness that more and more costly merchandise of theirs is lavished in the burials of Christians than in burning incense to the gods." (Apol. c. xl.)

"I offer to Him a sacrifice which He Himself hath commanded, the prayer that proceedeth from a chaste body, from a soul that sinneth not, from a sanctified spirit—not the few grains of incense a farthing buys, tears of an Arabian tree," &c. (Apol. cap. xxx.)

CLEMENT of ALEXANDRIA, A.D. 215—

"As we have abandoned luxury in taste, so do we banish voluptuousness in sights and odours. . . If therefore they were to say that the Lord, the great High Priest, offers the incense of sweet smell to God, let them not suppose it to be this sacrifice and sweet smell of incense, but let them take it that the Lord offers on the altar, the acceptable gift of charity, the spiritual perfume." (Pedagogue, II. c. 8.)

"The altar, then, that is with us here, the terrestrial one, is the

congregation of those who devote themselves to prayers, having as it were one common voice and one mind. . . . For the sacrifice of the Church is the word breathing as incense from holy souls, the sacrifice and the whole mind being at the same time unveiled to God. And will they not believe us when we say that the righteous soul is the truly sacred altar, and that incense arising from it is holy prayer? . . Wherefore we ought to offer to God sacrifices not costly, but such as He loves. And that compounded incense which is mentioned in the Law, is that which consists of many tongues and voices in prayer, or rather of different nations and natures, prepared by the gift vouchsafed in the dispensation ‘for the unity of the faith,’ and brought together in praises.” (*Miscellanies*, VII.-vi.)

ARNOBIUS, A.D. 298, speaking of the heathen employment of incense, says :—

“ Whence have you been able to learn that with good reason you think either that it should be given to the gods, or that it is pleasing to their fancy.” (*Adv. Gentes*. c. vii.)

LACTANTIUS, A.D. 303 :—

“ Lest any think that victims or odours, or precious gifts are wanted by God . . this is the true sacrifice ; not that which is brought out of a box, but that which is brought out of the heart.” (*Epitome*, c. 58.)

“ Incense and other perfumes should not be offered at the sacrifice of God,’ forasmuch as ‘these and the like do not accord with Him.’” (*Inst. VI.*, c. xxv.)

EUSEBIUS of Caesarea, A.D. 338 (as quoted by Dr. Littledale), ascribes to Constantine the words—“The Eucharist is a sacrifice of thanksgiving, where one needs not incense or a lighted pyre” and himself remarks—“It is not proper to burn incense or to sacrifice to God who is over all with any things that come of earth.” (*Demonstratio Evangelica*. III.)

ST. AUGUSTINE, A.D. 396 :—

“ We do not go to Arabia to seek for frankincense : nor do we rifle the packs of the greedy trader. God demands of us the sacrifice of praise.” (*Enarr. in Psalm xlix. sec. 21.*)

Canon Robertson, in his *History of the Christian Church*, (I.-354), shews how these heathen practices obtained an entrance. He says, “ Multitudes were drawn into the Church by the conversion of the Emperor without any sufficient understanding of their new profession—with minds still possessed by heathen notions, and corrupted by the general depravation of heathen morality. The governors of the Church attempted to recommend the gospel to such converts by ceremonies which might rival those of the old religion, and so, it was hoped, might attract them to the true and saving essentials. But unhappily, Christianity itself lost in the process,—not only being discredited by unworthy professors, but becoming affected in its doctrines and practices by heathenism. Pagan usages were adopted,—the

burning of lamps or candles by day (which, even so lately as the time of Lactantius, had been a subject of ridicule for Christian controversialists)—incense, illustrations and the like: and there was indeed too much foundation for the reproach with which the Manichean Faustus assailed the Church:—‘the sacrifices of the heathen you have turned into love-feasts; their idols into martyrs, whom you worship with similar devotions; you propitiate the shades of the dead with wine and dainties; the solemn days of the Gentiles you keep with them, as the Kalends and the Solstices: and certain it is that you have changed nothing from their manner of life.’”

The only vouchers alleged by the advocates of Ritualism as belonging to the first four centuries are either mere rhetorical allusions to the symbolism of the Old Testament, or else comparatively late forgeries or interpolations. Thus—

(1) The so-called “APOSTOLIC CANON”—

“If any bishop or presbyter, contrary to the appointment of the Lord relating to the sacrifice, offer upon the altar any other thing be it honey or milk . . . let him be deposed, except new ears of corn and bunches of grapes in their season. But let it not be lawful for anything else to be offered at the altar than oil for the lamp, and incense at the time of the holy oblation.” (*Beveregii Pandectæ*, i., p. 2.)

On this, Scudamore observes (*Notit. Eucharistica*, 2nd edit. p. 147)—

“All after the word ‘deposed’ has the appearance of an addition very awkwardly made, with the design of favouring a novel practice contrary to the spirit of the Canon as it originally stood.”

Dr. Littledale indeed states that the Arabic version “mentions that the incense was *for use* at the time of the Sacrament and prayers.” This, however, is incorrect. It merely speaks of incense (for funeral and sanitary purposes) as being legitimately “offered at the time of the sacrament and prayers,” just as money and other gifts are now presented in England as “oblations” at the offertory. For evidence of the spurious character of these sham “Apostolic” canons, see Whitaker’s *Disputations* (Parker Soc.), p. 41; Smith’s *Dict. Christian Antiquities*, pp. 118, 831; Canon Jenkins on “the canons called Apostolical,” p. 13; Krabbe’s *Essay on the Apostolic Constitutions*, New York, 1888, p. 487; and CHURCH INTELLIGENCER, VI.-51.

(2) “A work once ascribed to HIPPOLYTUS, Bp. of Portus, A.D. 220, but now acknowledged to be spurious, is often quoted to the same effect. ‘The churches lament with a great lamentation, because neither the oblation nor the burning of incense is performed.’ The writer evidently intended only a figurative allusion to Jewish rites: and the work is a very worthless production of the 5th or 6th century.” (Scudamore, *Not. Euch.*, p. 148, quoting Tillemont, Dupin, and Combefis.) Mr. Scuda-

more thinks it is based on a rhetorical passage in St. BASIL, describing the tenth persecution—"There was no oblation, nor Incense, nor place of sacrifice"—words borrowed directly from the "Song of the three children," verse 15, even the Hellenistic word *καρπώσατ* being retained. See above, foot note, p. 5.

(3) The so-called "APOSTOLICAL CONSTITUTIONS," Book II.-26, are quoted for—

"Let the widows and orphans be esteemed as representing (*εἰς τύπον*) the altar (*θυσιαστηρίου*) of burnt-offering; and let the virgins be honoured as representing the altar of incense and the incense itself."*

Dr. Littledale tried to base an argument on the theory that *Thusiastērion* meant specifically the altar of incense; that, however, is not only contrary to the fact† (*Thusia* never being used of incense in the LXX. or N.T.), but it would destroy the contrast intended to shew the superiority of "virginity," between the altar (of burnt-offering) in the outer court, and that (of incense) within the sanctuary. Bp. Lightfoot has shewn in his notes on Ignatius, Vol. II., i.-44, and ii.-913, that *Thusiastērion* was habitually used in this allusive and symbolic manner, not for the material altar, but for the precinct of the altar of *burnt-offering*, which was also the "place of the congregation" or *ecclesia*. Thus he contrasts the *Thusiastērion* with the *Naos*, or inner shrine, where the altar of incense was, to which no layman ever had access. And he points out the direct resemblance between the Epistle of Polycarp to the Philippians, sec. iv., and this very passage of the "Constitutions."

The facts that no mention of censers occurs in these "Constitutions," and that the so-called "Liturgy of Clement," which they contain, has no reference to incense, also prove the metaphorical nature of the comparison.

(4) A phrase is adduced from St. AMBROSE of a similarly rhetorical character—"When we are heaping up the altars, and bringing the sacrifice." Dr. Littledale, overlooking the classical use of the word, fancied that "*adolentibus*" here meant burning incense. He forgot that Augustine was the disciple of Ambrose yet belonged to that African Church, which, as he himself admits, always lacked this "catholic" rite. Moreover, incense never was burned on Christian "altars," as his rendering would seem to imply.

(5) St. EPHREM's *Testament* is quoted as an "incontestable proof" that St. Ambrose's words must be understood literally. Mr. Scudamore observes that the document is "a clumsy

* Dr. Donaldson's translation in Clark's *Ante-Nicene Library*, p. 59.

† In Exod. xxx.-1, and Luke i.-11, an exceptional use of *Thusiastērion* for the golden altar is explained by adding the words "of incense."

forgery." It begins, like all documents of the kind, in the first person : "I, Ephrem, am about to die," &c.; but the impostor so far forgot himself as to break into a narrative more than once, and to continue it as a dying speech : "While the blessed man was with tears giving directions," &c. (*Not. Euch.*, p. 151.) Claude de Vert and St. Thomas Aquinas held that incense was introduced at first on purely sanitary grounds. Even in the West, in the days of Charlemagne, the following benediction continued in use :—"May the Lord bless this incense *to the extinction of every noxious stench.*" The by-standers drew with their hands the smoke towards their nostrils and mouths for this purpose. (Burbidge, *Liturgies*, p. 94. Trevor on *Eucharist*, p. 166, 1st edit., or 288, 2nd edit.) Hiding one evil smell by another more powerful, such as the burning of brown paper, or plunging a hot iron into vinegar, were old-world prescriptions of the same class. But civilised communities may say of incense what the old lady said when asked if she used scent—"Thank you ; I have no need of it."



THE USE OF THE TERM "PRIEST" IN THE PRAYER BOOK.



T is sometimes carelessly alleged that the essential meaning of the word "priest" is "one who offers sacrifice." That, however, is contrary to fact. Any good dictionary taken at random will dissipate this fable. The idea of sacrifice was not involved in the etymology of the word, and the later association of "priest" with sacrifice sprang out of the accidental union in the same person of two separate offices.

It is matter for regret that the translators of the Old Testament used the word "priest," to render the Hebrew "cohen."

"The original meaning of the word 'cohen,' (says Canon R. B. Girdlestone in his excellent *Synonyms of the Old Testament*, page 383) is lost in obscurity. In 1 Kings iv.-5 the Authorised version renders it 'principal officer' (compare the marginal rendering of verse 2); in 2 Sam. viii.-18, and xx.-26 it has been rendered 'chief ruler' (margin, 'princes'). David's own sons were thus designated, but it seems impossible now to decide what duties were involved under this name. In Job xii.-19 it is rendered 'princes.' The French and other nations which have translated the word 'Sacrificer,' have made a mistake, because it is not the business of the priest to sacrifice. The *people* are the sacrificers, i.e. slayers of the victim; whilst the priests, according to the Levitical system, sprinkled the blood of atonement on the altar, and turned the pieces into fragrant smoke; and this they did as the representatives of the mercy of God. It need hardly be said that no process answering to this peculiar rite is exercised by the Christian ministry."

Dean Plumptre remarks, in Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible* (II.-925), that "the history of language presents few stranger facts than those connected with these words. Priest, our only equivalent for *Hiereus*, comes to us from the word which was chosen because it excluded the idea of a sacerdotal character. Bishop has narrowly escaped a like perversion, occurring, as it constantly does, in Wycliffe's version as the translation of *Archiereus* (e.g., John xviii.-15, Heb. viii.-1.)" Wycliffe used "priest" correctly in such passages as Acts xiv.-23, 1 Tim. v.-17: not so much translating, as transferring the original word.

The best excuse that can be offered for the translators of the Bible is that there was no single English word which would exactly hit off the peculiar function of a sacrificing priest. The people "offered" and "presented" their offerings, so that there was no word left to discriminate exclusively the peculiar function of the professional ministrant. To have repeated the two words "sacrificing priest" every time that "cohen" recurred might

have proved wearisome and awkward; but the unfortunate result has been to create a confusion in the minds of the Bible-reading Protestants between the Levitical priest and the Christian presbyter. Let the blame, however, be thrown on the right shoulders: for the compilers of the Liturgy used the word "priest" in its strict sense as the abbreviated form of "presbyter"; whereas the translators of the Old Testament applied it in a restricted meaning which was not proper to the word itself.

We propose to illustrate this by a few extracts from the writings of the leading translators of the English Bible, and the chief Apologists for the English Prayer Book when both had just been recently issued.

TYNDALE rightly claims the foremost place, and he candidly admits that priest was not the rightful translation of the Hebrew word *cohen*. He says:—

"There is a word in Latin *SACERDOS*, in Greek *HIEREUS*, in Hebrew *COHAN*, that is minister, an officer, a sacrificer, or priest; as Aaron was a priest, and sacrificed for the people, and was a mediator between God and them. *And in the English should it have had some other name than priest.* But Antichrist hath deceived us with unknown and strange terms, to bring us into confusion and superstitious blindness. Of that manner is Christ a priest for ever, and all we priests through him, and need no more of any such priest on earth, to be a mean for us unto God. For Christ hath brought us into the inner temple, within the veil or forehanging, and unto the mercy-stool of God, and hath coupled us unto God; where we offer, every man for himself, the desires and petitions of his heart, and sacrifice and kill the lusts and appetites of his flesh, with prayer, fasting, and all manner godly living. Another word is there in Greek, called *presbyter*, in Latin *senior*, in English an *Elder*, and is nothing but an officer to teach, and not to be a mediator between God and us." (*Doctrinal Treatises*, page 255.)

FULKE, in his *Defence of the English Translations of the Bible* (page 109, cf. pp. 242, 243), replied to his Romish adversary:—

"You corruptly translate *sacerdos* and *presbyter* always as though they were all one, *a priest*, as though the Holy Ghost had made that distinction in vain, or that there were no difference between the priesthood of the New Testament and the Old. The name of the priest, according to the original derivation from *presbyter*, we do not refuse; but according to the common acception for a sacrificer, we cannot take it, when it is spoken of the ministry of the New Testament. And although many of the ancient Fathers have abusively confounded the terms of *sacerdos* and *presbyter*, yet that is no warrant for us to translate the Scripture, and to confound that which we see manifestly the Spirit of God hath distinguished . . . Neither is *presbyter* by ecclesiastical use so appropriated to signify a priest, that you

would always translate it so in the Old Testament, where your Vulgar translator useth it for a name of office and government, and not for priests at any time."

Indeed this was freely admitted by the other side. It is not generally known that HARDING the Jesuit published a partial reply to Jewel's celebrated "Apology" at Louvain, in 1567, *cum privilegio*. There is a copy of this rare work in the British Museum bearing the lengthy title—*A rejoinder to M. Jewel's replie against the sacrifice of the Mass. In which the doctrine of the Answere to the xvii Article of the Challenge is defended, and further proved, and all that this reply containeth against the sacrifice is clearly confuted and disproved by Thomas Harding, Doctor of divinitie.* On page 13 of this work Harding says:—"I am constrained by the Replie to make a distinction between these two terms *sacerdos* and *presbyter* by which the persons of the highest order in the Church be called, and in our English tongue there want two distinct terms correspondent with them, the name of priest serving to both, as common use hath received; I will for a few leaves, that my talk may be more distinct and better perceived, use the term *sacrificer* for the Latin *sacerdos*, and the term *priest* for the word *presbyter*."

Archbishop WHITGIFT in defending the Prayer Book against Cartwright, said:—

"The name of priest need not be so odious unto you as you would seem to make it. I suppose it cometh of this word *presbyter*, not of *sacerdos*; and then the matter is not great . . . The learned and best of our English writers, such I mean as write in these our days, translate this word *presbyter* so: and the very word itself, as it is used in our English tongue, soundeth the word *presbyter*. As heretofore use hath made it to be taken for a sacrificer, so will use now alter that signification, and make it to be taken for a minister of the Gospel. But it is mere vanity to contend for the name when we agree of the thing: the name may be used, and not used, without any great offence." (*Works*, III.-350-1. Compare II.-311.)

HOOKER supported the same contention by urging—

"As for the people when they hear the name it draweth no more their minds to any cogitation of sacrifice, that the name of a Senator or Alderman causeth them to think upon old age or to imagine that everyone so termed must needs be ancient because years were respected in the first nomination of both. Wherefore to pass by the name, let them use what dialect they will, whether we call it a Priesthood, a Presbytership, or a Ministry it skilleth not; although in truth the word *presbyter* doth seem more fit, and in propriety of speech more agreeable than priest with the drift of the whole Gospel of Jesus Christ . . . The Holy Ghost throughout the body of the New Testament making so much mention of them doth not anywhere call them priests. The prophet Esay, I grant, doth; but in such

sort as the ancient Fathers, by way of analogy." (*Eccl. Polity*, ed. Keble, II.-471.)

BULLINGER, in his "Decades," sanctioned by convocation, explains this "analogy."

"It appeareth that the ministers of the New Testament, for a certain likeness which they have with ministers of the Old Testament, of ecclesiastical writers are called priests; for as they did the service in the tabernacle, so these also, after their manner and fashion, minister to the Church of God. For otherwise the Latin word (sacerdos) is derived of holy things, and signifieth a minister of holy things; a man, I say, dedicated and consecrated unto God to do holy things. And holy things are not only sacrifices, but what things soever come under the name of religion; from which we do not exclude the laws themselves and holy doctrine. In the Old Testament we read that David's sons were called priests, not that they were ministers of holy things (for it was not lawful for them, which came of the tribe of Judah, to serve the tabernacle, but only to the Levites); but because they, living under the government and discipline of priests, did learn good sciences and holy divinity." (*Fifth Decad.*, Sermon III.)

Even Mr. SCUDAMORE, the learned Ritualist, admits that—

"It is evident, both from its derivation and history, that the name of priest was not originally associated with the idea of sacrifice. In strictness it is not applicable to the sacrificing officers of the Jewish or heathen temples; but our language was destitute of a word properly descriptive of their function, and we naturally extended to them the name of office assigned to those who discharge an analogous duty in the Church of Christ. We called them presbyters or priests, and thenceforth, attaching the idea of sacrifice to the word, lost sight of its original Christian meaning." (*Notitia Eucharistica*, page 186.)

Nevertheless we must always bear in mind, to quote the words of Dr. Blakeney, that "the word priest denotes simply a presbyter, and it is necessary to prefix the word *sacrificing* to it in the designation of one who bears the office in a Romish sense. Our Church does this, when she speaks in the Homily of a "sacrificing priest." Let us be careful to do likewise.

At the last revision of the Prayer Book, the clergy subscribed in four separate bodies, representing the two houses of both the Convocations. Each of these described the Ordinal now in use as "the form and manner of ordaining and consecrating bishops, *presbyters*, and deacons." The book thus subscribed is now part of the Act of Uniformity, and thus furnishes the most authoritative declaration possible of the meaning of the Church of England.

THE MINISTER'S SCARF, or the “SACRIFICER'S” STOLE—WHICH?



ANON MACCOLL complains in *The Times* of April 11th, that “we all break the law laid down by the Judicial Committee. For that august tribunal declared the illegality of all stoles as well as the illegality of all chasubles, and all the clergy wear stoles.” That is a typical sample of the habitual modesty and accuracy of Canon MacColl. The Privy Council never had the legality of stoles before them, and, of course, never “declared” anything whatever about them. The illegality of stoles rests upon a decision of the Rt. Hon. Sir R. J. Phillimore, who, as Dean of the Arches, in the Purchas case, held that stoles were *not* one of the “ornaments of the ministers” of the First Prayer Book of Edward VI. Ritualists should bear that fact in mind, since Sir R. J. Phillimore was not then following any previous decision of the Privy Council. If Sir R. J. Phillimore was a ‘spiritual’ judge, why do they not conform to his ruling? If he was *not* a ‘spiritual’ judge why did Dr. Pusey in his *Letter to Liddon* (p. 35) speak of him as “the Church's highest tribunal?”

In the next place, what the loyal clergy wear is *not* a “stole” at all. Unluckily the Tractarian revival made it fashionable to smatter “correct” (?) antiquarian terms; and Bp. Jenner and Canon Trevor tell us that it became the fashion about 1848 to call the old-fashioned scarf a “stole.” Ignorant Evangelicals may have foolishly followed this fashion; but so far from being identical, the two things were constantly contrasted in the time of Elizabeth as being the badges respectively of the Protestant parson or the Popish priest.

The stole and the scarf are perfectly separate and distinct things. The stole was a narrow strip of coloured silk, expanded at the ends which were often embroidered and
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fringed, and hanging down to the knee. Before the Reformation it had ceased to be used in the "choir offices," and being thus identified with the Mass, was abolished together with it. The scarf, called also the 'tippet' (in Latin, *collipendium*,* *lirippium*), was a wider strip of folded black silk, hanging down to the ankles and 'pinkt' at the ends. It was worn with the gown in preaching and out of doors, as well as with the surplice. The Royal Advertisements of May, 1566, adopted certain rules laid down in the 24 Hen. VIII., c. 13, by which all clergymen whose benefices were of extreme poverty were forbidden to "wear in their tippets any manner of sacerdotum or other silk" (like the rest of the clergy), unless the wearer were of the rank of B.D.

The 58th Canon of 1604 directs graduates to wear their hoods, "which no minister shall wear (being no graduate) under pain of suspension. Notwithstanding it shall be lawful (*permittimus*) for such ministers as are not graduates to wear upon their surplices, instead of hoods, some decent tippet (*lirippium*) of black, so it be not silk." Before that time non-graduate incumbents of small livings might not wear "tippets" at all. The modern fashion of inventing quasihoods for non-graduates has misled people into supposing that the "tippet" of the Canon meant an imitation hood. But the hood and the tippet were two quite separate things. This is seen in the Orders issued to the University of Oxford, and printed in Strype's *Life of Abp. Parker*, III.-127—

"That no graduate go out of his college or hall in the day time into the town, but in his gown and hood, or gown and tippet (if it be lawful for him to wear a tippet by the laws of the realm)."

And Abp. Parker himself wrote to the Prime Minister to complain that "some of your preachers preached before the Queen's Majesty without tippet, and had nothing said to them for it" (*Parker Correspondence*, p. 264). A little before this, Bp. Geste, by way of defending the ministerial dress from the charge of "Popery," urged—

"The lawyer weareth a typpit and a gown, like a papistical priest; yet no man judgeth him to synne, or to be a Papist therefore. The mourner weareth a capp like a priest yet no man reproveth him, or thinketh him to be a Papist for it. The porter, the horsekeeper, sometime weare a lynnin garment, like a surplesse, yet no man judgeth them to do amisse, or to be Papists for it. Therefore it is not the fashion of the priests garments, that hath the appearance of evil" (Dugdale, *Life of Geste*, p. 208).

* Two separate Latin versions of the Advertisements of Q. Elizabeth exist in the Zurich State Library. In one of these the English is rendered "siricia lirippia [sic] gerant," in the other, "adhibitis insuper *tappetis*, ut vocant, sericis."

Archd. Mullins (1564) describes the tippet as "to wear about their necks," and Abp. Grindal mentions the stole, in his Metropolitical Orders that *all* "stoles" be defaced; while at a later time in a letter to Zanchy he tries to give his foreign correspondent some idea of the customary scarf of the Protestant minister by describing it as "a kind of stole (*stola quædam*) round the neck, hanging from both shoulders, and brought down almost to the ankles." This latter, which was then required by statute as part of the out-door dress, was also worn "in addition to" (*præter*) the surplice, at service time (see Grindal's *Remains*, pp. 135, 159, 335).

The "tippet" was regarded thenceforth as the distinctive badge of the reformed "Ministers" as contrasted with the "Mass-priests." It is true that the Puritans railed pretty impartially at "cap, cope, surplice, and tippet": and the Scotch ministers on December 27th, 1566, remonstrated with the bishops against these "dregs of the Romish beast," saying, "if surplice, corner cap, and tippet have been badges of idolatries, *in the very act of idolatry*," &c. This (though literally *untrue*) shewed that the scarf was regarded as resembling the stole, much as the surplice was confounded with the "sacrificial" alb. At the close of 1566 appeared also *An Answer for the Time*, complaining "you reject the stole and retain the tippet": again, in 1583, Robert Johnson told Bp. Sandys "you must yield some reason why the tippet is commanded and the stole forbidden." Mr. French quotes (from Cambden) a satirical writer of the period, who says, "the liripipes or tippets pass round the neck and hanging down before, reach the heels all jagged." Canon Robertson mentions a priest who "hanged himself in his tippet," and that a halter was called "a Tyburn tippet," and in Scotland "a St. Johnston's tippet" (*How shall we Conform*, p. 108, 5th edit.). When Cartwright attacked the tippet together with the surplice, &c., Abp. Whitgift replied, "the grey amice is taken away, because the use of it is not established by any law of this realm, as the use of [the] other vestures be" (*Works*, ii.-52).

Mr. Bloxam, in his *Companion to Gothic Architecture* (p. 252), gives a series of brasses from 1582 to 1712, shewing the "sarçnet tippet (the so-called scarf of modern days) according to the Advertisements." At p. 259 he mentions the effigies of Dean Wotton (1566) and Dean Bargave (1642), both of which shew the tippet and hood worn together. So Bp. Montagu in 1638 asks, "Does your Minister officiate divine service in one place, upon set times, in the habit and apparel of his order, with a surplice, a hood, a gown, a tippet?" (*Second Report of Ritual Commission*, App., p. 582). And Bp. Cosin in 1662 and 1668 asks his cathedral clergy, "Does every one that is bound to come to church put on his habit of surplice, tippet, and hood, according to his degree?" (*Granville Corre-*

spondence, Surtees Society, I.-256, 270). "Hoods and tippets" are prescribed for graduates by Canon 74, shewing that the tippet is not in any sense a substitute for the hood. Bp. Jebb mentions that in Ireland tippet was the usual name for the scarf in his day; and the fourth canon of the Church of Ireland says, "every presbyter and deacon at all times of his public ministration of the services of the Church shall wear a plain white surplice, the *customary* scarf of plain black silk, and being a graduate of a university he may wear the hood pertaining to his degree." The clergyman's scarf rests on precisely the same authority as the bishop's scarf. Laurence and Sampson, the leaders of Elizabethan puritanism wrote in 1566, "Popish habits are ordered to be worn out of church, and by ministers in general, and the bishops wear their linen garment which they call a rochet, while *both parties* wear the square caps, tippets, and long gowns borrowed from the papists" (Z. L., I.-164; compare Geste's answer given above).

Another puritan tirade, called *The untrussing of one hundred Popish points*, 1642 (British Museum "E. 182") enumerates "the Popish apparel of the archbishop and bishops, the black chimere, or sleeveless coat put upon the fine white rochet . . . the tippet, the surplesse in little churches, and the cope in great churches," &c.

In short, the bishop's chimere, the preacher's gown, and the minister's scarf all alike rest for their legality upon continuous usage and custom, and none of these were in any way involved in the Folkestone or the Purchas Judgments. These were the only Judgments ever given by the Judicial Committee on the "ornaments of the minister"; but Evangelical clergymen betray ignorance and play into the hands of detractors like Canon MacColl by calling the scarf which they wear a "stole." Pert newspaper correspondents take occasion thereby to bring charges of "lawlessness," which, though wholly unfounded, deceive the multitude and create an unfounded public prejudice.

Even Mr. Percy Dearmer, the Ritualistic champion, in his *Parson's Handbook* admits (p. 85) that "there is no known authority for confining the use of the tippet to dignitaries and chaplains . . . the tippet should be worn by all the clergy. . . . There is no authority, English or Continental, for the use of the stole in choir, while the black scarf or tippet has come down to us from before the Reformation, and the authority for its use is unmistakeable."

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THE TRUE STORY OF THE ORNAMENTS RUBRIC.



HEN King Henry VIII. died, no "Reformation" as regards the Mass or the Confessional had been so much as commenced. It was not safe in those days even to breathe an opinion against the Roman Catholic beliefs which Henry continued to hold just as strongly after he had thrown the Pope over as he did before. He "heard mass" twice daily, and at his death left money for masses to be said for his soul on its arrival at the "Purgatory" to which he fancied that he was then departing. Even when his son Edward came to the throne, no reform could be set about until the bloody "Act of the Six Articles" which Henry had left on the Statute book had been first got out of the way; for under that Act many Englishmen had been put to death for denying Transubstantiation, or for denying that the blood of Christ was *in* the bread and His body *in* the cup (*so that the cup need never be given to lay-folk*), or some similar superstition. During the first year of Edward VI. (which began January 28th, 1547) these very errors continued to be taught, and the service books (still in Latin) embodied the old Roman Catholic faith and worship. But on Christmas Eve, 1547, this wicked "Six Articles" Act and all the old burning "Heresy Acts" were repealed, and thus Cranmer and his fellow Reformers were at length set at liberty to discuss and to carry out the long-wished-for reforms of the service books. Yet their work was very uphill at first; and while they succeeded in getting rid of the three great errors of compulsory Confession, the so-called "real" presence of Christ's body and blood within the consecrated wafers, and the sham "offering" of this same body and blood on an "altar," yet

they were compelled to tolerate for a time many of the "ornaments" and "ceremonies" which had long been associated with the unreformed services. An "Ornament," it should be explained, means an article of any kind used publicly in Divine Service by the minister or his assistants.

This temporary compromise, adopted in 1549, consisted in allowing an alternative choice to each minister of one or other of two quite different sets of ornaments: so that under the First Prayer Book the clergyman might either go on with his old mass-gear, or adopt the new ritual which, as having no precedent in the previous rubrics or canons, was described as being "*By authority of Parliament*" *alone*. Thus one set of dresses was spoken of in that book as "the vesture appointed for that ministration," viz., by Canon Law: the other, or Protestant alternatives, were afterwards discriminated as being innovations "by authority of *Parliament*." Then, as now, Parliament *alone* represented the Laity who form the bulk of "the Church;" and the clergy were so disgusted at the "interference" of laymen with what the clergy *alone* had hitherto been accustomed to order to their own liking, that seven of the anti-Reformation bishops resigned or were deprived for refusing to obey the new rules. Immediate advantage was taken to appoint Reforming clergymen to the vacant bishoprics and to complete without further delay the desired reform of the Prayer Book in accordance with the original wish of our native English Reformers who had been the promoters of the First Prayer Book, and were now no longer hindered by a majority of their colleagues. *The Great Parliamentary Debate* in 1548¹ shows that this was what they had desired to effect from the very first, long before Bucer, Alasco, and the other foreigners had even landed in this country. Hence it is quite untrue to say that our religion was "made in Germany."

Under the temporary compromise of the First Prayer Book (1549) there was permitted side by side for the adherents respectively of the "Old Faith"² and the "New Faith" this dual standard—

¹ Published by J. F. Shaw. Price 6d.

² "Where indeed that which they call the old is the new, and that which they call the new is indeed the old."—Cranmer's *Letters* (Parker Soc.), p. 450.

THE OLD FAITH.

"The Mass" (commonly called).

The Altar.

The Chalice.

The Corporas; the Paten.

The Vestment.

The Tunicle.

The Alb.

THE NEW FAITH.

"The Supper of the Lord, and the
Holy Communion."

The Lord's Table; God's Board.

A fair Cup "if the Chalice will not
serve."

Some comely vessel or plate pre-
pared for that purpose.

The Cope.

The Cope for Bishops

The Surplice.

But in the completed "Second" Prayer Book of 1552 our English Reformers laid it down that

"the Minister at the time of the Communion, and at all other times in his ministration, shall use neither Alb, Vestment, nor Cope: but being Archbishop or Bishop, he shall have and wear a rochet: and being a priest or deacon, he shall have and wear a surplice only."

That was a plain, clear, straightforward, intelligible direction, and excepting during the reign of "Bloody Mary" it continued to be the rule, which was acted upon (with one exception, viz., the occasional use of copes) till the last revision of the Prayer Book in 1662.

Perhaps it may be as well to explain the meaning of the dresses here named. The "alb" was a tight-fitting cassock made usually of linen, so that it looked like the figures in a child's "Noah's ark": it was made tight-fitting with tight sleeves (or without sleeves) because it was only an *under* garment over which the Mass priests wore their chasuble or "vestment," an oval "poncho" with a hole in the middle through which the priest popped his head. The chasuble was called the "Vestment" *par excellence* (just as "the Bible" is the name of *the* book which excels all others); and it was then regarded as being the distinguishing mark of the sacrificing priest. It was on that account "consecrated" and "blessed" to that special use by the Popish bishops. It was slipped over the priest's head, at his ordination, by the bishop himself. The "rochet" is merely the lawn dress still worn by English bishops, which in Elizabeth's time was called "the episcopal surplice." The "cope," a sort of rich embroidered cloak, had not been a ministering dress in the Roman Catholic services. It might be worn—and it was worn—by *anybody* to whom honour was intended to be shewn, or on occasions of State. It was worn even by

women and children, and out of doors even more than indoors. Hence, being a gaudy dress, and having no associations with the Mass, the Reformers felt they might for a time wear it with a safe conscience to please their neighbours, without thereby pandering to the "idolatrous" service of the Mass itself, with which it had no connection. That this, however, was regarded by them rather as a concession than as an object of desire, was shewn by their abolishing it altogether when they had the chance, and by their restricting it to State occasions, when, in after years, a local use of it was exceptionally indulged in, here or there, in order to conciliate the weaker brethren, or to gratify the pomp-loving Queen Elizabeth. When Edward died, Queen Mary, under the guidance of her priests, at once went back to the usages of the "last year of Henry VIII." This was afterwards altered, for form's sake, to the "20th year" of Henry, that is, to the year in which he first broke off the Papal yoke as regards discipline. But this very fact shews how essentially Popish and unreformed had been the merely *political* "reformation" of Henry.

When Elizabeth succeeded to the throne, the Heresy acts (restored by Mary) were again repealed, and a free Parliament having been elected, the House of Commons was resolutely bent on effecting a thoroughly Protestant reform. So impatient were they, that two private bills were brought in to restore the religion of the "latter year" of Edward before the Government decided to bring in their own bill. Once brought in, that measure rapidly passed into law in the form of Elizabeth's *Act of Uniformity*, 1559.

It had been preceded by an Act for restoring the supremacy of the Crown over the clergy,³ and these two fundamental Acts of Parliament constitute the "Reformation Settlement" by which Popery was finally expelled from the Established religion of the English Nation.

Q. ELIZABETH'S ACT OF UNIFORMITY, 1559.

This important statute directed the *Second Prayer Book* to be again in force, under penalties, so that the Rubric of 1552,

³ 1 Eliz. c. 1.

above quoted (p. 5), became once more "the law of this Church and realm." But while the *Minister* was thus forbidden to wear the discarded mass-dresses either in church, or in "times of ministration," there was added at the close of the Act a proviso in these words :—

Section XXV.—Provided always, and be it enacted, That such Ornaments of the Church and of the Ministers thereof, shall be retained and be in use, as was in this Church of England by Authority of Parliament, in the Second Year of the Reign of King Edward the Sixth, until other Order shall be therein taken by the Authority of the Queen's Majesty, with the Advice of her Commissioners appointed and authorised under the Great Seal of England for causes Ecclesiastical, or of the Metropolitan of this Realm.

The reason of this was that, otherwise, the parishioners or their churchwardens would very probably have sold or made away with the discarded ornaments, which were very costly, and had on former occasions proved to Henry VIII. (at the dissolution of the monasteries) and to Edward (at the similar dissolution of the Chantryies, as well as in many parish churches)⁴ a source of very considerable revenue. Elizabeth found herself with an exchequer deeply in debt, a debased coinage, a damaged national credit, without any standing army, and with a miserable navy, face to face with the bigoted Philip of Spain and the hardly less powerful or less popish French monarch, either of whom could have readily annexed this country but for the jealousy of his rival. Under these circumstances she naturally desired to preserve for her impoverished exchequer such a valuable loot free from "embezzlement." The plan of appointing for this purpose "Commissioners under the great seal" had been adopted both by her Father and her Brother, and this same device of holding a Royal Visitation of the whole country was again adopted by Elizabeth. The Royal Commissioners who had been appointed by King Edward wrote to Queen Mary's Commissioners, after her Accession, to explain that "The parishioners fearing that their Church goods should be taken from them did sell part of their plate and ornaments of their churches before we sate in Commission, and did bestow the money thereof upon reparacion of the churches."⁵ This side-

⁴ See Seventh and Ninth Reports of Deputy Keeper of Public Records.

⁵ *Archaeologia Cantiana*, xiv.-322.

light explains the meaning of Section 25. The government, at the same time that they forbade the *Minister* to wear these discarded mass vestments in *church*, also forbade the wardens to part with any of the illegal ornaments, and to ensure this "retention" they required that all such superfluities should "be in use" of some kind for the benefit of the Church *until* the Royal Visitors (or Commissioners) who were sent out immediately when the new Prayer Book first came into use, should visit each separate parish and therein "take order," that is, give practical directions in each case—as to what was to be done with the balance of the unused but superfluous and now illegal "ornaments." The "reparation of the Church," as above mentioned, was *one* such legitimate employment.

The Royal Visitors, both under Edward and under Elizabeth, went their rounds: they burned the crucifixes and images, "defaced" the vestments, or ordered them to be cut up or "broken" as the phrase then was, and converted into "carpets" for the Lord's table, such as are required by our present Prayer Book, or into hangings for the walls, or antependiums for the pulpit, or as "covers for the font," or the like. The great bulk were sold, and the money employed to "the use of the Church," i.e., for any legal and legitimate purpose connected with the reformed services now newly sanctioned "by the authority of Parliament."

The question will naturally be asked, Why was "the authority of Parliament" spoken of in this connection? And Why was that Parliamentary authority described as being of the *second* year of the reign of Ed. VI.?

Well, the first question is easy to answer. The interference by Parliament with Church matters was of the very essence of the Reformation movement. It consisted primarily in the vindication of the Church rights of the laity, the "calling the laity up into the Chancel," as Mr. Green⁶ expresses it.

If they had said simply "ALL ornaments shall be retained and be in use" there might be a danger lest the old R.C. incumbents, who clung to their livings, might seek to perpetuate the old superstitions with which these "ornaments" had so long been

associated : but by "retaining" *only* those which were "in the Church By the authority of Parliament," they ran no great risk, and at the same time formally endorsed the resolute action of their predecessors who by *lay* "authority" had erected in 1548-9 a new standard of ritual practice. Hence the decision to permit the churchwardens to "retain" *only* such ornaments as had been sanctioned "by the authority of Parliament," while destroying forthwith or at least "defacing" (and so *not* "retaining") those which rested on mere previous usage, or on the obsolete canons of pre-Reformation times. For, the wearing of a surplice, or even of a cope at Holy Communion, was a Protestant innovation "By authority of Parliament" in a sense in which the continued employment of the pre-Reformation alb or chasuble (*i.e.* "Vestment") was not.

As regards the second question it might seem at first sight strange that the "second year of Edward" should have been chosen ; for that year was one of repeated changes and had no uniform (nor even any continuous) usage. The "second" regnal year of Edward began on January 28th, 1548, and for the first twenty-seven days of that year (*i.e.*, up to February 24th, 1548) images were tolerated in the churches: up to Easter in that year (April 10th, 1548) the cup was still denied to the laity: after Easter, though elevation was forbidden, and a new "Order" of distribution, with English words, was conceded to the laity, this was still grafted on to the old Latin Mass which continued in use throughout the whole of that second year: finally, the Act 2 and 3, Edward VI. (the first Act of Uniformity, which passed January 22nd, 1549—*i.e.*, in the very last week of Edward's "second year," and enacted the First Prayer Book) swept away *all* the previous ritual and ornaments, except such as were expressly "retained" by the First Prayer Book; all the rest being regarded (and described in what is now the Preface "Of Ceremonies") as "abolished." Obviously no standard less definite could have been hit upon than these fluctuating usages of 1548. But the truth is that no reference was either made or intended to the *usages* of 1548, but to an "authority of Parliament," dating from that year, by which those usages had been superseded.

That very phrase was habitually employed when citing a statute. For instance, in 3 Car. I. c. 1, sec. 7 the words "whereas

by authority of Parliament in the 25th year of the reign of King Edward III." were a direct citation of the *Act 25 Ed. III.* stat. 5, sec. 4. The very same Parliament which enacted the First Prayer Book spoke of it in their own later statute, *3 and 4 Ed. VI. c. 10*, as "of late set forth and established by authority of Parliament": and again in the second Act of Uniformity (5 and 6 Ed. VI. c. 1, sec. 4) as an "order set forth by the authority of Parliament for Common prayer." In the proclamation put forth by Philip and Mary in 1555, the Prayer Book was described as "the book set forth by authority of Parliament, for Common prayer,"⁷ and under Elizabeth, the *Act 8 Eliz. c. 1*, sec. 2 again speaks of the First Act of Uniformity as "made in the second year . . for the authorizing and allowing of the said book of Common prayer."

In reply to this it is sometimes said that the First Prayer Book was not printed until the *third* year of Edward VI., and did not become compulsory until June 9th, 1549. But, previous to the time of George III., the received rule was that "when the commencement of an act was not directed to be from any particular time, it took effect from the first day of the Session in which the Act was passed;"⁸ and in the case of *Latless v. Holmes* the Court refused to take notice of the date of the Royal assent to the Act on which that case depended, saying, "We can only know by a reference to the Statute Book when the Act passed; and by that it appears to have passed on the 31st of October, *the first day of the Session.*" Now in the present case, though the use of the Prayer Book did not become universally *compulsory* till June, the Act directed the book to be used *as early as might be* "within three weeks after the said books so attained and gotten," however early that might prove to be. Moreover, as the Privy Council said in *Westerton v. Liddell*—

⁷ Cardwell, *Documentary Annals*, I.-166.

⁸ Dwarris on Statutes, p. 543. Canon Bright says "and this may be illustrated by a Statute of 1 Mary, St. 3, c. 10, repealing an Act of her brother's reign for the union of the parishes of Ongar and Grenstede. That Act is said to have been 'made and ordained by authority of Parliament in the second year' of Edward, although it appears not to have received his assent until the third year, and it is reckoned as No. 55 in that Session, whereas the Act for the First Book stands at the head as No. 1."—*Guardian*, November 15th, 1899.

"there seems no reason to doubt that the Act in question received the Royal assent in the second year of Edward VI. It concerned a matter of great urgency, which had long been under consideration, and was the first Act of the Session: it passed through one House of Parliament on January 15th, 1549,⁹ and the other on the 21st of the same month: and the second year of the reign of Edward did not expire till January 28th. In the Act of the 5th and 6th Ed. VI. sec. 5 [1552] it is expressly referred to as the Act "*made in the second year of the King's majesty's reign.*"

King Edward entered it in his diary under the second¹⁰ year.

Seeing then that the intention of the legislature is the thing to be ascertained, and that the statutes of Edward, passed *by the same Parliament* as well as those of Elizabeth, both described the First Act of Uniformity as being of the "second year," it is idle to discuss this point further.

We can now understand the object and purpose of this Act of Elizabeth¹¹ which is still unrepealed, and has been the governing law as to ornaments ever since it was enacted. It re-established the Rubric of 1552 forbidding the use of alb, vestment, or cope, and commanding a "surplice only" to be used, and this too, just the same at Holy Communion as at all "other times of ministration." (See above, p. 5.) But at the same time it forbade the churchwardens to give away or to appropriate any of the discarded articles which had been tolerated under the First Prayer Book, and to prevent that being done, it authorised these goods to "be in use" for any lawful purpose to which they could be made applicable, until the Queen's visiting "Commissioners-under-the-Great-Seal" came round to direct what was to be done with them. Sandys, one of these Visitors, tells us¹² that they were to "remain for the Queen," just

⁹ New Style.

¹⁰ Burnet, *Hist. Ref.*, II. ii. 3.

¹¹ 1 Eliz. c. 2.

¹² In a letter written from London, two days after the passing of the Act, by Sandys (afterwards Archbishop of York), to his friend Parker (afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury).

"The Parliament draweth towards an end. The *last* book of service is gone through with a proviso to retain the ornaments which were used in the first and second year of King Edward, until it please the Queen to take other order for them. Our gloss upon this text is that we' [clergy] 'shall not be forced to use them, but that others' [churchwardens, &c.] 'in the meantime shall not convey them away, but that they may remain for the Queen.'—*Abp. Parker's Correspondence*, p. 65. The Romish *incumbents* could not be meant, as they neither desired to "convey away" the mass gear, nor that it should "remain for the Queen" to use as her brother had done under the very same Prayer Book.

as they had been "kept for the King's use" under Henry and Edward. Both these rules, viz., the Rubric of 1552 (see p. 5), and the Proviso of Sec. 25 (see p. 7), were simultaneously enforced by the Royal Injunctions which the Visitors took round with them, in 1559, and which still more plainly declared the intention of the Act by directing the clergy to wear what had been the received dress of ministers "in the latter year of King Edward VI." *i.e.*, in 1553, when the Second Prayer Book (that of 1552) was alone legal. Moreover every incumbent was made to subscribe to these *Injunctions*¹³ as well as to the new Prayer Book. From that day forward no clergyman wore the Mass dresses, or officiated at the "altar," which was now supplanted in "every church"¹⁴ by an "honest table of wood."

There never would have been the smallest difficulty on this head but for an unfortunate act of usurpation due to "state-craft" on the part of the Queen herself. She was afraid of vexing the powerful Philip of Spain, the widower of her deceased sister, who had reigned as King-consort in England, and still wished to keep this country under his thumb; afraid also of the powerful nobility and gentry, who largely belonged, in heart, to the Papal Communion; and with a view to let both down easily, she perpetrated a very irregular and high-handed fraud. She actually struck out two of the rubrics which Parliament had ordered to be printed, and put in without authority two brand new rubrics of her own. To shew this they are here printed side by side—

Statutory Rubrics of 1559.

The morning and Evening Prayer shall be used in such places of the Church, Chappel, or Chancel, and the Minister shall so turn him as the people may best hear. And if there be any controversie therein, the matter shall be referred to the Ordinary, and he or his deputy shall appoint the place, and the Chancels shall remain, as they have done in times past.

And here is to be noted that the Minister at

Elizabeth's alteration.

The morning and Evening Prayer shall be used in the accustomed place of the Church, Chappel, or Chancel, except it shall be otherwise determined by the Ordinary of the Place: and the Chancels shall remain, as they have done in times past.

And here is to be noted, that the Minister at

¹³ Strype's *Annals*, II.-i.-255. Gee's *Elizabethan Clergy*, p. 78.

¹⁴ Cardwell's *Documentary Annals*, I. 201.

*the time of the Communion, and at all other times in his ministrati-
on, shall use
neither Alb,
Vestment, nor Cope :
but being Archbi-
shop, or Bishop, he
shall have and wear
a Rochet : and being
a Priest or Deacon,
he shall have and
wear a surplice only.*

*the time of the Commu-
nion, and at all other
times in his ministrati-
on, shall use
such ornaments in the Church
as were in use by Au-
thority of Parliament in
the second year of the reign
of King Edw. VI.
according to the act of
Parliament set in the be-
ginning of this Book.*

It will be seen that the second fraud-rubric went beyond the "Proviso" mentioned above, p. 7, as forming Sec. 25 of the Act which was "set in the beginning" of the Prayer Book of 1559—

1. By requiring that "*the Minister shall use*" the ornaments.
2. By adding that they were to be used "*in the Church.*"
3. By specifying "*times of ministration.*"
4. By substituting "*as were in use*" for the words "*as was in this Church of England.*"
5. By recognising a distinctive dress for "*the Communion;*" apart from "*all other times in his ministration.*"

Besides *falling short* of the Proviso by omitting all reference to any "*other order* " being taken by the Commissioners.

Possibly Queen Elizabeth thought that unless the ministers did actually use these things in service time, the ornaments would disappear altogether; and as she was sending round into every county Commissioners armed with power to "take order" and to deliver copies of her Thirtieth Injunction, above referred to, in every parish, she may have thought that no great harm could come of it; while meantime, she could be shewing her *printed* "rubrics" both to the Spanish Ambassador and to the R. C. nobility as a proof of her moderation and unwillingness to make any marked alterations in the outward appearance of the service. Her Commissioners so far gave effect to this latter wish that they connived at the use of the cope in certain of the larger collegiate and cathedral churches; but this indulgence never extended very far, nor did it last very long, and it was, strictly speaking, quite irregular. But the Ordinaries and the High Commissioners both alike ignored altogether her *printed* fraud-rubrics, and enforced and acted upon the *unprinted* yet

statutory rubrics shewn above in the first column. Thus the Bishops in their Visitation Articles continued¹⁵ to quote the rubric as to the minister's "turning so that the people may best hear": they insisted on the removal of altars and vestments, and indeed neither the Papists nor the Protestants would (either of them) have been willing to make a "mingle-mangle," as Hooker said, between the Lord's Supper and Rome's caricature of it in the Latin "Mass." The custom obtained for the clergy to wear, even in church, the scarf which properly marked their academic standing, just as the Bishops also kept on their *out-door* chimeres of satin, worn by them together with the rubrical "rochet." Later on, some Advertisements, issued by the Queen in 1566, and the Canons of James in 1603-4, while confirming the use of the surplice only for the acting clergy in parish churches, added the wearing of hoods, and the use of copes in cathedrals. This latter addition, however, never obtained universal or permanent acceptance. Such was the state of things up to the last revision of the Prayer Book, 1661; and it was necessary first to explain all this in order that we may understand how and why the present "Ornaments Rubric" came to be worded as it is in the book we are now using.

At the close of the great Rebellion, the triumphant Royalists were largely identified with the Bishops' party, as the defeated Republicans were with that of the Nonconformists. Mutual exasperation resulting from the Civil War embittered the controversy, and the "Church and King" men were reluctant to admit that they had ever been in the wrong. Hence, at first, they refused at the Savoy Conference to let Elizabeth's printed fraud-rubric (the history of which we have detailed) be even meddled with. They knew that nobody had, *in fact*, worn any of the mass-ornaments under her Prayer Book, and that the Elizabethan clergy were as Protestant and as little inclined to Ritualism (to say the very least) as any of their successors. They knew, too, that the Advertisements of 1566 and the Canons of 1604, both of which they recognised as being in force,

¹⁵ A list of these is given in my *Historic Grounds of the Lambeth Judgment*, p. 24.

required the surplice at Communion, a practice which would have been illegal under the standard of the First Prayer Book. Very little antiquarian or liturgical knowledge then existed, however, and the Prayer Books of Edward were practically unknown.

The only available knowledge, indeed, was by means of L'Estrange's reprint, which gives only the *general* rubrics at the END of the First Prayer Book, which speak only of the surplice (and hood) as the dress to be worn by every minister under the rank of a bishop. The view that these final and general rubrics alone were intended, though perhaps mistaken, was not unreasonable, because the special dresses to be worn at Holy Communion under the First Prayer Book were only provided for in those special rubrics which have been discarded from the present Prayer Book, and, like the Chrysome for the newly baptized infant, dropped out *as matter of course* together with the rest of the service which was not in express words "retained."

The Bishops, however, knew that the old Puritan objection had at any rate this much of justice in it, viz., that Elizabeth's fraud-rubrics (and other unwarranted interpolations which we need not now discuss) had made Elizabeth's *printed* books disentitled to receive that subscription which was due *only* to a legal statutory book which hitherto the Executive had failed to provide. Technically, therefore, the Nonconformists had the law on their side when they objected that they were being unlawfully coerced into subscribing a book which did not correspond with the Act of Uniformity. The Bishops accordingly agreed to strike out Elizabeth's fraud-rubric, and to substitute for it "the very words of the Act itself"—thus curing, as they supposed, a merely verbal and captions objection. But, of course, even the language of Section 25 had to be modified. It was unnecessary and unmeaning to refer to the words of the Act as to "other order" being "taken," because that order had been taken long ago and could not be taken again after the death of the sovereign to whom those words were applicable. The Act itself, 1 Eliz. c. 2, was, in 1661, *for the first time* incorporated into and made to form part of the text of the Prayer Book itself, and thus the "Ornaments

"Rubric" sank into a merely secondary position; Elizabeth's Act becoming the primary law of the *Liturgy itself* as to ornaments. But the newly added words (which had been omitted from the fraud-rubric of 1559) as to "retaining" the ornaments would be understood by the men of 1662 as relating only to what had been in continuous and legal existence: while Elizabeth's words, which seemed to separate the "time of Communion" from all "other times of ministration," had long ceased to have any fitness or even applicability. These words were therefore struck out. In this way all parties supposed that they were merely bringing back and re-enacting the state of things which had obtained general acceptance and usage before the Great Rebellion began. We know this was the understanding, because every bishop on the bench in 1662 publicly required his clergy¹⁵ to obey the Canons of 1604, and to wear the surplice at Communion (instead of the alb and vestment of pre-Reformation times). The *only* things in dispute then were the use of the cross in baptism, the obligation of kneeling at Communion, and the wearing of the surplice. The same thing is proved also by the complaints of the Nonconformists, and by the Bills introduced into Parliament to redress their grievances and bring about a "Comprehension." It was not until the year 1709 that the present theory of the Ritualists was published by any writer on the "Church" side. Those who adopted that theory admitted that it was "obsolete," and no one presumed to act upon it till the Romanizing Movement set in, initiated by Dr. Newman and his colleagues, which Mr. Walsh has so well described in his *Secret History of the Oxford Movement*.

¹⁵ These articles are quoted in full in *Tomlinson on the Prayer Book*, pp. 154-166.



What is the Harm of bringing back the "Reservation of the Host"?



N 1885, the two Convocations appointed a Committee to examine the various pretexts put forward by the advocates of "Reservation"; and as the result, a formal Resolution was *unanimously* passed, by the Upper Houses of *both* Convocations, which concluded with these memorable words—"No Reservation of the Sacrament *for any purpose* is consistent with the rule of the Church of England." Again, the bishops of both Provinces met recently in private and arrived at the same conclusion. The Archbishop of Canterbury, in his Primary Charge, 1898, stated that "there are some things which are *forbidden by positive enactment*, and must not be done either ceremonially or not, such as the reservation of the consecrated elements after the office is over, or carrying them out of the church *for any purpose* whatever" (*Charge*, p. 28). His Grace, the Most Reverend, the Metropolitan of York, in his *Advent Pastoral*, 1898 (p. 19), said "The opinion of the bishops was absolutely unanimous. It has therefore all the weight that it could possibly have from the authorities of the Church"; and he begged his rebel clergy to "give up entirely the practice thus *clearly prohibited by the Church*."

To those who profess to regard the bishops as the Divinely guided depositaries of doctrine, and as so many inspired "successors of the Apostles," such "unanimous" decisions in favour of the plain meaning of the rubric should, theoretically, have precluded all further discussion; but it has been proved once more that their real standard is the actual practice of the present Church of Rome, toward a "reunion" with which all their apparent eccentricities of ritual and violations of the Prayer Book alike converge. By those persons, who arrogate to themselves the title of "Catholic," the mere "Anglican" episcopate is habitually treated with contemptuous disregard. The Secret Societies, whose name is "Legion," and whose foremost wire-pullers are the *Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament* and the *Society of the Holy Cross*, have treated the pronouncements of the bishops as having no more value than if their "Lordships" had been so many black beetles. Unhappily, the two Primates consented to play into their hands. Instead of enforcing "the law of this Church and realm," to the indisputable meaning of which they had themselves officially testified, they tried to humour the nonconforming clergy by conducting a quasi-judicial "Hearing" professedly based on that sentence in the Preface of the Prayer Book "Concerning the service of the Church" which purports to give to each Diocesan a "discretion" to decide "how to understand, do and execute, the things contained in this book." Obviously, Reservation is *not* one of the things

"contained in" the Prayer Book, and therefore it could not possibly afford an opportunity for the exercise of any *such* "discretion." Reservation is prohibited by the plain direction that any consecrated elements remaining shall be "eaten" and "drunk" by the communicants present, and that "it shall not be carried out of the church." If these directions were complied with, Reservation would be impossible. And the bishop himself is expressly forbidden to decide anything "contrary to this book."

It was, therefore, a somewhat feeble and irregular act on the part of the Most Reverend Primates to treat these plain directions of the Rubric as open to "doubt." What the Preface clearly intended was that where two meanings of a Rubric are possible and where the "discretion" exercised by the incumbent proves a scandal to his parishioners, an appeal should lie to the bishop, who, if unable to decide to his own satisfaction, or to that of the appellants, may send the matter on to the Archbishop, who will then "take order" accordingly. But such a discretionary resolution of doubtful points has no legal value.

It is merely an administrative and provisional ruling as to the methods to be adopted in a given parish under given circumstances, and need not necessarily apply to any other parish. But to attempt to set up as a permanent authority binding on the whole Church the mere "discretion" of one man, who, like the present Archbishop of Canterbury, may never have had the smallest experience either of a curacy or of an incumbency, and may be in no sense an "expert," would be to import a most dangerous and revolutionary element into the government of the Church. Mr. Gladstone justly observed that "So many other qualities are of necessity to be regarded in the choice of Archbishops that they can very rarely be the best theologians of the Episcopal Bench" (*Royal Supremacy*, p. 54). The Archbishop has no power to summon witnesses, no power to compel the production of documents, and no power to ensure that one side or the other shall be even fairly represented. A collusive "appeal" could easily be arranged say between Bp. Jayne and Abp. Maclagan, or between Bp. King and Abp. Temple, by which any desired verdict could be ensured beforehand without the other side having even had any real "hearing" or even being sincerely represented. It is true that as regards Reservation the speeches of Mr. Dibdin and his colleagues were both able and exhaustive, so that full justice was done in 1899 as regards the presentation of the case for the Prayer Book against its depravers: but this was a happy accident which might never occur again; since no one can have any real *locus standi* before a merely sham tribunal. No public hearing, no *right* of being heard, no certainty that any unwelcome argument will be even listened to can be ensured by a merely conventional "hearing" at which every speaker is on sufferance and all reporters may be excluded.

But while the meaning of the Prayer Book was confessedly free from "doubt," the minds of the administrators of the Church may well be full of doubt as to the manner in which their quasi-judicial utterances are likely to be received, and as to the expediency of putting in motion the law whose daily breaches they have weakly connived at. Policy and expediency therefore take the place of ascertained law; and this explains the delay of month after month in giving the long-promised "Opinion" of the Archbishop of York as to Reservation.

The dangers incurred by such vacillation were pointed out so far back as 1878 by Bishop Durnford, the High Church Bishop of Chichester, when explaining his reasons for withdrawing from his connection as Visitor with the East Grinstead Sisterhood. He said—

"The point upon which I requested the Sisterhood to yield was the reservation of the consecrated elements after the act of Communion. This practice is in my judgment unnecessary—likely to lead to false and superstitious opinions and practices, and forbidden by our Church expressly.

"It is unnecessary because the sisters communicate daily, and the Holy Sacrament ought to be administered to any of them at a very short warning. It is likely to lead to superstitious opinions and practices, *because it seems to countenance a material presence of our Blessed Lord, independent of the act of Communion, in the elements themselves.* It is forbidden by our Church, as you may see by the rubric at the end of the Communion Service, beginning: 'and if any of the bread and wine remain unconsecrated'—so expressly forbidden that no evasion is possible. The community of East Grinstead professing to be attached to the Church of England, and as such desirous of my sanction and presence among them, I shewed them that this custom of 'reservation' was contrary to the order of the Church, and asked them to discontinue it.

"They positively refused so to do . . . they met my advances with firm though civil resistance, and left me as Bishop really no choice."—*Record*, January 5th, 1900.

These Pagan conceptions of worship and of the Deity demand some detailed notice in order that we may realise what is involved. The first false principle involved in Reservation is the

Localisation of the Object of Worship.

On this the Rev. N. C. S. Poyntz, of Dorchester, a member of Canon Carter's notorious "Confraternity," speaks with no uncertain sound. Writing in *The Church Times* of January 20th, 1899, he says, that on the Protestant view

"there is no presence of God in the building other than is in one's own house, or in the world generally. If this is so, the old idea which English people have somehow imbibed that 'God is in His holy temple' has been a mistake. The Eastern Church and the Roman Church have provided against this by the continual Reservation of the Sacrament in their churches. This it is no doubt which causes that feeling of emptiness to so many people who enter an English church; there is no special Presence of God there—a feeling so different from

that which they experience on entering a Greek or Roman church. It is to be hoped that this defect will be made good in the English Church by her returning to the use of Reservation, which was discontinued only since the reign of Queen Mary. *Then we might, indeed, be able to say, 'The Lord is in His holy temple.'*"

At St. Cuthbert's, Philbeach Gardens, on the Feast of Corpus Christi, 1897,

"the Reserved Host was carried in procession from the side 'altar.' The procession was headed by a priest ringing a sacring bell, followed by two acolytes carrying tall lights and last of all came a priest in cope carrying the Host. When they arrived at the centre of the 'High Altar,' the priest placed the wafer-god on it, and he and his brethren knelt down in adoration before 'It.' Shortly after, an abbreviated form of Evening Prayer was sung, interspersed with prayers *addressed to the Sacrament.* The sermon was preached by 'Father' Black, who, pointing with his finger to the Host on the 'altar,' said that Jesus was there, at that moment, in His Godhead and humanity. At the conclusion there was a procession round the church, each person, as he passed the 'High Altar,' genuflecting to the Host.

"A processional hymn was used, of which the second verse ran—

‘In Its shrine so lowly,
On Its Altar-throne,
Lies the Host most holy,
That, as God, we own;
Now, with reverent fingers,
From that mean abode,
Where thy presence lingers,
Bear the hidden God.
Holy, Heavenly Token,
Grace eternal stored,
Angels’ food unbroken,
Body of the Lord.’”

Having thus fixed the Deity to a given spot, the practice of reservation enables "Its" priest to detain him there for an indefinite time. In *The Child's Picture Prayer Book* used in the Sunday-school, and given to the children in the parish of Hensall-cum-Heck, a parish in his diocese to which the attention of Abp. MacLagan has been repeatedly drawn, we read of the "Tabernacle" that "Christ *lives* in the blessed sacrament which is kept in the Church." And this view is still more clearly avowed in the recently published letter of Cardinal Newman, in which he says :

"I recollect how shocked Hurrell Froude was, at the Anglican Chapel at Rome, at seeing the consecrated wine put back into the bottle. This surely is a very common practice; *yet it follows* from it, since wine keeps for years and years, that CHRIST MAY BE CONFINED SACRILEGIOSLY AN INDEFINITE TIME (considering how infrequent the administration is in some places) in a vestry closet, or drunk at a vestry meeting" (*Life of Ambrose de Lisle Phillipps*, p. 371).

That view is fully accepted by our Anglican Romanizers. *The Church Times*, the very able and unscrupulous organ of the party, in its "Answers to Correspondents," says :

"The Sacrament consists of two parts, the outward sign and the inward grace, which in mediæval scholastic mythology were called the 'accidents' and the 'SUBSTANCE.' When the outward sign or accidents cease to exist, the Sacrament no longer exists. When mouldiness, or acetous fermentation, or change of taste and colour commences, the accidents are no longer perfect, and there is no longer the Sacrament."—*Church Times*, October 13th, 1893.

But if "substance" and "accidents" are separable and independent of one another, it is by no means clear why any change in the accidents should destroy or expel the Divine substance.

On either view it would be necessary to use a corkscrew and a little litmus paper in order to test whether the Deity were present or not! In December last, *The Church Times*, in giving directions as to the choice of hymns, said :

"We would utter a word of caution against using such words as, 'Draw nigh and TAKE the Body of the Lord' at a *late* choral Celebration, lest they should encourage slothful or unprepared communicants to *receive* when not fasting.

"It may possibly be a useful suggestion to point out the appropriateness of Hymn 461, A. and M., 'For ever would we GAZE on Thee,' for use during the ablutions."

In the same spirit of "carnal ordinances" *Eating* the body of Christ (or the flesh of Christ), and *Drinking* His blood, are regarded as so many bodily acts of mastication, deglutition and swallowing—purely mechanical processes which are obviously only applicable to material things.

Among the pleas put forward with greatest persistence by the Ritualists, is the allegation that their administration of the "Viaticum" is very often so close a race against time that Reservation alone could enable the dying man to "eat"! In the spring of 1885 there was a long correspondence in *The Church Times* which abounded in expressions of this kind. One "J. W." says, "If I had been five minutes later the man could not have received": another, "L.", complains that "in consequence of the somewhat long time spent in Consecration, he had the agony of seeing a relative expire before reception." On the mere chance that the dying man may be able to get the wafer past his fauces, these "spiritual" persons willingly forego even the pretence of "Communion," and omit any recital of the Institution, or of that glorious Liturgy which bids them "Lift up your hearts."

The sticky glutten-bread, which is preferred as being "unleavened," produces some inconveniences, and, in the case of the dying, some considerable danger. In John Myrc's *Instructions for Parish Priests*, published by the Early English Text Society, we read :

"Therefore warn them thou shall
That they not chew that Host to small,
Lest to small they done it break
And in their teeth it do stick" (p. 8).

Another result is the forfeiture of spiritual Communion and of intelligent Worship.

At the recent "hearing" before the Archbishops, Mr. Dibdin asked the Rev. Edgar Lee, of Christ Church, Doncaster—

Q. When you have a sick person who desires the Holy Communion in your parish, do you give *him* the option of clinical celebration, or of receiving the Reserved Sacrament?

A. No.

Q. Have you ever at all celebrated in a sick room since you started the Reserved Sacrament?

A. Never. (*Reservation of the Sacrament*, published by Bemrose, p. 10.)

So that no parishioner is *permitted* (except, it may be, by special indulgence) to hear those "comfortable words" which the Church of England has provided for the edification of her people!

So again, as to "Communion," Mr. Dibdin asked the witness—

Q. When communicating with the Reserved Sacrament, I presume you do not communicate yourself?

A. No; *it is for that reason* we practise it.

Q. And in the same way you do not require, or even expect, the attendance of others?

A. No, only the sick person. (*Ibid.* p. 5.)

Even the sick person, however, is not the chief consideration, for, being pressed for his reason, Mr. Lee said—

"It was absolutely necessary in my case, because I object to being called to celebrate the Holy Eucharist after my luncheon. For my own sake I should consider it necessary" (p. 7).

A lofty sense that the Universe ought to wait upon the convenience of its priests exhales from every word of that self-conscious "Answer."

You are aware that, by pre-Reformation Canon Law, fasting reception was compulsory, and even the washings of the priest's fingers had to be drunk by the sick man (Rock's *Church of our Fathers*, iv.-170). But the fictitious character of the plea of urgency is unconsciously revealed by some of the correspondents of *The Church Times*. Thus "Rusticus" explains—

"I leave the portable altar-slab and needful linen, &c., on the chest of drawers *the previous evening*, and it with two vases of flowers and a devotional picture, which my people usually have ready, awaits my arrival next morning." Yet, "except in my first parish" (he says), "I have never celebrated for the sick in their houses."

And he claims the advantage of thus suppressing the "sacrifice of praise" to be that—

"We are saved lengthy services in sick rooms and danger of disease, and those who are too weak to stand a twenty minutes' service were communicated in half that time."

The Rev. Provost Ball, of Cumbrae College, tells us "we must acknowledge that leave to celebrate in sick rooms was a contravention of Catholic custom;" and that "we should not be ashamed to adore the consecrated Host as being the Body of Christ" (*Church Times*, June 21st, 1895, and February 7th, 1896.)

Naturally, people who believe in magic do not feel the need of any "reasonable services." Another "spiritual person," one "R. P. W.," talks of

"the almost profanation of consecrating in a poverty-stricken room amidst squalor and confusion, to say nothing of the chance of the sick passing away before or during the consecration."

Yet it was just such a room as this that the living Jesus would have loved to beautify with his "real presence." The "squalor" of Lazarus could not deter Him. Mere outside dirt "cannot defile" the soul. If physical nastiness were any barrier to ghostly presence, an empty stomach is a more loathsome thing to come in contact with than a dusty dresser. Yet this priest has so mean and beggarly a notion of what constitutes a real presence of Jesus that he writes these terrible words—

"If the Real Presence is a true doctrine, as the Catholic Church declares, it can, as things now are, *only be realised once a week, or month, or, as formerly, in too many instances, three times a year, the intervals being marked by the real absence.*"

The Rev. C. H. Hall says, "The chief devotional use which the faithful ordinarily desire to make of the Reserved Sacrament is to go and pray before it. This, as is well known to those who practise it, seems to be one of the most fruitful occasions of grace" (*Dibdin's Speech*, p. 83).

Withdrawal of the Cup.

Another result must ensue from the obvious inconvenience of carrying about consecrated wine, or even storing it in the church. The cup will be withdrawn under pretence of greater "reverence." Bp. Tully Kingdon, a member of the E. C. U., tells us in his book on *Fasting Communion* (p. 88), that "some years ago a parish priest was speaking of the custom then springing up of not giving the cup into the hands of the communicants, and told the writer that it was a good plan as preparatory to, or as next to, refusing the cup." And *The Church Times*, the Oracle of the party, says, "assuming that Reservation for the Sick is not condemned by Article XXVIII.—which on any fair interpretation it is not—the reservation *in one kind*, for that purpose, is not illegal" (November 19th, 1897).

The sick will thus be deprived of the cup, they will no longer witness the sacramental action which our Lord bade to be "done in remembrance of Him," they will lose the recital of the Institution, and the promise of the Saviour (because the Prayer of Consecration will be unheard) in order to propagate the false notion that Deity inheres in consecrated matter so that "It" may be kept under lock and key and carried about as an idol and a charm to receive idolatrous worship!

Besides withdrawing the cup from the laity, the carrying the deified wafer to the sick gives also a fine opportunity for processions with banners, censers, &c. Viscount Halifax, at Bradford, and the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament

claim as part of our English Canon Law a "Constitution" of Abp. Peccham ordering a light and a bell to be borne in such cases before the stoled priest in order that the people may prostrate themselves "wherever the King of Glory is carried about under his lurking place (*latibulum*) of bread" (*Lyndwood's Provinciale*, pp. 249, 250).

It will be noticed that hardly a single feature of the original Institution is retained in this priest-begotten travesty of the Lord's Supper. At the Paschal Supper out of which it grew and which St. Paul speaks of as its designed analogue (1 Cor. v.-7) we know that "Blessing" and "Thanksgiving" (both addressed to the Father, over the viands of that covenant feast), as well as didactic instruction and Psalmody of considerable length, formed the leading characteristics. But the mere swallowing of a wafer, almost in the very article of death, without even an opportunity of "partaking that one bread" with any fellow-Christian (1 Cor. x.-17), and without a single appeal to the moral nature, or to the understanding, is a gross and carnal degradation and profanation of the sacred ordinance. Magic, imaginary miracles, and dramatic pomp may excite awe and wonder and fear, but they have absolutely nothing "spiritual" about them—they are, in fact, common to every form of paganism, even the lowest. The gross materialism of the views and sentiments I have quoted must have shocked and disgusted all who heard them. And when you remember that the men who deliberately publish such things have obtained entrance to the ministry by subscribing a declaration that "the mean whereby (*medium quo*) the body of Christ is EATEN in the Supper is faith" and that "the wicked eat *not* the body of Christ in the use of the Lord's Supper," one is simply amazed at the pusillanimity or unfaithfulness of the bishops who fail to insist on even the humble requirements of common pagan morality at the hands of the stipendiaries whom they have admitted to the ministry, and who are living in flagrant violation of the plainest rules which both bishop and priest have sworn to observe themselves and to enforce upon others.

My object to day has been simply to enable you to see that the practice of reservation carries with it inevitably a theory which represents "grace" as a "substance" to be transmitted through the body of the recipient, irrespective of his faith, and that it logically involves idolatry of the grossest kind. Whatever Archbishops may do or leave undone, we as loyal Churchmen and scriptural Christians are bound to repudiate and abhor what our own Church has so decisively rejected. May God defend and protect his Church from the heretical clergy who are now suffered to infest it, and, "if it were possible, to deceive the very elect."

The Convocation Prayer against Popery in the Church of England.



N the British Museum is an original print of this important prayer which is still used at each sitting of both Houses of Convocation. It is numbered "3406. c. 31," and forms a small quarto pamphlet having the following title-page ; the two texts of Scripture being, of course, printed in full.

F O R M A P R E C U M

In utrâque Domo

CONVOCATIONIS

sive

SYNODI PRAELATORUM

Et caeteri

C L E R I

seu

PROVINCIALIS SEU NATIONALIS

In ipso statim, cujuslibet Sessionis initio.
solemniter recitanda.

[Ps. cxxiv.-8. Matt. xviii.-20.]



Londoni Typis Car. Bill et Tho. Newcomb
Regiae Majestati Typogr.

M.DC.LXXXIX.

In the Litany is a prayer for "Ministros tuos Gulielmum et Mariam, regem et reginam et gubernatores nostros clementissimos." The Convocation Prayer itself, which is "never to be omitted," is as follows:—

Oratio pro praesente Convocatione sire Synodo.

Domine Deus, Pater Luminum, et Fons omnis Sapientiae; Nos ad Seabellum pedum tuorum provoluti, humiles tui et indigni famuli, te rogamus, ut qui in nomine tuo sub auspiciis Clementissimorum Regis Gulielmi et Reginæ Mariæ hic convenimus, gratiâ tuâ cœlitus adjuti, ea omnia investigare, meditari, tractare et discernere valeamus, quæ honorem tuum et gloriam promoveant, et in Ecclesiâ cedant profectum. Concede igitur ut Spiritus tuus, qui Concilio olim Apostolico, huic nostro etiam nunc insideat, ducatque nos in omnem veritatem, quæ est secundum Pietatem: Ut qui, ad amussim Sanctæ Reformationis nostræ, errores, corruptelas, et superstitiones olim hic grasantes, Tyrannidemque Papalem, merito et serio repudiavimus, Fidem Apostolicam et vere Catholicam, firmiter et constanter, teneamus omnes, Tibique rite puro culto intrepidi serviamus, per Jesum Christum Dominum et Servatorem nostrum. *Amen.*

In York Convocation the same Form is used; but until the present Archbishop "changed the customs," the Father was addressed in the mother-tongue. The official translation, as used in the Northern Province until 1890, ran us follows:—

"Form of Prayers to be used in both Houses of Convocation at the opening of each day's Session."

"O Lord God, Father of light, and fountain of all wisdom, we thine unworthy servants do humbly bow before Thy footstool, and pray that being gathered together in Thy name, and by authority of our gracious Queen Victoria, we may be assisted by Thy grace, and enabled to devise, discuss, and determine all such plans as may promote Thy glory and tend to the advancement of Thy Church. Grant, therefore, that Thy Spirit may now rule our Convocation as it did of old the Council of the Apostles, and guide us into all truth so that we, who according to the order of our Holy Reformation have deliberately and with good reason renounced the errors, corruptions and superstitions, as well as the Papal tyranny which once prevailed, may all constantly hold fast the Apostolical and truly catholic faith, and may duly serve Thee without fear, and

with a pure worship, through Jesus Christ our Lord and Saviour. Amen."

The same Form in Latin, as at Canterbury, was used by the Irish Convocation; a copy dated 1704, and printed by Joseph Roy of Skinner Row, Dublin, is now in the British Museum collection, numbered "3407 c. 29." The Irish form adds also a prayer for the "most illustrious James Duke of Ormond, chief governour of this kingdom." The Prayer for the High Court of Parliament is, however, different; the Irish Form simply copying that given in the Prayer Book, whereas that issued in 1689 throws an interesting light upon the meaning of the words "the three Estates," and also illustrates the old constitutional theory that Parliament "asks" the Crown to "enact."

"Benignissime Deus qui omnibus præs, omniaque gubernas; adsis, quæsumus, propitius tribus regni ordinibus in Parlamento sub moderamine serenissimorum principum Gulielmi et Mariæ jam coactis. Adjuva eos spiritu consilii et pacis, quo unanimes conserventur et concordes, zelo etiam Tui flagrent, et publicæ utilitatib; studeant: ut quas aliquando junctis suffragiis leges rogaverint, a Dominis Rege et Regina sancitæ, justitiam nobis et pacem stabiliant, posterisque in sera sæcula confirment, ad virtutis omnigenæ incrementum, Tui que Nominis gloriam sempiternam, per et propter JESUM CHRISTUM DOMINUM ET SALVATOREM NOSTRUM. Amen."

Which may be Englished—

"O most merciful God, who art over all men and dost govern all things, be present with Thy favour to the three Estates of this Realm now in parliament assembled under the governance of the most serene Princes William and Mary. Assist them with the spirit of counsel and peace that they may be preserved in unity and concord, and be inflamed with zeal for Thee, and seek the welfare of the people; so that the laws which, by their joint suffrages they from time to time demand, may, when sanctioned by their Lords the King and Queen, establish among us justice and peace, and preserve them for those that come after to remote ages, to the increase of every kind of virtue and the everlasting glory of Thy name, through and for the sake of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Amen."

These ancient Synodical devotions, if offered in sincerity, are an admirable antidote to the “Reunion of Christendom in corruption” craze; and spiritual persons would do well to ponder Keble’s well-known lines—

“O help us this and every day
To live more nearly as we pray.”

May 1st, 1900.



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“Under the Form of Bread and Wine.”

HE English Church Union has the effrontery once more to put forth the statement that the Homilies of the Church of England speak “Of the due receiving of the Body and Blood of Christ *under the form of bread and wine.*” Even that language might be defended, as being addressed in a merely figurative sense, to “the inward ‘eye’ of faith, and ‘mouth’ of the soul” (see Mr. Dimock’s *Papers concerning the Eucharistic Presence*, pp. 232 and following).

But the E.C.U. are careful to exclude any such innocent sense by interpreting the words to mean that Christ is “present in the same Most Holy Sacrament of the Altar under the form of bread and wine.” In precisely the same spirit, Bp. Gardiner, of Winchester, had pretended that the words of distribution in the First Prayer Book “said the body and blood of Christ to be under the form of bread and wine.” To which Abp. Cranmer gave this crushing reply, “As concerning the form of doctrine used in this Church of England in the Holy Communion, that the body and blood of Christ be under the forms of bread and wine, when you shall shew the place where this form of words is expressed, then shall you purge yourself of that, which in the meantime I take to be

A PLAIN UNTRUTH.” (*On the Lord’s Supper*, p. 53.)

The same description applies, *mutatis mutandis*, to this figment of the E.C.U. So, too, Ridley disclaims the same

thought. "Then also the natural substance of Christ's human nature, which He took of the Virgin Mary, is in heaven, where it reigneth now in glory, and not here inclosed *under the form of bread*" (*Works*, p. 12.)

The First Book of Homilies was issued on July 31st, 1547, the First year of the reign of Edward VI. But it was not until Christmas Eve, in that year, that any doctrinal change was made. The Bloody Act of the Six Articles which visited any "opinion" against Transubstantiation with the penalty of *death* was in force during that whole year. A fresh commission was issued to Bp. Bonner under that statute, and many persons were indicted under it, during this same "First year of Edward VI." The "authority of Parliament" which had been given to the "King's Book" (*Necessary Doctrine and Erudition*) was not withdrawn until December 24th, 1547. More than half the bishops were then Papal in doctrine, and several members^{*} of the Privy Council also. The Homilies themselves, with one or two exceptions, had been drawn up under Henry VIII. some five years previously.* Bonner and Harpsfield (two of the leading persecutors under Mary) being among their authors. Consequently, the language of the Advertisement or "Notice" at the end of the book was necessarily in accordance with the then officially received public profession of the State religion.

But the point which the E. C. U. are careful to conceal from their dupes is that the Preface to the Homilies, as issued in 1547, was not authorised in any way by any ecclesiastical authority. It was merely an "Erastian" proclamation by the King. Just as the Thirty-nine Articles and the Canons of 1604 are sandwiched between a Royal Preface and a Royal "Ratification," so were the Homilies of 1547. They were not put forth with synodical sanction, nor even by Parliament, but solely by the Crown. As, however, not one clergyman in ten thousand has ever seen *this* Preface, we have now the pleasure to reprint it for the enlightenment of the E. C. U.

* See Tomlinson on the *Prayer Book*, p. 230.

Certayne Sermons, or Homilies, appoyned
 by the Kyn
 ges Maiestie, to be decla
 red and redde, by all per
 fones, Uycars, or Cu
 rates, euery Sōday in their
 Churches,
 where
 they have
 Cure. Anno, 1547.

¶ The preface,†



HE Kynges moſte excell-
 ent Maiefie, by the prudent
 aduise of hys moſte deere belo-
 ued vncle, Edwarde Duke of
 Somerſet, Gouernour of hys
 Maiefies persone, and Protec-
 tor of all his hyghnes Realmes, Dominions,
 and Subiectes, with the reſte of his moſte ho-
 norable Counſayle, moſte gracionſlye conſy-
 deryng the manyfolde enormities whiche here-
 tofore have crepte into his graces Realme,
 throughe the false vſurped power of the biſhop
 of Rome, and the vngodlye doctryne of his ad-
 herentes, not onely vnto the great decaye of
 Christen religion, but also (if Gods mercy were
 not) vnto the vtter deſtruccion of innumerabla
 ſoules, which throughe Hippocrify and perni-
 cious doctrine, were ſeduced, and brought from
 honoring of the alone, true, lyuing, and eternall
 God, vnto the worhippinge of creatures, yea,
 of ſtockes and ſtones, from doing the commaū-
 dementes of God, vnto voluntarye workes, and
 phantasies inuented of men, from true religion,
 vnto Popishe ſuperſticion : Conſideringe alſo

† This Preface is reprinted verbatim and line for line from one of Whitchurch's copies [Brit. Mus. "697 cf. 1 (2),"] but the Title and the Advertisement from the earlier edition of Grafton.

the ernest and feruent desire, of his deerely beloved subiectes, to be deliuering from al errors and supersticion, and to be truly and faithfully instructed in the very woorde of God, that liuelye foode of mannes soule, whereby they maye learne vnsaynedly, and according to the mynde of the holy Ghoste, exprefed in the scriptures, to honor GOD, and to serue their Kynge, with all humilitie and subiection: and godly and honestly, to behane them selues towarde all men: Agayne calling to remembraunce, that the nexte & moſte redy waye, to expell and auoyde, as well all corrupte, vicious, and vngodly liuinge, as also erronious doctrine, tendinge to supersticion and Idolatry, and clerely to put awaye all contention, whiche hath heretofore rysen, throughe diuersitie of preachinge, is the true setting furth, and pure declaring of Goddes woord, whiche is the principall guyde and leader vnto all godlynes and vertue: Finallye that all Curates of what learninge soeuer they be, maye haue ſome godly and fruitfull leſſons in a redynes, to reade and declare vnto their parifhyoners, for their edifiynge, instrucccion, and conforte: hath cauſed a booke of Homilies, to be made, & ſetfurth, wherin is conteyned certayne holsome and godly exhortacions, to moue the people to honor and worship almighty GOD, and diligently to serue hym, euery one accordinge to their degree, ſtate, and vocacion: the which Homilies hys Maieftie commaundeth and stratetely chargeþ, all Persones, Vicars, Curates, and all other, hauying ſpirituall cure, euery Sōdaye in the yere, at hyghe Maffe,* when the peo-

* "At Hyghe Masse". In 1547 the Latin mass continued unaltered: in 1548 the English form of distribution to the laity was merely tacked on at the end of the Latin Mass: not until the First Prayer Book, June 9th, 1549, was the mass superseded, and the change was instantly marked in Owen's edition dated October 8th, 1549, which changed the direction after

ple be moost gathered togither, to reade and declare to their parishioners, plainly & distinctly, in suche ordre as they stande in the boke (excepte any Sermon be preached,) and then for that cause onely, & for none other, the readyng of the faide Homilie, to be differred vnto the next Sōdaye folowing. And when the forefaide boke of Homilies is redde ouer, the Kynges Maiesties pleasure is, that the same be repeted, and redde agayn in suche like forte, as was before prescribed, vnto such tyme, as his graces pleasure shall further be knownen, in this behalfe. Also his Maiestie commaundeth, that the sayde ecclesiastical persons, vpon the first holy day, fallinge in the weeke tyme of euery quarter of the yere, shal reade his Iniuncions opēly & distinctly to the people, in maner and fourme in the same exprefed: and vpon euery other holy ad festiuall day through the yere, likewife fallinge in the weeke tyme, they shal recyte the Paternoſter, the ar-ticles of our fayth, and the tenne cōmaundementes in English, opēly before all the people, as in the saide Iniuncions is ſpecified, that all de-grees, and all ages, may leарne to knowe God, and to ferue him, according to his holy woорde.

A.M.E.P.

* * *

HEREAFTER shall folowe homilies of fastyng, praiyng, almes deedes, of the Natiuitie, Passion, Resurrecction, and Ascencion of our fauor Christ, of the due receiuyng of his bleffed body and bloud, vnder the fourme of bread and wyne, againſt idlenes, againſt glotony and dronkēnes, agaynst coueteoufnes, agaynst enuy, ire, and malice, with manye other matters,

"every Sunday" by adding "and holy day in the yere *at the celebracion of the Communion*, in such ordre and place, as is appointed in the book of Common praiер, to read" &c. In 1550 the Preface read "every sunday in the yere, at the Communion, when the people be most gathered together" (the last seven words having been omitted by Oswen.)

aswell fruitful as necessary, to the edifyng of christen people, and encrease of godly liuyng.

GOD SAVE THE KING !

Imprinted at London, the last day of Julii, in the first yeare of the reign of our Sovereign Lord King Edward the VI. by Richard Grafton, printer to his Most Royal Majesty.
Anno 1547.

Cum priuilegio ad imprimen-
dum solum.



It is true that the second book of Homilies issued in 1563 bore on its title-page the words, "The second tome of the Homilies, of such matters as were promised and Intituled in the former part of homilies. Set out by the authority of the Queen's Majesty : and to be read in every parish church agreeably". But, in fact, no such Homily as "promised" ever was issued. Instead of it was a very Protestant sermon "Of the worthy receiving of the sacrament. Two Parts." It contained such teaching as this: "For this is to stick fast by Christ's promise made in his institution, to make Christ thine own, and to applicate his merits to thyself. Herein thou needest no other man's help, no other sacrifice or oblation, no sacrificing priest, no Mass, no means established by man's invention."

Nay, the very words relied on by the E. C. U. were carefully *struck out* from the sermon for Easter Day which is taken from Taverner's *Postils*.* For whereas Taverner had written "Call to mind that therefore thou hast received into thy possession the everlasting verity, our Saviour Christ, IN FORM OF BREAD, to confirm thy conscience"—the words here printed in small capitals were omitted. It is, therefore, absolutely false to pretend that the Homilies teach what the Privy Council in 1547 had indeed "promised", but which Elizabeth and her Protestant bishops refused to ratify.

* For other alterations in the same direction see *Tomlinson on the Prayer Book*, p. 245.

19th July, 1900.

London : Printed by G. Norman & Son, Floral Street. Published by the CHURCH ASSOCIATION and to be obtained at their Office, 14, Buckingham Street, Strand, at the price of 5d per dozen, or 3s per 100.

2nd Thousand.]

19.7.00

WHY WAS THE FIRST PRAYER BOOK OF EDWARD VI. REJECTED?



S Lord Halifax's proposal to revive the Liturgy of 1549 is now being advocated by persons who know very little about its history, it is worth while to recall some of the facts. *The Great Parliamentary Debate* in 1548 (published by J. F. Shaw, price 6d) has shewn that even at the date of its first issue, the Reforming prelates were desirous of using language more distinctively Protestant, but were hindered from doing so by Bonner, Thirlby and the rest of the Roman Catholic bishops who then had seats in Parliament. Abp. Cranmer in his *Answer to Gardiner* explains how the changes made at the subsequent Revision were rendered necessary (See *Tomlinson on the Prayer Book*, pp. 29-33). But another contemporary witness may also be cited whose testimony is less generally known. In the year 1548, "the second year of Edward VI.", Cecil, the celebrated ancestor of the present Prime Minister, became Secretary of State, and numbered among his friends Geste, then Vice-provost of King's College, Cambridge. This Divine published during that same year a *Treatise against the Privy Mass*, in which he attacked the "Canon of the Mass" (i.e., the part containing the "Consecration" prayer), the pretended "Oblation" and the "Elevation" and Adoration of the "Host" (as the wafer was then termed). The passages are set out in Dugdale's *Life of Bp. Geste*, pp. 91, 93, 95, 113, 116, and 131; and, in every instance, the words complained of by Geste were "left out" and "altered" when the First Prayer Book was drawn up. Yet some expressions retained in this First Prayer Book were claimed by Romanists as favouring the rejected doctrines and practices, and it is in regard to these that we have a very interesting Report furnished to Mr. Secretary Cecil, by Geste, during the first year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

Geste was perhaps the "highest churchman," among all the Elizabethan bishops, with the solitary exception of Cheney, Bp. of Gloucester, who, being a Lutheran, conscientiously refused to subscribe the Thirty-nine Articles. For this refusal, Cheney was excommunicated by the Archbishop, and Britton, in his *History of Bristol Cathedral*, p. 26, says "that Calfhill, Archdeacon of Colchester, was consequently deputed to preach two sermons in confutation of his opinions in the Cathedral of Bristol." But his friend Geste, who had taken part in framing the Thirty-nine Articles, exerted his private influence with Cecil (the Prime Minister) to get the language of several of these "Articles of religion" altered, *after* they had been

subscribed in Convocation! He even claimed that a new clause in the Twenty-eighth Article was "of his own penning"; yet for all that, he sought to get its wording altered in this surreptitious fashion. However, no heed whatever was paid to these backstairs influences which, after all, *may* have been dictated rather by personal friendship towards Cheney than by any actual dislike of his own. At any rate he himself ultimately subscribed the *unaltered* Articles and accepted the bishopric of Salisbury.

The fact that Geste was no "Ultra-Protestant," but is claimed by the Ritualists as the true exponent of the Twenty-eighth Article (*see* our Tract 198), lends additional value to this Report on Prayer Book revision. Strype, in his gossiping fashion, tells us of a Committee of Divines meeting at the house of Sir Thomas Smith to revise the Book of Common Prayer, soon after the accession of Elizabeth. But the sole ground for the statement is that an anonymous proposal to appoint such a Committee was put forward by somebody. Geste's name, however, is not among the persons therein named, and there seems to be no trace either of any actual meeting or of the alleged revision by a "Committee." Strype also suggests that Cecil asked a number of definite questions, to each of which Geste gave "answers." He even prints (*Annals I. i.-120*) these imaginary "questions" for which he had no authority whatever! He represents Geste as giving these "answers," not as his own opinions, but on behalf of the imagined "Committee"; whereas the Report (which is not in the form of answers to questions) is expressly stated by Cecil himself to have been "done by my Lord of Rochester, before he was bishop" (*i.e.* before March 24th, 1560). The entire paper is printed below, and it will be seen that the criticisms which follow speak only of Geste's own individual opinions and motives.

It is always necessary to be on one's guard against confounding Strype's innumerable theories and guesses with the actual facts for which (writing in the eighteenth century) he had some verifiable vouchers. Knowing, as we do, that Geste spontaneously volunteered to furnish the Prime Minister with his personal objections to, and proposed amendments of, Articles XVII., XXV., XXVIII., and XXIX., with a view to getting their authorised language altered by the Government (See *State Papers Domestic, Elizabeth*, Vol. lxxviii., No. 37; Dean Goode's "Supplement to his work on the Eucharist," Hatchard, p. 8), it is quite credible that Geste's report was merely the expression of his own conceptions of what would be desirable. His draft apparently contained some features, such as the alternative liberty to stand *or* kneel at the reception of the Holy Communion, and the restriction of the Nicene

Creed to the actual communicants (by placing it after the non-communicants had left the church) which went beyond even the directions of the Second Prayer Book of Edward VI. But there is no reason to think that either Geste's draft, or any other Revision of the Liturgy of 1552 was submitted to Parliament in 1559. All the other Acts of Uniformity, and the Letters Patent of James I., specify not only the actual revision, but the persons by whom it had been conducted. No such reference, however, is to be found in the Elizabethan Act (1 Eliz. c. 2). On the contrary, it expressly repealed Mary's repealing Act, and by name re-enacted the printed book which had "remained at the death of Edward." The only new prayers (except 1 Cor. xiii.) were those "For the Queen," taken from Edward's Primer of 1553 and the Collect for the Clergy, taken from Cranmer's Litany of 1544. The benediction used at the distribution of the Sacrament in 1549 was combined with that of the Second Prayer Book. But none of these alterations would necessitate, or even suggest, the holding of a Royal Commission: nor would such an important event have been likely to end in such trivial alterations. The Government Bill enumerated the three alterations which alone were permitted to be introduced into the Second Prayer Book of Edward, which, in substance, has remained the authorised Liturgy of the Church of England from that day to our own. The Declaration on Kneeling being merely a *Royal Proclamation*, was not included in the Act of Repeal, because it was no part of the *Statutory Prayer Book*. The two "fraud-rubrics" relating to ornaments and to the "accustomed place" or "reading pew" had a perfectly separate origin and history, as detailed in our Tract 270.

The original MS. is now among the Parker MSS. at Corpus Christi, Cambridge, at page 413 of "P. 106." It came into the possession of Abp. Parker owing to an application made by him to Cecil, dated December 21st, 1566, in which he wrote—

"I pray your honour to cause your clerk to seek up the Book of Articles which were subscribed by all the professors of the Gospel newly arrived from beyond the sea, which book was presented to the Queen's Majesty" (*Parker Correspondence*, p. 290).

Sir William Cecil replied the same day—

"It may please your Grace. I have sought for the writing which your Grace desired, but yet I cannot find it. This included came by the search into my hands, which was done by my Lord of Rochester, before he was bishop, and so I send it that your Grace may peruse, and as it shall please the same so long to retain it, and so I humbly end, from Weston, this 21st of December, 1566. Your Grace's humbly at command, W. CECILL."

The signature of this letter (which is in the same volume of the *Synodalia* as Geste's paper) is an autograph; the letter

itself being written by some amanuensis. By a fortunate accident the enclosing letter, given above, and "Indorsed:—To my Lord of Canterbury's grace," had stuck to Geste's MS., and, in consequence, a bit of the latter containing the words "*out which*" has been torn out from p. 414 of the MS. p. 148 of Dugdale who substituted 4 dots. This enables us to identify what was the "This included." Curiously enough, too, Geste's letters to Cecil respecting the alteration of the Twenty-eighth Article was written the very next day after the following paper passed into Abp. Parker's hands as above described (See *Perry on Kneeling*, p. 192). Cardwell copies, as usual, Strype's heading, which was not any part of Geste's own criticism. The original reads as follows:

* * *

Right Honourable,

THAT you might well understand, that I have neither ungodly allowed any thing against the scripture, neither unstedfastly done any thing contrary to my writing, neither rashly without just cause put away that which might be well suffered, nor undiscreetly for novelty brought in that which might be better left out; I am so bold to write to your honour some causes of the order taken in the new service: which enterprise, though you may justly reprove for the simple handling, yet I trust you will take it well for my good meaning. Therefore, committing your honourable estate to the great mercy of God, and following the intent of my writing, thus I begin the matter.

OF CEREMONIES.

Ceremonies once taken away, as evil used, should not be taken again, though they be not evil of themselves, but might be well used. And that for four causes.

The first, because the Galatians ¹were reproved of Paul for receiving again the ceremonies which once they had forsaken: ²bidding them to stand in the liberty wherein they were called; and forbidding them to wrap themselves in the yoke of bondage; saying, ³they builded again that which they had destroyed; and reproving Peter, for that by his dissembling he provoked the gentiles to the ceremonial law, which they had left; looking back hereby from the plough which they had in hand.

The second cause, because ⁴Paul forbids us to abstain not only from that which is evil, but also from all that which is not evil, but yet hath the appearance of evil. For this cause Ezekias destroyed the ⁵brazen serpent; and Epiphanius the picture of Christ.

The third cause, because the ⁶gospel is a short word, putting away the law, which stood in ⁷decrees and ceremonies; and ⁸a light and easy yoke, delivering us from them. Therefore is it said, that we should ⁹worship God in spirit and truth, and not in ceremonies and shadows also, as did the Jews. And ¹⁰Paul likeneth us Christians, for our freedom from ceremony, to men which live in

¹ Gal. 5.

² Gal. 5.

³ Gal. 2. Luc. 9.

⁴ 1 Thess. 5. Phil. 2.

⁵ 2 Kings 18.

⁶ Rom. 10.

⁷ Eph. 2.

⁸ Matt. 11.

⁹ John 4.

¹⁰ Gal. 4.

all liberty ; and the Jews, for their bondage in them, to men living in all thraldom. Wherefore Augustyn, ¹¹writing to Januarius against the multitude of ceremonies, thus saith ; "Christ hath bound us to a light burthen, joyning us together with sacraments in number most few, in keeping most easy, in signification most passing." And in the next epistle following he bewaileth the multitude of ceremonies in his time, and calleth them *presumptions*. Which yet were but few in respect of the number of ours.

The fourth cause, because these ceremonies were devised of men, and abused to idolatry. ¹²For Christ with his apostles would not wash their hands before meat, though of itself it was an honest civil order, because it was superstitiously used. Paul forbad the Corinthians ¹³to come to the gentiles tables, where they did eat the meat which was offered to idols : though an idol was nothing, nor that which was offered to it any thing.

OF THE CROSS.

Epiphanius, in an epistle which he wrote to John, bishop of Jerusalem, and is translated by ¹⁴Hierom, sheweth how he did cut in pieces a cloth in a church, wherein was painted the image of Christ, or of some saint, because it was against the scriptures ; and counsels the bishop to command the priests of the same church to set up no more any such cloth in the same place, calling it a superstition to have any such in the church. Leo, the emperor, with a council holden at Constantinople, decreed, that all images in the church should be broken. The same was decreed long before in the provincial council at Elibert in Spain, cap. 36.

OF PROCESSION.

Procession is superfluous, because we may, as we ought to do, pray for the same in the church that we pray for abroad ; yea, and better too. Because when we pray abroad, our mind is not so set upon God for sight of things, (as experience teacheth,) as when we pray in the church, where we have no such occasion to move our mind withal.

OF VESTMENTS.

Because it is thought sufficient to use but a surplice in baptizing, reading, preaching, and praying, therefore it is enough also for the celebrating of the communion. For if we should use another garment herein, it should seem to teach us, that higher and better things be given by it than be given by the other service ; which we must not believe. For in baptism we put on ¹⁵Christ: in the word we eat and drink Christ, as Hierom and Gregory write ¹⁶. And Austin saith, the word is as precious as this sacrament, in saying, "He sinneth as much which negligently heareth the word, as he which willingly letteth Christ's body to fall on the ground." And Chrysostom ¹⁷saith, "He which is not fit to receive, is not fit to pray." Which were not true, if prayer were not of as much importance as the communion.

¹¹ Epist. 118, 119.

¹² Matt. 15.

¹³ 1 Cor. 10.

¹⁴ Hieron. 2 tom. epi.

¹⁵ Gal. 3.

¹⁶ Supp. Eccle. sup. ca. 6. Joh.

¹⁷ Lib. 50. Homiliarum ; tom. 10. Chrysost. Hom. 61. ad pop. Antioch.

**OF THE DIVIDING THE SERVICE OF THE COMMUNION INTO
TWO PARTS.**

Dionysius Areopagita¹⁸ saith, "That after the reading of the Old and New Testament, the learners of the faith before they were baptized, mad men, and they that were joyned to penance for their faults, were shut out of the church, and they only did remain which did receive." Chrysostom witnesseth also¹⁹, that these three sorts were shut out from the communion. Therefore Durant writeth²⁰, that the mass of the learners is from the *Introite* until after the *offertory*, which is called *missa*, *masse*, or *sending out*: in that it sendeth out: because, when the priest beginneth to consecrate the sacrament, the learners be sent out of the church. The mass, or *sending out* of the faithful, is from the offering till after communion; and is named *missa*, a *sending out*, because when it is ended, then each faithful is sent forth to his proper business.

OF THE CREED.

The Creed is ordained to be said only of the communicants, because Dionysius, and Chrysostom, and Basil, in their liturgies, say, that the learners were shut out or the Creed was said; because it is the prayer of the faithful only, which were but the communicants. For that they which did not receive were taken for that time as not faithful. Therefore Chrysostom²¹ saith, "That they which do not receive, be as men doing penance for their sin."

OF PRAYING FOR THE DEAD IN THE COMMUNION.

The praying for the dead is not now used in the Communion, because it doth seem to make for the sacrifice of the dead. And also because, (as it was used in the First Book,) it maketh some of the faithful to be in heaven, and to need no mercy; and some of them to be in another place, and to lack help and mercy. As though they were not all alike redeemed, and brought to heaven by Christ's merits: but some deserved it, (as it is said of martyrs;) and some, for lack of such perfectness, were in purgatory, (as it is spoken of the meaner sort.) But thus to pray for the dead in the communion was not used in Christ and his apostles time, nor in Justin's time; who²², speaking of the manner of using the communion in his time, reporteth not this. So that I may here well say with Tertullian²³, "That is true which is first; that is false which is after. That is true which is first; that is first which is from beginning; that is from beginning, which is from the apostles."

OF THE PRAYER IN THE FIRST BOOK FOR CONSECRATION.

O merciful Father, &c.

This prayer is to be disliked for two causes. The first, because it is taken to be so needful for the consecration, that the consecration is not thought to be without it. Which is not true: for petition is

¹⁸ Dionys. in cœlest. Hierar. cap. 3. part. secunda tertia.

¹⁹ Chrysost. 1a. expos. in Mat. Hom. 72.

²⁰ Durant in rationali Divinor. lib. 4. cap. 1.

²¹ Chr. Hom. 61. ad pop. Antioch.

²² Secunda Apolog. pro Christianis.

²³ Tertull. contr. Prax. contra Mar.

²⁴ Matt. 26.

no part of consecration. Because Christ, in ordaining the sacrament²⁴, made no petition, but a thanksgiving. It is written²⁵, "When he had given thanks," and not, "When he had asked." Which Christ would have spoken, and the evangelists have written, if it had been needful, as it is mistaken.²⁶ And though Mark saith, "that Christ blessed, when he took bread," yet he meaneth by *blessed*, gave thanks, or else he would have said also, He gave thanks, as he said, He blessed, if he had meant thereby divers things. And speaking of the cup, he would have said, Christ blessed, when he took the cup, and as he saith, He gave thanks, if *gave thanks* and *blessed* were not all one. Or else Christ should be thought to have consecrated the bread and not the wine, because in consecrating the bread, he said *blessed*, and in consecrating the wine, he left it out. Yea, by Matthew, Luke, and Paul, he should neither have consecrated the one nor the other. For that they report not, that He blessed.

Gregory²⁷ writeth to the bishop of Syracuse, that the apostles used only the Lord's Prayer at the communion, and none other; and seemeth to be displeased, that it is not there still so used, but instead thereof the canon which Scholasticus made. Therefore, in that he would the Lord's Prayer to be used at the making of the communion, which maketh nothing for the consecrating thereof, and not Scholasticus' prayer, which prayeth for the consecration of the same, it must needs be that he thought the communion not to be made by Invocation.

Chrysostom saith²⁸, that this sacrament is made by the words of Christ once spoken; as every thing is gendered by the words of God, that he once spake, "Increase and fill the earth."

Bessarion saith²⁹, that the consecration stands on Christ's ordinance, and His words, and not on the prayer of the priest; and that for three causes. The first, because the priest may pray without faith, without which his prayer is not heard. The second, because the prayer is not all one in all countries. The third, because baptism is without prayer.

Justin³⁰, in shewing how the communion was celebrated in his time, maketh no mention of invocation. No more doth Irene³¹.

The second cause why the foresaid prayer is to be refused, is for that it prayeth that the bread and wine may be Christ's body and blood; which maketh for the popish transubstantiation,³² which is a doctrine that hath caused much idolatry: and though the Doctors so speak, yet we must speak otherwise, because we take them otherwise than they meant, or would be taken.³³ For when their meaning is corrupted, then their words must be expounded. In one place it

²⁵ Mar. 14. Luke 22. 1 Cor. 11.

²⁶ [This obsolete use of the word "mis-taken," for "taken amiss," illustrates the phrase "ministers and mistakers" in the 2nd Act of Uniformity, 1552.]

²⁷ Lib. 6. Epist. 63.

²⁸ De Perdit. Judæ. Hom. 30.

²⁹ Libr. de Prec. Eucharist.

³⁰ 2d Apol. pro Christian. [i.e. 1 Apol. lxv.-lxviii.]

³¹ Lib. 4 cap. 34. [This reference is, however, mistaken. See iv.-18. 5.]

³² [Bp. Gardiner argued for Transubstantiation from the very prayer. See *Cranmer on Lord's Supper*, P. S. p. 79.]

is said, This is the new testament in my blood ; and in another place, This is my blood of the new testament : here Christ's words be diversely reported, that we should expound them when they be mistaken. And both He and his apostles allege the Old Testament not after the letter, but after the meaning.³³

OF RECEIVING THE SACRAMENT IN OUR HANDS.

Christ gave the sacrament into the hands of his Apostles, "Divide it," saith he, "among yourselves³⁴." It is decreed³⁵, that they should be excommunicated, which did suffer any man to take it with any thing, saving with his *hands*; as then they made instruments to receive it withall. Ambrose³⁶ thus speaketh to Theodosius the emperor, "How wilt thou with such hands receive the body of Christ?" "If we be ashamed," saith Austin, "and afraid to touch the sacrament with foul hands, much more we ought to fear to take it with an unclean soul."

OF RECEIVING STANDING OR KNEELING.

Justin saith, we should rather stand than kneel, when we pray on the Sunday, because it is a sign of resurrection ; and writeth that Irene³⁷ saith, it is a custom which came from the apostles. And Austin³⁸ thus writeth, "We pray standing, which is a sign of resurrection : therefore on every Sunday it is observed at the altar." It is in plain words in the last chapter of the last book, (which Gaguens, a Frenchman, hath put to Tertullian's works as his,) that Christ's body is received standing. Though this is the old use of the church to communicate standing, yet because it is taken of some by itself to be sin to receive kneeling, whereas of itself it is lawful ; it is left indifferent to every man's choice to follow the one way or the other ; to teach men that it is lawful to receive either standing or kneeling.

Thus, as I think, I have shewed good cause why the service is set forth in such sort as it is. God, for his mercy in Christ, cause the parliament with one voice to enact it, and the realm with true heart to use it.

³³ [Strype carelessly omits this whole paragraph (*Annals* I. ii.-464), and Cardwell leaves out "the Old Testament" from the penultimate line (*Conf.* 54). In ten other places Strype's transcript is incorrect.]

³⁴ Luke 22.

³⁵ Concilio 6. Constan. cap. 101.

³⁶ Theod. Bez. lib. 4. cap. 31. *Tripart. Hist.*

³⁷ *Quaestio ad Orthod.* 115.

³⁸ *Epla. ad Jan.* 118.

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THE MISPRINTED CATECHISM.

PART II.

BEING A REPLY TO MR. DIMOCK'S STRICTURES IN
THE "CHURCHMAN."

BY

J. T. TOMLINSON.



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Mr. Dimock on the Misprinted Catechism.

A RECENT article by Mr. Dimock, which appeared in the April and May numbers of the *Churchman*, 1903, has re-opened this question, and deserves consideration in view of a newly-discovered fact. Mr. Dimock found in the Record Office the original letters patent of King James which, as Lord Selborne pointed out in his published *Notes* (p. 30) was the real document upon which the Jacobean revision of 1603-4 rested for its authority. It is on the Patent Roll, 1 James I., p. 5, and was directed to Abp. Whitgift, and describes itself in the margin as a "Spiritual Commission directed to the Archbishop of Canterbury and others for the reformation of the Book of Common Prayer." This ought to interest the Ritualists, as its language is so intensely "Erastian." The "others" were also described as being "the rest of *Our Commissioners* for causes ecclesiastical." It recites the several changes and additions made to the Prayer Book, which these letters patent profess to "approve, allow, and ratify" by virtue of two acts of Elizabeth, viz., the Act of Supremacy and the Act of Uniformity (1 Eliz., c. 1, and 1 Eliz., e. 2). The letters patent are dated February 9th, 1603 (*i.e.*, 1604, New Style); and two editions of the Jacobean Book were published before the issue of the Royal Proclamation on March 5th, which appeared in (some) later editions. In the Letters Patent, the disputed definition of "this word Sacrament" reads as follows:—"Answeare. I meane an outward and visible signe of an inward and sprituall grace given vnto vs ordayne by Christe Himselfe as a meanes whereby we receave the same and a pleadge to assure vs thereof." It will be seen that there is not a single stop in the entire sentence. But Mr. Dimock has also unearthed, for the first time so far as we are aware, the Royal Warrant or Privy Seal, directing the Lord Chancellor to annex the Great Seal of England to the new alterations. This warrant is of even date with the letters patent themselves, professing to be "Given at our Palace of Westminster the ninth of February, 1603, in the first year of our reign of England, France, and Ireland, and of Scotland the seven and thirtieth."

"In this warrant," says Mr. Dimock, "the answer is punctuated thus: 'I mean an outward and visible sign, of an inward and spiritual grace given unto us, ordained by Christ himself, as a means whereby we receive the same, and a pledge to assure us thereof.' He also quotes Archbishop Sandys, who, preaching on the Sacraments during Mary's reign, said in his sermon (p. 303,

Parker Soc. edit.), "if a prince gave out his letters patent of a gift, so long as the seal is not put to, the gift is not fully ratified ; and the party to whom it is given thinketh not himself sufficiently assured of it. God's gift, *without sealing*, is sure, as He Himself is all one, without changing ; yet to bear with our infirmity, and to make us more secure of his promise, to his writing and word, he added these outward signs and seals, to establish our faith, and to certify us that His promise is most certain." The entire paragraph should be read in connection with Mr. Dimock's subsequent comment as to the relation of the Sacraments to the Gospel offer of grace. But for our immediate purpose it is clear that Sandys is right in holding that the Great Seal of England is that which validates the official act of the Crown, and entitles it to legal recognition.

Mr. Dimock's discovery is interesting in a literary point of view, though it cannot alter the legal aspect of the Prayer Book text. In the absence of the report of the Royal Commissioners in 1603 to the King, the warrant which professes to incorporate their recommendations is the earliest remaining version of the original text. Be that as it may, it must be remembered that the entire revision under James is of very doubtful validity, and that a later revision of the Catechism was made in 1661, at which two of the questions and four of the answers in this later addition relating to the Sacraments were altered. Churchmen are now bound by the text which the Convocations adopted in 1661, and which the Crown "further considered," and the Parliament then enacted. So then, to sum up the legal position ; if the Letters Patent of James were valid, they are absolutely neutral on the question of punctuation ; if the Annexed MS. enacted by the last Act of Uniformity be the standard, the present punctuation adopted by the "privileged printers" is unwarranted and without legal sanction.

In 1604 neither Parliament nor Convocation was so much as consulted ; the King acted with only the advice of the Lord Chancellor, Lord Henry Howard, the Lord Chief Justice, the Lord of Kinlose, Mr. Secretary Herbert, and four Bishops, all nominated by himself. In his Letters Patent, issued under the Great Seal of England, he professed to be acting under the authority of Elizabeth's Act of Uniformity, as well as under the Supremacy Act, and on his own Royal Prerogative. It is more than doubtful, however, whether he possessed any such authority by law. The Act of Elizabeth only allowed the Queen to "take order" as to ornaments, and to publish "further" rites and ceremonies, but it did not authorise even Elizabeth herself to add to the prayers, creeds or services, still less to abolish any which possessed statutory authority. Accordingly it has been the belief of our ablest lawyers

that James' alterations were all *ultra vires*. Lord Grimthorpe expresses that opinion in the last edition of Hook's *Church Dictionary*. Burn, in his *Ecclesiastical Law* (ed. Phillimore III., 415) says : "The powers specified in that proviso seem not to extend to the Queen's heirs and successors, but only to be lodged personally in the Queen." Dr. Stephens, in his *Notes on the Common Prayer* (I.-exl.), says : "Those changes had no legal effect, as they were not sanctioned by Parliament."

Sir R. Phillimore, as Dean of the Arches, said : "It is, to say the very least, questionable whether the words by the authority of the Queen's Majesty (with the approval of the particular persons mentioned therein), could confer any power upon the succeeding monarch." (Fourth Report of the Ritual Commission, p. 242).

In *Escott v. Mastin*, the Privy Council said : "We may pass over the rubric of 1603, both because its substance is more completely contained in that of 1661 ; and because, until 1662, there was no statutory authority for, and change of, the law which had been established at the date of 1603 (or 1604)" (*Brod. and Fremantle*, p. 20). Even Lord Selborne, who endeavours to put the most favourable construction upon everything which was ever done in the Church of England, says of James' alterations : "Parliamentary authority they had none, unless by a *strained and doubtful* construction of the 26th clause of Queen Elizabeth's Act of Uniformity." (*Defence of the Church of England*, p. 65).

Hence it was that at the last revision, the proclamation of James was crossed out in Convocation, and dropped *sub silentio*, while the Act of Uniformity of Charles II. refers exclusively to "the first year of the late Queen Elizabeth" ignoring altogether the Jacobean interpolations.

Bp. Cosin, who is claimed by the Ritualists as their leader, constantly affirms the same view, and is followed by Nicholls and others.

* * *

Mr. Dimock seems to think that the defenders of the disputed comma after the word "grace" may be actuated by a desire to deny that grace is really "given" in connection with the sacraments. But such a suspicion is not warranted by a single fact. Not one of them has ever doubted or denied that grace is given to and received by the faithful in the due reception of the sacraments. But what is denied is that grace is *always* "given" whenever a "sacrament" is administered. The strict definition of the technical "word" Sacrament is, in this respect, like the strict definition of "Justification by Faith." When we say that we are "justified by faith only," this does not mean that justifying faith is ever *alone*, i.e., without hope or without charity. Yet, as the Homily

explains, it "shutteth them out from the *office* of justifying." So, just in the same way, every sacrament is a means whereby we may receive grace and a pledge to assure us that (on certain conditions), we do receive it; and being "ordained by Christ Himself," His "pledge" cannot fail to be kept; yet for all that the grace of the Sacrament is not the Sacrament, nor—strictly speaking—is a sacrament anything more than the Divinely appointed means and pledge of our receiving that grace which, with it or by it, Christ is pleased to confer. Therefore, it is a truer and a more scientific definition of the "word" to limit the meaning of "Sacrament" to the "two" outward visible Signs (including under "sign" the appointed words and acts of administration and receiving), which "two" alone were "ordained by Christ himself" for this special purpose. To make an *actual* "gift" of grace to form an *essential* part of the definition of the "word" Sacrament is to establish the theory of an "objective presence," and of a "reception by the wicked," which has already converted the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper into an idol in hundreds of our churches, and "hath given rise to many superstitions." This is no imaginary danger, but a plain matter of fact patent to everyone who reads the polemical and "devotional" writings of the Ritualistic School. They base their sacramental "adoration" on the two consecutive answers in the Catechism, taken in the sense which the removal of the comma has rendered possible. When Mr. Dimock's array of witnesses comes to be examined, it will be found that they often tell just the other way. For example, Ellis (p. 6 of the Reprint), though Mr. Dimock has not noticed the fact, quotes the Catechism itself quite correctly, "grace, given unto us." In his "explanation," Ellis does not say grace given unto us "in that *sacrament*"; but "in the Covenant," which is quite a different thing. A few pages lower down Ellis says: "If they who come to Baptism be not duly disposed and prepared for it, they receive nothing therein but the outward sign, and that to their greater condemnation." "Greater condemnation" can hardly be identified with "grace given."

The "Oxford Catechism" is quoted at p. 10, and this also gives the comma correctly after "grace." Mr. Dimock quotes from it the words, "the bread and wine *administered*, signify and seal the giving of Christ, with all the benefits of His death to the *true* believer." Here the "gift" is limited to the faithful, and the word "administered" is exactly equivalent to "sign given unto us." Bp. Beveridge and Harrison, both alike, give the comma correctly after "grace," and neither of them, as quoted p. 10, shows an example of that eccentric punctuation which Mr. Dimock claims (p. 6) that they illustrate. Harrison expressly compares the sign given, to the rainbow of which, he says, "naturally it is not

such," but *given* and set in the clouds to be such" (p. 153.) Abp. Wake is claimed as punctuating otherwise, and this is true, no doubt, of the edition quoted from by Mr. Dimock; but in the editions of 1699, 1708, 1720, and 1769 the comma was correctly placed after "grace." So far from making the inward spiritual grace to invariably accompany and form "part of" the sacrament, Wake speaks thus at p. 164 of the edition quoted by Mr. Dimock: "That which is *given* by the priest is, as to its substance, bread and wine; as to its sacramental nature and signification, it is the figure or representation of Christ's body and blood, which *was* broken and shed for us. The very body and blood of Christ as yet it is not. But being with faith and piety *received* by the communicant, it becomes to *him*, by the blessing and grace of the Holy Spirit, the very body and blood of Christ."

Cardwell, it is true, does omit the comma, but he can hardly be claimed as a witness, for he carefully specifies the very pages of Rymer's *Foedera*, from which he has made his extract. Yet both editions of Rymer give the comma where Cardwell has omitted it! Even those commentators who are polled by Mr. Dimock as omitting the comma do, nevertheless, in their remarks, clearly speak of the "sign given." For instance, on the very first page, Mayer is quoted as saying, "The Lord, by *giving* us the *signs* of the sacraments, doth, as it were, by pledges, make us sure of His grace, we being no intruders, but such as he doth *offer* them unto"—a phrase which implies that "intruders" have no share in the pledge or the promise, still less in the grace "offered," but not "given."

Bp. Nicholson quoted p. 9, oddly enough, does not quote the words "given unto us" at all, and therefore cannot be called as a witness for either side. Yet the two short sentences selected by Mr. Dimock show that he interpreted "sign given" in the sense of a positive appointment to be a "sign," just as the rainbow was a "signum datum." Nicholson says "which grace they *naturally* represent not, but were *imposed* and ordained by God to that purpose." By them he says "grace is *offered* to all the Church, though exhibited *only* to the faithful," which is precisely our contention—a thing "offered" to all, yet refused by some, cannot be said to be "given" as matter of course, as though it were a constituent "part" of all sacraments. The sentence, omitted by Mr. Dimock, which connects the two sentences quoted by him from Nicholson on p. 9, runs, "All indeed receive not the grace of God that receive the Sacrament of grace." Salter (p 10), like Nicholson, does not give the words of the answer at all; and his statement that "grace is given to the soul of every *worthy* receiver" does not even suggest that the unworthy receive no "sacrament" at all. The strange thing is that Mr. Dimock should not have seen how

completely many of his quotations fit in exactly with the stricter definition for which we contend. For instance, page 14, he quotes with approval the Belgic confession, which says : "Ministri praebent nobis sacramentum. . . Dominus vero noster donat id quod sacramento significatur." Again, "etiamsi Sacraenta conjuncta sint rei significatae, utrumque tamen simul ab omnibus non accipitur." Here the word "Sacrament" clearly does not include the grace *of* which it is the sacrament.

Happily we have no quarrel with either the manner or the matter of Mr. Dimock's paper, his doctrinal standpoint is our own. He candidly admits that "it is impossible to deny that the omission of the comma is, strictly speaking, a misprint. And,' he adds, 'nothing that I have said is intended to justify it.'"

He hints that it may be harmless to say that "grace is given" in sacraments simply as such, because "the English 'given' does not necessarily require the dating (or restraining) of the donation to the moment of receiving the sign." He adds : "Such a restraining sense the words can only acquire by being viewed in connection with 'means whereby we receive the same.'" (p. 6). Unfortunately it is impossible to view them apart from these words, which stand part of the same sentence; and, like them, stand part of the formal definition. There may be senses in which the phrase "grace given" might be unobjectionable, except indeed from its vagueness and dangerous aptitude for being misunderstood. "Given," for instance, might be held to mean only the gratuitous nature of the unmerited gift. Or, again, "unto us" might be held to mean to the Church at large, or even to mankind ; or it might merely be regarded as a loose way of indicating the design and purpose of the Giver, rather than a literal statement of what the idea embodied in this word "sacrament" contains. Unfortunately, Mr. Dimock does not deal with this apologetic line at all. But it is hardly necessary to add that his paper is free from any taint of polemical rancour, and displays to the full the learning and charity to which his writings have long accustomed us.

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